

**Jīva Gosvāmin's Gopālacampū**

**by**

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### Jīva Gosvāmin's Gopālacampū: Abstract

Jīva Gosvāmin is the last and most prolific of the group of ascetic followers of Caitanya famous as "the six Gosvāmins". In his Bhāgavatasaṅdarbhā, he is responsible for much of the dogmatic theology of the Caitanyaite sect. Gopālacampū is his magnum opus, written near the end of his career, which reflects most accurately his ultimate concerns. In order to present these doctrines, which Jīva takes to be the result not only of an understanding of the purāṇic authorities but of the *rasa śāstra* (now seen as the ultimate test of truth), Jīva adopts the versatile *campū* genre, i.e. mixed prose and poetry, as his medium. This can be seen as the result of his need to mix both the "prosaic" medium of theological thought with the "poetic" imperative of establishing the *rasa* implicit in his understanding of the Kṛṣṇa legend.

This dissertation is a general investigation of both Jīva's medium as well as his message. In the first chapter, a summary of Jīva's life and works is given and the degree to which the main themes of GC dominate much of his writing, as well as the reaction they excited in later members of the Gauḍīya school, is outlined. The second chapter examines the textual sources for the thesis, unravelling the publication history of the GC and assessing the value of the available MS. evidence for the making of a critical edition. In ch. 3 a general survey is made of *campū* literature in order to establish a basis for a critical study of GC. Ch. 4 contains a detailed study of Jīva's use of both prose and verse, showing his great versatility in the use of a variety of styles. Jīva's original use of song and *virudh* metres is given special treatment. Of Jīva's prose, those portions which are of a theological nature are singled out for comparison with the prose of his sources, the less ornamented language of the BhP commentaries. In ch. 5, further features of Jīva's use of Sanskrit are examined, highlighting unusual grammatical usages as well as habitual features of Jīva's language. Ch. 6 summarizes the narrative of GC, demonstrating the relation of Jīva's work to its sources and giving particular emphasis to its original portions. The last chapter gives a resumé of the theological background of GC. The thesis is supplemented with two chapters of text and translation of GC, i.e. 1.1-2.

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## INTRODUCTION

Jīva Gosvāmin's *Gopālacampū* is a significant work in the history of Sanskrit literature for several reasons. Other than being one of the longest works in the *campū* genre, it has a number of original stylistic features which are not to be found in any other work of this type. Written towards the end of Jīva's career and intended as his *magnum opus*, it has a theological as well as æsthetic purpose. Unlike Jaina and Śrīvaiṣṇava *campū*s, however, in which theology predominates, this work strives for the primacy of the devotional *rasa* to which theology is subservient. In this dissertation, two lines of inquiry seek to answer questions about the *campū* genre and the significance of Jīva's use of it, as well as about *Gopāla*, the god Kṛṣṇa in his incarnation as a cowherd. What has Jīva got to say about Kṛṣṇa that had not already been said in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, the Gauḍīya school's source of theological authority, or his predecessors' and indeed his own numerous other works?

Although several printed editions of GC, with translations in both Hindi and Bengali, have seen the light of day, there has been disappointingly little scholarly response to this significant work. Only Sushil Kumar De has written in English to any extent about *Gopālacampū*, primarily in his exhaustive study of the Bengali Vaiṣṇava faith and literature.<sup>1</sup> In many of his writings, De has shown a general distaste for post-classical developments in Sanskrit literature.<sup>2</sup> Of the various styles of Sanskrit poetry, he reserves a particular dislike for the *campū* genre.<sup>3</sup> It is thus not entirely surprising to find him showing similar antipathy to Jīva's GC. Though he calls the work an "ambitiously enormous effort"<sup>4</sup> and a "marvel

of erudite correctness and massive workmanship", these are not to be taken as complimentary remarks. His general opinion is given in his concluding remarks about the work:

In bulk of production, in unfailing workmanship and general literary competence, it is impossible to ignore this triumph of literary and theological dexterity, but it is equally impossible to enjoy it heartily.

De finds JIva's style "naturally and always ponderous, even in dealing with light topics". About his prose, he says that it is "difficult and stilted... When it is not argumentative, it is often a dreary imitation of the paronomastic, ornamented and tortuous style set in fashion by Subandhu and Bāṇa." Furthermore, in "attempting to be poetical, [his prose] too often attains only the subtle and fatiguing ornamentation of an overworked diction". As for JIva's verse, it is "prosaic in spirit and style". Nothing is more damaging to the æsthetic value of GC, in De's opinion, than JIva's "constant wearisome excursions into didactic and doctrinal exposition".

In view of De's influence resulting from having written the most comprehensive textbook on the Gauḍīya school of Vaiṣṇavism, it is not surprising that no later researchers have been tempted to venture into a work which he has so unequivocally judged to be dull, difficult, "enormous in every sense of the word" and unrewarding. Suffice it to say that this has not at all been the impression of this researcher who fortunately encountered Gopālacampū before reading S. K. De's criticism of it.

De, applying the standards of Western literary taste, not surprisingly found little of value in the mediæval Sanskrit literary tradition which continued to depend on the vast Hindu mythology for its themes rather than on "real

life". His criticisms self-avowedly do little more than tell us that this literature does not appeal to modern Westernized tastes. It does not, however, reveal much about those aspects which the audience for whom it was intended might have appreciated. For, as Keith says,

The poets of India wrote for audiences of experts; they were masters of the learning of the day, long trained in the ways of language and they aimed to please by subtlety not simplicity of effect. They had at their disposal a singularly beautiful speech and they commanded elaborate and difficult metres. Under these circumstances, it was inevitable that their works should be difficult, but of those who on that score pass them by it may fairly be said, *ardua dum metuunt amittunt vera via*.<sup>5</sup>

By this token a degree of so-called pedantry might be expected, as should deliberate displays of mastery over the multiple forms of metrical and prose styles of composition. Nevertheless, in fairness to Jīva, these aspects of his writing should not be exaggerated in lieu of others which are original and could be seen in a more positive light, even by modern reviewers. For example, in this dissertation, though we shall examine several portions of Jīva's prose writing which use forms made popular by Subandhu and Bāṇa, it shall also be shown that he was far from limiting himself narrowly to any one style.

Jīva was a revivalist of Sanskrit culture. Besides writing exclusively in the "language of the gods", he conducted correspondence in that language even with other Bengalis. Though a renunciate, it is evident that he and his entourage (i.e. the six Gosvāmins), considered the cultivation of the brahminical tongue to be an essential part of the religious revival set into motion by Śrī Caitanya. Sanātana, Rūpa, Raghunātha and Jīva wrote in

Sanskrit because it invested their works with a universal authority, and though these works might not be immediately appreciated by the uneducated, would eventually reach them through the vernacular songs and *kīrtanas*, etc., into which their themes were translated. The Gosvāmins, including Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja wrote in every major literary form of Sanskrit: dramas, *mahākāvya*s, *khaṇḍakāvya*s, *virudha*, *kathā*, etc. Jīva was, however, the first to attempt a *campū* and this medium was particularly suitable to the writing of a *magnum opus*. But it is clear that Jīva was more than a mere scholastic, more than just a poet. He was primarily a devotee and he sought to glorify Kṛṣṇa as completely as possible through the full exercise of his literary talents, endeavouring to make a display of the highest perfection in all aspects of literature *ad maiorem dei gloriam*. To this end all the *rasas* had to be exhibited in relation to Kṛṣṇa and, most important, the perfection of the *rasas* had to be shown in the achievement of the union in marriage of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs.

Thus, through devotion, Jīva's literary purpose and his theological purpose are in effect one. Though in this dissertation, space has not allowed a lengthy discussion of Jīva's uncle and teacher Rūpa's seminal contributions to the theology of *rasa* (nor is it necessary in view of the numerous recent efforts in this direction), there can be little doubt that these heavily influenced Jīva's Weltanschauung. Rūpa's devotional *rasa* (or "sacred rapture") does not require literature to be experienced, it only requires *bhakti*, though literature can be a helpful medium for its expression and awakening.<sup>6</sup> *Bhakti* is a kind of consciousness which can be awakened by arguments, through *śravaṇa* or hearing the *siddhāntas*, i.e. dogmatic truths about Kṛṣṇa. Through hearing about Kṛṣṇa's majesty and



love, the devotee increases in his devotion and this devotion is transformed into *rasa*, a divine æsthetic pleasure. Thus for JIva, theology and literature were not seen as antithetical but rather as complementary. The reading of BhP (itself mixed in much the same way) was enhanced by its commentaries, particularly that of Sanātana, which elaborate not only theological points, but also narrative settings, etc., all of which are intended to bring out or enhance the divine æsthetic of BhP's verses. Through the use of the "prosaic" commentatorial style of writing, JIva often follows Sanātana's lead. Sometimes he seeks to elaborate on BhP, feeling no doubt, that the original work had not exploited sufficiently the possibilities held by a particular situation for the experience of *rasa*. Indeed, in spite of the reverence in which JIva holds the BhP (which he considers a historical source), in his rewriting of that work in GC, at times it appears that he wholeheartedly follows the spirit of Ānandavardhana's advice:

A poet writing a whole work should be entirely bound by the demands made by sentiment. <sup>(*rasa*)</sup> If he finds, therefore, in a historical source an element which is inappropriate to the sentiment, he should not hesitate to break away from it freely and to invent a new episode in its place which will be appropriate to the sentiment. The poet achieves no purpose, indeed, by blind fidelity to the story in his sources....<sup>7</sup>

At the same time, JIva is hampered by the need for fidelity to his inspired sources, and unlike Ānandavardhana, feels obliged to explain himself with reference to those sources. The single-minded pursuit of devotional *rasa*, i.e. love for Kṛṣṇa, is the integral theme of GC as of BhP, but Kṛṣṇa's glory in fulfilling the desires of the gopīs (and by extension

all devotees) for eternal union, symbolized by marriage, was not brought out by BhP.

In view of this overriding purpose, all else, including the display of various poetic figures, is secondary. In this respect, JIva would certainly agree with Lollaṭa and Ānandavardhana who showed disdain for the various stylistic embellishments and figures of speech, etc. when distracting from the essential emotional themes of a literary work:

As for the effort involved in describing rivers, mountains, oceans, trees, horses, cities, etc., in long works, whose only point is to proclaim the descriptive power of the poet, this is not highly thought of by those of broad intellect.<sup>8</sup>

One should not include in a poem too many descriptions of bathing, picking flowers, sunsets, moon-rise, etc. even though they may be lovely in themselves, if they are not related directly to the major *rasa* [being suggested in the poem].<sup>9</sup>

It is hoped that wherever JIva's language or prosody are discussed in the following pages, it will be evident how JIva has kept this single purpose in mind. De has done a great disservice in implying that JIva has become lost in the arcane display of poetic figures, as well as by misunderstanding the æsthetic implications of JIva's theological additions. He fails to appreciate the original features of the work, which when compared to the general trends of mediæval *kāvya* literature is brimming with originality. The purpose of this thesis, if nothing else, is an effort to redeem JIva's reputation in the hope that others will be able to appreciate this work for the unique creation it is.

Notes to Introduction

1. Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal (Calcutta: General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 1942), 477-90.
2. e.g. "There was surely nothing wrong with the genius of the poets, but something was wrong in the literary atmosphere." Dasgupta and De, A History of Sanskrit Literature (Calcutta: 1962), pp.40ff. *ibid.*, 304: Post 10th century Sanskrit poetry is characterized as "imitative and reproductive, possessing facility rather than inspiration, subtlety rather than judgement, immense and varied learning rather than vigour and versatility of spontaneous power," etc. etc. "mechanical and fossilized... decline and stagnation"...
3. *op. cit.*, 306: "the *campū* ... an offshoot of prose *kāvya* is late, secondary and incompetent." *op. cit.*, 436: The *campū* got off to a "bad start" with Nala and Yaśastilaka and later attempts were "less meritorious".
4. All citations from De are from Early History, etc. (1942), 488-90.
5. A History of Sanskrit Literature, Preface, vii.
6. BRS ii.5.90-91. Cf. Delmonico, Sacred Rapture: The Divine Aesthetic of Rūpa Gosvāmin, PhD. thesis, University of Chicago, 1990, 216-7.
7. Dhvanyāloka, *vṛttī* ad 3.14. Trans. Krishnamoorthy, p.74.
8. Hemacandra cites this verse as Lollaṭa's, *Kāvyaṇuśāṣana* p.307. The translation is that of Masson and Patwardhan, Aesthetic Rapture Vol 1, p.8.
9. Dhvanyāloka, *vṛttī* ad 2.19. Trans. Krishnamoorthy.

## Chapter I

### Jīva Gosvāmī: biography and bibliography

#### 1.1 Jīva's life: sources

This chapter gives a summary of the available information on Jīva's life and works, making an attempt to resolve a number of the issues which have been sources of controversy. Though Jīva Gosvāmī was a prolific writer and his position as a leader of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas in the late 16th century is well-documented, there is little told about him that goes beyond either hagiography on the one hand or bare fact on the other. Jīva himself is the source for information about his family genealogy in his précis of Sanātana's Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī (See fig. 1.1).<sup>1</sup> This series of verses has also been quoted by Narahari Cakravartī in Bhaktiratnākara (BRK)<sup>2</sup> and discussed by, amongst others, S. K. De<sup>3</sup>, Naresh Jana<sup>4</sup> and, more recently, Neal Delmonico.<sup>5</sup> Figure 1.1 indicates the salient features of this family tree, including some data found in a MS. brought to light by Sukumar Sen which apparently accounts for the existence of a lineage claiming descent from Jīva.<sup>6</sup>

Some documents have come to light fairly recently as a result of the researches conducted into various papers found in the library of Jīva's last home, the Rādhādhāmōdara temple in Vrindavan. These papers are currently held in the Vrindavan Research Institute (VRI). They consist primarily of land-deed transfers and the like, though of particularly great value is Jīva's own last testament, written in his own hand in 1606 and witnessed on his deathbed in December of 1608.<sup>7</sup>

Another document named *Mahāprabhvāḍiprākāṣyasamvatserāṇi* (MPS), also preserved at the VRI, originally coming from the Rādhāvallabha temple, contains the dates of some important events in the lives of several of Caitanya's associates, including Jīva Gosvāmin. This document apparently lies closer to the origins of a fairly widespread tradition, for a large number of similar documents giving the same dates are in existence. Though these dates appear to be reliable in certain areas, they also seem to consistently place too late the birth dates of the persons named.<sup>8</sup>

The various Vaiṣṇava chronicles, i.e. BRK, *Premavilāsa*, *Karṇānanda*, etc. were written primarily as accounts of the lives of the third generation of Caitanyaite Vaiṣṇavas, Śrīnivāsa, Narottama and Śyāmānanda. Jīva Gosvāmin, the tutor of these three influential personalities, is mentioned peripherally to their narratives. Nearly all of these chronicles have been proved unreliable to one degree or another. Of them all, only Narahari's BRK, written in the mid- or late eighteenth century, purports to give a biography of Jīva, albeit a limited one. In addition, Narahari has transcribed a number of extremely useful documents in his work, including a list of Jīva's books by his successor Kṛṣṇadāsa Adhikārin<sup>9</sup> and four letters written by Jīva to his students in Bengal.<sup>10</sup> Two of these letters are also found in *Karṇānanda*, a work ascribed to Yadunandana which is probably a century or more earlier than Narahari's work.<sup>11</sup> *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (CC), written by Jīva's contemporary and a signatory of his testament, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, is historically more reliable but contains only little information directly relevant to Jīva. This, no doubt, is the result of Jīva's playing no direct role in the life of Caitanya.

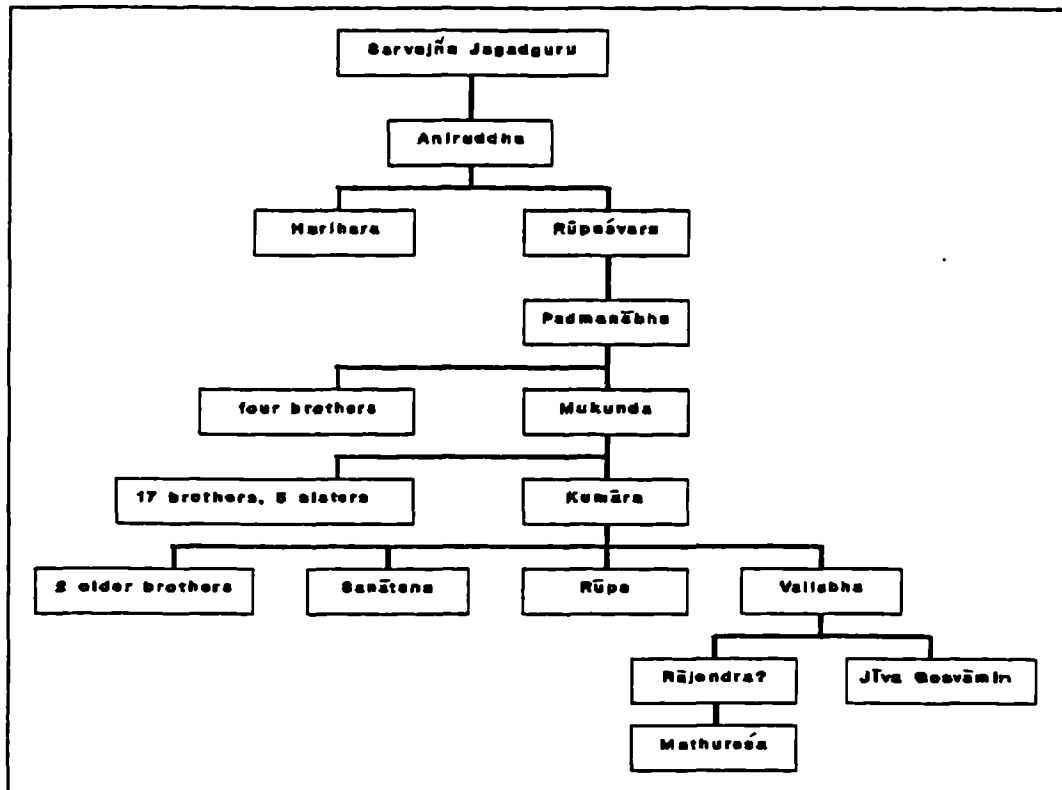


Fig. 1.1: Jīva Gosvāmī's family tree

### 1.11 Jīva's family, birth and early life

Jīva's father, mentioned by him in GC 1.1.2, was named Vallabha.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja tells us that he had two names:

Anupama Mallika, who [was referred to by the] name Śrī Vallabha, was the younger brother of Rūpa Gosvāmī and a great Vaiṣṇava.<sup>12</sup>

Though Kṛṣṇadāsa makes no specific mention of it, it would appear that just as Caitanya had given Anupama Mallika's two elder brothers the names Rūpa and Sanātana, he had given him the name Vallabha. BRK seems to feel that Caitanya bestowed the name Anupama on Jīva's father.<sup>13</sup> However, wherever Jīva himself had occasion to mention his father's name, either in books or in legal documents, he used Vallabha. Since he nowhere mentions Rūpa or Sanātana according to the names by which they were

known prior to their "baptism", it would seem rather more likely that the name Vallabha was given his father by Caitanya. Kṛṣṇadāsa also reports that Sanātana was previously known as Sākar Mallika<sup>14</sup>; evidently Mallika was the family title being used at that time. It is not likely that JIva's father would have used a name given him by Caitanya with his family name or wordly title. In the legal documents, JIva constantly refers to

Vallabha<sup>q6</sup>/Gosāī (Gosvāmin), just as Rūpa and Sanātana and he himself were known.

From both CC and GC, we know that JIva's father was a devotee of Rāma.<sup>15</sup> Like his brothers, he is said to have held a position in the court of Hussain Shah. JIva himself testifies to the three brothers "becoming indifferent to governmental responsibility".<sup>16</sup> Jadunath Sarkar<sup>17</sup> states that Anupama Mallika was the director of the Gauḍa government mint, but does not indicate what historical sources have led him to make such an assertion.<sup>18</sup>

Two dates are given for JIva's birth. The first of these, V.S. 1580 (A.D. 1523-4), is preserved in the tradition represented by MPS. The alternative is based on the inference that Vallabha died in 1516, which would make the beginning of 1517 the latest possible date for JIva's birth.<sup>19</sup> Since the name Vallabha given by Caitanya appears to signify renunciation of marital life (as it did for Rūpa and Sanātana), then it is unlikely that JIva was conceived after 1515 when his father left home with Rūpa to meet Caitanya at Prayāg. MPS tells us that JIva spent 24 years in householder life after which he came to live in Braj (i.e. A.D. 1547-8). We know that JIva was present in Braj on the 18th Sept. 1546 (21 Rajab, A.H. 953) when

he assisted Raghunāthadāsa in making the purchase of some land at Arith (Rādhākuṇḍa).<sup>20</sup> The MPS date is thus suspect.<sup>21</sup>

The suggestion that JIva was born much earlier than 1516<sup>22</sup> and was already a child of several years at the time of Caitanya's visit to Rāmakeli in 1513 can be shown to have no foundation. This opinion, based on the evidence of BRK (1.638), is flatly contradicted in the same book only a few pages later (1.713), where any vision of Caitanya had by the young JIva is said to have taken place in a dream.<sup>23</sup>

According to BRK, JIva was brought up by his widowed mother in Candradvīpa, the home made by his great-grandfather, Kumāra. Sukumar Sen's document indicates that the fatherless family resided in Kumārahaṭṭa.<sup>24</sup> According to this document JIva's original name was Gopāla. He also had a brother who Sukumar Sen says (without giving his authority) was named Rājendra<sup>25</sup>, even though the document is illegible at this point. JIva apparently left home on his wedding day. According to CC<sup>26</sup>, he took Nityānanda's blessing before leaving for Braj. BRK<sup>27</sup> states that this meeting took place in Nabadwip when JIva had gone there to study, and that Caitanya's associate Śrīvāsa was also present. If JIva had been living in Kumārahaṭṭa, then he was a close neighbour of both these personalities and it seems rather more likely that he met them in their own homes.

On his way to Braj, JIva stopped at Benares, where he studied Vedānta and Nyāya with Madhusūdana Vācaspati (BRK 1.775-7). De confidently asserts that JIva's teacher can be identified as the author of a number of works



on *smṛti*, *vedānta* and grammar.<sup>28</sup> Jana is more reserved about such an identification.<sup>29</sup> Sundarānanda states, on unknown authority, that this Madhusūdana was the disciple of the well-known convert to Caitanyaism, Śārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya.<sup>30</sup> Though Jīva evidently showed the marks of having received thorough training in grammar and *vedānta*, he has nowhere mentioned the name of any<sup>such</sup>/teacher.

#### 1.12 Jīva's activities in Braj

The MPS tradition says that Jīva came to Braj after 24 years of household life. According to BRK,<sup>31</sup> he assisted Rūpa in editing the *Bhaktirasāmṛta-sindhu* (dated complete in Śaka 1463, A.D. 1541-2) not long after his arrival in Braj. At this time he engaged in debate with Vallabhācārya or Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, the founder of the sect which takes his name. This story, found in BRK, though a typically unreliable piece of sectarian hagiography, is taken seriously by most. Vallabhācārya would have been long since dead (d.1531) by 1541 when Jīva is estimated to have first set foot in Braj. According to Narahari's narrative, Jīva was irritated by Vallabha Bhaṭṭa's criticism of a certain verse of Rūpa's BRS and defended his uncle's work with a certain amount of hubris. Rūpa chastised his nephew, saying that such arrogance did not befit life in Braj, and banished him from his company. Jīva went to reside at Nandaghṣṭ, drinking only milk and eating dust in penance until Sanātana came to intervene on his behalf to Rūpa. A *guphā* or cave is still shown to visitors to Nandaghṣṭ as being the site of Jīva's penance. A tradition recorded by Entwistle says that Jīva started work on *Bhāgavatasaṅkṣepa* at this time<sup>32</sup>, but it is not likely that he could have begun such an exhaustive commentary on Vaiṣṇava dogma so soon after coming into contact with his uncles and teachers.

KṛṣṇaS owes much to Sanātana's VT, which is dated as complete in 1555.<sup>33</sup> JIva's first dated work, Mādhavamahotsava, was also completed in in that year, but by 1561, DevakInandanadāsa had noted his reputation as a scholar in the Vaiṣṇavavandanā.<sup>34</sup> It seems rather more likely that the Bhāgavata-sandarbha was completed between these dates.

Not long after JIva's arrival in Braj, he started engaging in land transactions, first making several in association with Raghunāthadāsa at Arith. In 1558 he bought land for the Rādhā Dāmodara temple from a certain Āliṣā Caudhurī. It is said in Sādhanaḍṭpikā that the image of Rādhā Dāmodara was carved by Rūpa<sup>35</sup>, while MPS tells us that the deity's footprints were first seen in a dream in 1519 and <sup>that it was</sup> consecrated by Sanātana on Tues., 24 Jan., 1553. Later, this temple was to contain the library of the Gosvāmins Rūpa and Sanātana, who bequeathed their collections to JIva. In the remnants of the library now in the collection of the VRI, JIva's last will and testament and a copy thereof written sometime later, as well as MSS. with Rūpa's signature, etc. have been found.

Rādhā Dāmodara's first priest is named in MPS as Gopāladāsa. In the concluding verses to Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa (HNV), JIva prays that friendship with a Gopāladāsa should continue on earth and in heaven.<sup>36</sup> Rādhākṛṣṇa Gosvāmin, in his Sādhanaḍṭpikā, in the course of refuting the svakīyādvāda, says that JIva wrote his arguments in support of that doctrine at the behest of a certain Gopāladāsa, though he deliberately (and perhaps acerbically) stresses that this person was a vaiśya.<sup>37</sup> Rādhākṛṣṇa cites a verse from HNV in support of this contention. Though numerous contemporary Gopāladāsas can be named, there is no record of any vaiśya

of that name who knew Jīva, whereas a *pūjārī* named *Gopāla dāsa* at the Rādhā Dāmodara temple seems to be the most logical contender for a deep friendship with the temple's chief resident.

Jīva appears to have been greatly concerned that the properties which had been accumulated by him and his uncles should remain under the stewardship of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas. In the VRI collection, there is an important *farmān* dated A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568) issued by the emperor Akbar.<sup>38</sup> In this document, Akbar gives official recognition to the custodians of the Govindadeva and Madanamohana temples in response to a petition from Rājā Toḍar Mall on behalf of Jīva Gosvāmin (stating that he was "a poor, worshipful man") in whose care the temples had been left. This date would appear to confirm Rūpa Gosvāmin's death in that year. Rūpa Gosvāmin's *samādhi* is maintained at the Rādhā Dāmodara temple.

The numerous other transactions recorded in land deeds found in the Rādhā Dāmodara temple library include properties in Vrindavan acquired 1572 and 1601 and in the Radha Kund area between 1577-9. In 1584, Raghunāthadāsa bequeathed his worldly possessions to Jīva with the following words: "...dictating the document to Kavirāja on my deathbed, I, the humble blind Raghunāthadāsa, zealous for the service of ŚrīRādhākuṇḍa, hereby place the whole of my property at the lotus feet of the idol worshipped by Jīva, i.e. to the Rādhā Dāmodara temple."<sup>39</sup> This bequest apparently consisted of 6 plots of land and is recorded in another document of A.H. 996 (A.D. 1588). Raghunāthadāsa had previously shown his respect and affection for Jīva, his junior by some 17 years, by expressing the desire to die in his presence.<sup>40</sup>

A later statement by a certain Gopīramaṇa (ca. 1723) states that Jīva was proprietor of twelve retreats (*kuñjas*) in Vrindavan, including one in which Śyāmānanda lived, constantly attending on Jīva. This is evidently the Śyāmasundara temple which lies not far from Rādhā Dāmodara.<sup>41</sup>

### 1.13 Jīva and his students

Though Jīva Gosvāmin never left Braj, he influenced the development of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal through his numerous students. Chief amongst these were Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, Narottamadāsa and Śyāmānanda, all of whom appeared in Braj in the early part of the 1570's. Śrīnivāsa was the first to come to Braj from Bengal, originally intending to study under Rūpa Gosvāmin, but arriving too late. He thus sought out Jīva Gosvāmin (BRK 4.264) who made arrangements for him to stay in Vrindavan, first at Rādhā Dāmodara (4.278). He introduced Śrīnivāsa to Gopāla Bhaṭṭa who eventually initiated him (4.374ff). Both Premavilāsa and BRK clearly state that Śrīnivāsa was given a thorough education by Jīva himself and was awarded the title of ācārya by him.<sup>42</sup> Narottamadāsa came soon afterwards and also became Jīva's student, while taking initiation from Lokaṇātha Gosvāmin. Jīva also conferred the title *ṭhākura mahāśaya* on Narottama for his scholarship.<sup>43</sup>

Śyāmānanda was an Orissan who came to Braj to study with Jīva. His original name was Dukhī Kṛṣṇadāsa, but Jīva gave him the name (or title) of Śyāmānanda by which he was later widely known. This seems to have been the result of a mystical experience rather than of any particular scholarship. Jīva at the same time also seems to have given approval to Śyāmānanda's use of a different sectarian marking (*tīlaka*). Both of these actions are said to have incurred the wrath of Śyāmānanda's spiritual

master Hṛdaya Caitanya who himself went to Vrindavan to settle the matter, eventually accepting Jīva's authority. The problem was resolved when Hṛdaya Caitanya realized that Śyāmānanda had the nature of a devotee in the *madhura* or erotic sentiment and not in his own *sakhya* mood and that Jīva had not usurped his position as Śyāmānanda's spiritual master.<sup>44</sup> Jīva himself does not appear to have given *dīkṣā* to anyone.

When these three had completed their education, Jīva and other leaders of the Braj contingent of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas decided to invest them with the responsibility of carrying copies of the important Vrindavan manuscripts to Bengal. Jīva arranged for a cart with oxen and driver, several guards and a guide to accompany his three students with the books. Exactly which titles accompanied this trio is nowhere stated. It is evident from the evidence of Jīva's letters (see below, 1.21) that a number of significant works by Rūpa and Sanātana were not sent on this first journey. The date of this event, important in that it marks the beginning of the Vrindavan school's influence over the diverse theologies developing in post-Caitanya Bengal, can be estimated at ca.1575.

BRK informs us that Śrīnivāsa, his disciple Rāmacandra Kavirāja (who, along with his brother Govinda, both received their titles in Vrindavan), as well as Śyāmānanda went back to Vṛndāvana after Narahari Sarkār's death (1582). Upon hearing of their conversion, Jīva gave names Caitanyadāsa and Gopāladāsa by proxy to Śrīnivāsa's disciples Vīra Hambīra, the king of Vishnupur, and his son.<sup>45</sup> Narahari pointedly mentions that Jīva had by this time (ca.1585) started his Gopālacampū and that he read to Śrīnivāsa from it.<sup>46</sup> Ramakanta Chakravarty suggests that Śrīnivāsa reported to

JIva the strength of the *parakīyā* concept in Bengal, and that JIva Gosvāmin advised him to counteract it by preaching the *svakīyā* doctrine elucidated in GC.<sup>47</sup>

Śrīnivāsa, Rāmacandra Kavirāja and Śyāmānanda returned to Bengal with a programme of action which was possibly chalked out for them by JIva himself. Ramakanta Chakravarty suggests that strategy of holding festivals with a view to disseminating the Vrindavan theology may also have been fixed by JIva Gosvāmin during Śrīnivāsa's second sojourn in the town. This led to the legendary Kheturi festival at the home of Narottamadāsa, at which so many of the remaining associates of Caitanya were assembled and where Jāhnavā, the widow of Nityānanda presided.<sup>48</sup>

JIva Gosvāmin continued to maintain close connections with his Bengali followers through couriers. He evidently had a strong hold on both the emerging and the established leaders of the post-Caitanya Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal, as is evident through the numerous visits made by not only the above-mentioned trio and their disciples, but by other important figures. Most prominent amongst these was, no doubt, the wife of Nityānanda, Jāhnavā devī, who went to Vrindavan with a large group of disciples at least twice. On both occasions, though treated with great deference by JIva, she received instructions from him.<sup>49</sup> The first of her pilgrimages is likely to have taken place in the late 1580's. Her son Vīrabhadra and uncle Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita also made trips to Vrindavan where they heard scripture from JIva.

About this phase of JIva's career, Ramakanta Chakravarty writes:

JIva Gosvāmin wrote letters containing advice, instructions, and theological explanations to Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, Rāmacandra Kavirāja, Vīrahambīr. It is safe to assume that he wrote similar letters to Narottama Datta and Śyāmānanda. Undoubtedly, the aim of JIva Gosvāmin was to put an end to heterodoxy in the Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal by placing over it the unifying mantle of the Vrindavan dogma. The leaders of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism were, no doubt, eager to unify the sub-sects. The only creed which might be partly acceptable to all groups in Bengal was the creed of the Vrindavan gosvāmīs in which the servile mood and the filial mood were properly recognized as steps towards the crescendo of *madhura rasa*.<sup>50</sup>

Or, as S. K. De says, "JIva became the highest court of appeal in doctrinal matters so long as he lived."<sup>51</sup>

#### 1.14 JIva's death

Even towards the end of his life, JIva was active both in expanding the property ownership of the Gauḍīya church in Vrindavan as well as writing books. His last work appears to be *Samkalpakalpadruma* which was written by him in his old age (*Vṛndāvana jaraṇ JIvaḥ...*, 1.4) and which shows his continuing concern with the *svakīyāśāda*. He died in the month of Pauṣa, *śuklatṛtīyā*, V.S. 1665, i.e., Thursday, Dec. 29, 1608, at the age of 92. This date is found on both the document of JIva's last will and testament, the full edition of which had been written two years earlier, and confirmed in MPS. JIva left all his property to Vilāsadāsa, saying that he was "a holy man entirely bent on the supreme truth", and that "the most virtuous brāhmaṇa Kṛṣṇadāsa, son of Śrībhāratācārya" should succeed him. This indeed is what took place.

Jīva's first testamentary document is dated Mārgaśīrṣa *kṛṣṇa* 2, 1663 (A.D. 1606). In it, Jīva states that its contents were to be confirmed by him on his deathbed. The deathbed declaration is given on the reverse side of the same document and is signed by a number of the important Vaiṣṇavas of the time, including Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, Haridāsa (who became the pre-eminent figure amongst the Vrindavan Gauḍīyas after Jīva's death), etc. Jīva's *samādhi* is kept in the grounds of the Rādhā Dāmodara temple, near that of Rūpa.

## 1.2 Jīva's works

### 1.21 Jīva's letters to Bengal

From Jīva's letters found in BRK and referred to above, we learn not only about approximately when many of the works ascribed to him were written, but also something about his work methods. It is evident from them that he revised his own writings continuously before releasing them for study by the Bengali devotees. In the first of these letters, probably written, as were the others, in the last decade of the century, Jīva tells Srīnivāsa-cārya that he is still engaged in the proofreading (*śodhanānī*) of several titles, *Rasāmṛtasindhu*, *Mādhavamahotsava*, *Uttaracampū* and *Harināmāmṛta* (HNV), and hesitates to send them because of this as well as the rains. Since the second of the titles listed was dated as complete in 1555, it could not possibly be a reference to the revising of a first draft. Indeed, the two MSS which went into Puridāsa's critical edition of *Mādhavamahotsava* show vastly differing readings throughout, supporting the conjecture that Jīva made considerable changes. A brief discussion of the case of *MādhM* is given below. It would appear that extensive additions and revisions



were made of Kṛṣṇasāndarbha as well, though specific mention of this work is not expressly made in any of these letters.<sup>52</sup>

The *Rasāmṛtasindhu* mentioned in letter #1 can only be Rūpa Gosvāmin's classic. BRS, though Jana feels that this is a reference to *Bhaktirasāmṛtaśeṣa* (BRśeṣ) for he cannot accept that Jīva would have had the audacity to make adjustments to the works of his gurus. If, however, we accept the truth of BRK's story recounted above (1.12), Jīva participated with Rūpa in the original redaction of the book in 1541. From another letter (#4; BRK, 633), it also appears that Jīva had withheld Sanātana's *Br̥bhāg* until the 1590's before sending it to the devotees in Bengal. Letter #2 also mentions *Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*, Sanātana's commentary on BhP's tenth book. This too may refer to a work by Jīva, his abridgement of that work, *Samkṣepa* or *LaghuVT*, completed in 1582. Nevertheless, it seems that the conclusion can be drawn that Jīva took the responsibility for editing the books of his uncles before sending them on to Bengal for general distribution. It is something of a surprise that these three books, all major works of Jīva's uncles, were not included on the first trip of his students, a trip which has achieved a mythical importance in the Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava chronicles.

In the same letter (#2, para. 3, 632), addressed to Śrīnivāsa Ācārya, Jīva uses two verbs, *śudh* and *vi/car* to indicate different stages of the editing process: *Samprati śodhayitvā vicārya ca Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī-Durgamasaṅgamī-ŚrīGopālacampū-pustakāni tatrāmībhīr nīyamānāni*. This would appear to mean that Jīva had sent these three completed works to Bengal with a certain Śyāmadāsa Ācārya, after thorough revision. In the

following paragraph of that letter (#2, para. 4), Jīva further states that he has already sent *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa*. Other books still remain and though he has completed the second part of *Gopālacampū*, he is withholding it because it still needs to be revised (*vicārayitavyāsti*).<sup>53</sup> If this is taken to be one and the same letter, the GC referred to in para. 3 is only GC i (*Pūrvacampū*).

The long process of editing might have led Jīva to put references to a later book into another which had been finished earlier. The *Durgasamgamanī*, Jīva's commentary on BRS (BRSc), is an example. We can see from letter #2 that Jīva had completed it before finishing GC ii. Yet in his commentary to BRS iii.4.76, Jīva refers to a number of books, including GC and his commentary on UN. *Locanarocanī*, both of which are likely to postdate BRSc. *Gopālacampū* is both quoted and mentioned by name in these two commentaries as well as in *Samkalpakalpadruma* (SKD), most probably Jīva's last work. Jana certainly exaggerates when he concludes that besides these, *Rādhākṛṣṇārcanadīpikā* (RKAD) and *Digdarśinī* (Jīva's commentary on *Brahmasaṃhitā*, abbreviated as BrSc) also postdate GC, i.e. A.D.1592. Although it cannot be denied that Jīva's creative powers were still strong in his old age and that the appreciation of his Bengali students and visitors no doubt inspired him to extend his productive life, it is doubtful that all of these works were written at such a late date, i.e., after he had reached the age of 75. By its very nature, GC comes at the end of Jīva's exegetical career and resumes most of what is contained in the above-mentioned commentaries.

### 1.22 Jīva's works

According to a list made by Jīva's successor, Kṛṣṇadāsa Adhikārī, Jīva wrote a total of 25 different works to which *Laghuvaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* and *Sarvasamvādinī* and perhaps other works must be added. It goes without saying that all of these works are related to Kṛṣṇaism. The preceding discussion has shown that it is difficult to establish dates, or even an order of composition for most of these works. Thus, for the sake of facilitating a brief study of them, they have been divided into four categories in the subsequent pages:

- (1) treatises on theology and philosophy,
- (2) commentaries on other works,
- (3) grammar and poetics, and
- (4) literary works.

Comprehensive discussions of most of these works are given in both S. K. De's *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement* and Jana's *Vṛndāvaner chaya gosvāmī* (156-87). The comments made here are meant to complement these previous studies and unnecessary repetition has been avoided. I shall attempt to point in particular to those elements which relate to the GC.

The relevance of this discussion can be demonstrated fairly easily. Jīva's arguments are built around *pramāṇas* given from scripture, in particular BhP. Thus, this unity is most easily demonstrable by pointing to the places where Jīva has repeated numbers of these "items of evidence". Table 1.1 on the following page is given with the intention of showing how these stepping-stones of Jīva's argument (taken primarily from BhP) found in one book are partially or extensively matched in other works. From this table it is clear that there is considerable overlap between the

Table 1.1

## SELECT QUOTATION CONCORDANCE

Quote	VT	LBhāg	KṛṣṇaS	PrītīS	BRS <sub>c</sub>	UN <sub>c</sub>	GC i	GC ii	SKD
x.46.34	78.13	1.477	174	---	3.4.76	---	33.225	29.34 10.55	179
x.46.35	78.13	---	174	---	3.4.76	---	33.196 33.225	29.34	180
x.46.3	46.39	---	---	---	3.4.57	---	15.71 33.241	12.4 31.14	183
x.46.4	---	---	177	---	---	15.208	33.241	12.4	184
x.46.5	---	---	170.176	346	---	---	33.241	12.4	185
x.46.6	---	---	---	347	---	---	33.241	23.48 12.4 29.67	186
x.47.36	47.53	---	163	---	---	15.208	33.242	12.34 29.37	197
x.47.37	29.11	---	164.177	413	---	15.208	---	12.34	198
x.65.6	---	---	---	---	3.4.76	---	33.185	20.25 24.36	213
x.82.41	45.1	---	---	413.416	3.4.76	15.208	33.197	23.41 24.41 29.49	216
x.82.44	78.13	---	164.168	418	---	15.208	---	23.41	217
x.83.1	--	---	170.175	422	---	15.208	---	23.55	221
i.11.9	78.13	1.479	174	91.307 249	3.4.76	15.208	33.197	29.43	226
PadP vi.	78.13	1.483	174	---	3.4.76	15.208	33.318	29.61	227
xi.12.10	78.13	---	175.179	423	---	15.208	---	20.66	230
xi.12.12	78.13	---	176	423	---	15.208	---	20.66	236
xi.12.13	78.13	---	176.177	423	---	15.208	---	20.66	238
x.47.21	---	---	168.175 177	413	---	4.36 15.208	15.71 33.249 33.310	12.73-9 29.66 31.33	246
Gr̥t 4.11	29.9	---	---	51.139	---	15.208	33.309	29.65	250
x.8.16	--	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	254
EGautT	47.21	---	---	---	---	15.208	1.18	29.96	257-8
BrS 2	23.18	--	106	--	--	--	1.20	---	259
x.1.22	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	261
xi.31.23	47.21 90.48	1.517	110.181	---	---	---	---	29.114	262
xi.31.24	47.21 90.48	1.517	110.181	---	---	---	---	29.114	262
x.90.48	47.21	1.430	115.182	52	3.3.129	1.18	15.78	29.110	264

verses cited in the control section of SKD (i.179-264, references given in the last column) and (Sanātana's) VT 78.13, KṛṣṇaS 163-177, PrītīS 413-23, BRS<sub>c</sub> 3.4.76, UN<sub>c</sub> 15.208, GC i.33 and ii.29. The overlap is naturally more marked in certain texts than in others and should one care to repeat the exercise using any other of these texts as the control, the patterns of

duplication would no doubt be different. Nevertheless, the essential element of overlapping would continue to be demonstrable. Though elements of another of Jīva's works such as *BhaktiS* would have revealed far less overlap with *the rest of the corpus*, the demonstration made here is nevertheless instructive of the thematic unity to be found in much of his writing, showing that he returned again and again to a few particular points of concern. In this particular case, the argument centres around Kṛṣṇa's promises to the residents of Vraja to return, given both by himself and by his messengers, and evidence of his return there. It ends with Kṛṣṇa's entry into Goloka. This subject is particularly dear to Jīva and it must be said that SKD's presentation is comparatively sketchy compared to that given in some of his other works. Nevertheless, it was deliberately chosen as the control text because, as Jīva's last work, it was felt to reflect his deepest concerns.

#### 1.221 Works on theology and philosophy

Jīva's reputation as a scholar largely rests upon a series of treatises on *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, known as *Bhāgavatasāṇḍarbha* or *Ṣaṭsāṇḍarbha*. These six volumes encompass the entire spectrum of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava dogma, and much of their contents are found in Kṛṣṇadāsa's CC in guise of Caitanya's own teaching to Sanātana. Jīva states at the outset of this work that he was made to write the book by Rūpa and Sanātana, and furthermore that he wrote it on the basis of an earlier work written by their friend Goṇḍā Bhaṭṭa Gosvāmin who was inspired by other, senior Vaiṣṇavas.<sup>54</sup> Jīva's debt to Sanātana's VT is particularly evident in *KṛṣṇaS* and *PrītiS*, and at the end of the latter treatise he refers those who wish to know more to that commentary.<sup>55</sup>

BhāgS is an attempt to structure the contents of BhP around the Vedānta categories of *sambandha*, *abhidheya* and *prayojana*, supplementing them with exegesis. *Sambandha*, or theology, takes up the first four volumes: *Tattva*°, *Bhagavat*°, *Paramātmā*° and *ŚrīKṛṣṇasānderbhas*. Amongst Rūpa's works, it is to LBhāg that these four volumes <sup>are</sup> parallel in terms of content, though they are rather more elaborate. An introductory verse in *śṛṅgārā* metre at the beginning of *TattvaS* gives an idea of the direction of the work:

May that Śrī Kṛṣṇa whose purely spiritual essence is referred to in the Veda as *brahman*, of whom a portion is the *puruṣa* who controls *māyā* and exists in glory with his fragmentary portions (the *jīva*), and only one of whose forms is the Nārāyaṇa who sports in the supreme sky, may he, the self-same supreme Lord (*svayaṁ bhagavān*), grant love for the devotees who worship his feet.<sup>56</sup>

Thus *TattvaS* establishes *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* as the ultimate scriptural authority, criticizes the *advaitavāda* and gives a general synopsis of the contents of the other five volumes. *BhagavatS* establishes the highest truth as *bhagavān*, i.e. Nārāyaṇa and his various forms, while *ParamātmāS* <sup>a/</sup> describes the nature of the world, *māyā*, the individual soul (*jīva*) and their relation to the creator god who pervades them all.

*KṛṣṇaS* is longer than the first three volumes and, judging from the number of times to which this work is referred to elsewhere in the corpus of JIva's writings, the most important. *Rādhākṛṣṇārcanadīpikā* (RKAD), *BrSc* and *GC* are all stated by JIva to be synopses or expansions on this work, and indeed literally repeat entire sections of it.<sup>57</sup> The relationship of *KṛṣṇaS* to *GC* shall be more fully demonstrated in the 7th chapter of this thesis.

KṛṣṇaŚ first establishes that Kṛṣṇa is *bhagavān* and then that his abode (*dhāman*) and associates (*parikara*) are, like him, eternal. As Jīva must argue to show the primacy of Kṛṣṇa over other forms of Nārāyaṇa, his parents, friends and girlfriends are all similarly shown to be ontologically the origins of the associates of *his* other forms. Rādhā and the gopīs are thus demonstrated to be the origins of Lakṣmī, Nārāyaṇa's consort, and indeed superior to *her*. The book concludes:

Thus the *sambandha* ("relationship") has been explained by these four treatises. In this relationship, it has been shown that he who is related (*sambandhin*) is at his ultimate perfection in the manifestation of the form of Rādhā and Mādhava. Thus Śruti says, "The Lord Mādhava is accompanied by Rādhā..." It is to establish this end that I have elaborated all the foregoing. The [discourse on] relationship is complete.

May my mind be assailed on all sides  
by the sweetness of Rādhā and Mādhava  
lustrous from their golden and black complexions,  
dancing with the pure and playful festivals of their eyes,  
their souls filled with the wisdom of the unlimited maddening arts,  
themselves maddened by the heaps of fragrant ambrosia  
which arise from their dearness to each other.<sup>58</sup>

Bhaktisandarbhā discusses various aspects of the *abhidheya*, the ritua's and duties expected of one who wishes to attain union with Kṛṣṇa. In terms of content it may be paralleled with the *pūrvalaharī* of Rūpa's BRS. The *PrītiŚ* is the longest of the six volumes. It discusses the *prayojana* or the state of spiritual perfection, which Jīva calls *prīti*, synonymous with *prema*. It covers much of the same material as Rūpa's works on *rasa*, BRS and UN, describing the different relations with Kṛṣṇa and how they are

expressed. Unlike Rūpa, however, Jīva illustrates all aspects of *bhaktirasa* without recourse to original examples, using BhP alone, rather like Vopadeva's *Muktāphala*. These works are written in the utilitarian style of the Sanskrit exegete. Only KṛṣṇaS slips from time to time into a prose with pretensions of literary sophistication.

RādhāKṛṣṇārcanadīpikā (RKAD), also known as Kṛṣṇārcanadīpikā, is a small prose work which defends the worship of Rādhā together with Kṛṣṇa. Its primary purpose is thus to glorify Rādhā, first by stating the ubiquity of *śakti* in the company of the personified deity. Some of its passages are quoted almost entirely from *Bhagavatsandarbhā*, while others are taken verbatim from KṛṣṇaS. It may have been written at the time when Jīva took up the worship of Rādhā and Dāmodara, a *yugalavighraha* or pair of idols, in order to defend a practice which was not yet in wide currency. One verse (4) is found in GC (1.1v17) which Jana seems to think demonstrates that RKAD was written after GC. The opposite could, of course, as easily be true.

#### 1.222 Commentaries

Jīva wrote a number of commentaries which are composed in a style comparable to the works described above. The *Kramasandarbhā*, on BhP, is the most remarkable of these. As the title of this work indicates, it has a relation to the above-mentioned BhāgS. BhāgS is in fact a selection of verses from BhP with commentary illustrating aspects of Vaiṣṇava dogma. Many of these commentaries are found in their proper place in the BhP and this was given the appropriate name *Kramasandarbhā*, or the seventh *sandarbhā* as Kṛṣṇadāsa Adhikārin has it. Jīva does not, however, include



an elaborate commentary on the tenth book of BhP in this work, feeling no doubt that the job had been sufficiently well done in VT and his own *Samkṣepa*° or *Laghu*° VT, completed in 1582 and remarkable primarily for the historical information given in the colophon. *Sarvasaṃvādinī* is a supplementary volume to the first four books of BhāgS, containing additional arguments and supportive evidence. It is most remarkable for a defense of the deity of Caitanya.

*Digdarśinī*. JIva's commentary to *Brahmasaṃhitā* (BrSc) also claims to repeat matters which are described in extenso in KṛṣṇaS.<sup>59</sup> JIva has used the BrS extensively in developing his conception of Goloka, the eternal abode of Kṛṣṇa. Portions of those paragraphs of KṛṣṇaS which contain an exposition of Goloka are repeated word for word in BrSc.<sup>60</sup> The first chapter of GC is itself a commentary on a selected number of BrS verses. The introductory verse to GC contains a discourse on the verse *kṛṣṇīr bhūvācakaḥ śabda*, etc. which is a sophisticated development of a portion of BrSc 1. JIva also mentions *Kṛṣṇārcanadīpikā* in this work.<sup>61</sup> on which basis Jana concludes that it postdates GC, having come to that conclusion about RKAD (op.cit., 166). On the other hand, JIva has referred to GC directly in most of his later works and, in view of the subject matter covered in this work, had ample occasion to do so here as well.

JIva wrote two commentaries on works by Rūpa Gosvāmin, *Durgama-saṅgaminī* on BRS and *Locanarocanī* on UN. They are both important works, apparently written at about the same time that JIva wrote GC, which is cited in them both.<sup>62</sup> The two works are characterized by occasional glosses of the text except where he wishes to make an important

point. In such places, he carries on an extended discussion. In his comments on BRS iii.4.76, Jīva addresses the issue of Kṛṣṇa's return to Vraja even after his stay in Dvārakā.

Locanarocanī starts with the following verse:

*Haribhaktirasāmṛtasindhau jāte purā durāloke/  
Ujjvalanīlamanau mama locanarocany asau vivṛtiḥ//*

Jana somehow construes this to mean, "When BRS was not previously commented upon, I wrote this commentary on UN." It should rather be understood to mean, "The Locanarocanī ('pleasing to the eyes') is my commentary on the Ujjvalanīlamanī ('the effulgent sapphire') which [though] previously produced from BRS ('the ocean of ambrosia of devotion to Hari', remained obscure."

Jīva's arguments in favour of the *svakīyā*vāda are perhaps most forcefully expressed in this work under 1.21 and 15.208, two comments which form the bulk of the work as a whole. It is also clear that he was engaging in a polemic against those who, like some later writers, felt that Rūpa Gosvāmin gave precedence to the *parakīyā* position. In both these commentaries, Jīva cites Rūpa's other works, notably *Lalitāmādhava* and *Samkṣepabhāgavatāmṛta* to prove that *svakīyā* was favoured by him.

*Sukhabodhinī* is a commentary on the *Gopālatāpanī Upaniṣad*, which Jīva cites frequently in his *Sandarbhāṣas*, particularly *KṛṣṇaṢ*, in defending the divinity of Kṛṣṇa. Perhaps the most important quotation used by Jīva is Durvāsas's statement to the gopīs, "He is your husband" (*sa vo hi svāmī*

*bhavati*, 2.27), which clearly supports the *svakīyā* doctrine and is cited elsewhere, including GC. This commentary bears great similarity to another attributed to Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī other than that it is shorn of its introductory verses.<sup>63</sup> A number of other minor omissions have been made in the commentary attributed to Jīva, as well as a few additions which bear his distinctive mark on them<sup>64</sup>, but otherwise the two works are exactly the same. The general tone of the arguments matches that of Kṛṣṇaṣ and Jīva's other works, many of the familiar "stepping-stone" verses are cited, but Jīva's characteristic terseness is missing. One is thus led to conclude that Jīva made a slightly abridged version of Prabodhānanda's commentary to which his signature has been added.

Two other minor commentaries are listed by Kṛṣṇadāsa, *Gāyatrīvyākhyāvivṛti* and *Yogasāraṣṭavaṭīkā*. The first is a very short work published by Haridas Das along with BRśeṣ, a commentary on the explanation of the *Gāyatrī* mantra found in the *Agnipurāṇa* (ch.216). The other is a commentary on those verses in *Padmapurāṇa* Uttarakhaṇḍa 127, in which the sage Devadyuti praises Kṛṣṇa after which he gets a vision of him.<sup>65</sup> Neither of these works is of particularly great interest.

### 1.223 Grammar and rhetoric

The enthusiasm of Jīva's students no doubt inspired him to write two major didactic works, one on grammar, *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa* (HNV) which includes a *Dhātusaṃgraha*<sup>66</sup>, and *Bhaktirasāmṛtaśeṣa* (BRśeṣ)<sup>67</sup> on poetics. According to the commentary of Harekṛṣṇa Ācārya<sup>68</sup>, this work is an elaboration of an earlier, shorter work which has been published as *SaṃkṣepaHarināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa*, and is ascribed to either Sanātana or Rūpa

Gosvāmin though it does not figure in the listed works of either of those authors. Since no colophon or any outside attestation exists to clarify the issue, it may just as easily be concluded that it is an earlier draft of the

HNV by Jīva. From his letters, HNV seems to have been written in Jīva's period of ferment, and he himself appears to have used many of HNV's *sūtras* as inspiration for verses in GC. Most of these playful verses are found in the *Pūrva*<sup>9</sup> rather than *Uttaracampū*. Some examples of these shall be given later in the body of this thesis. In this grammar, Jīva uses names of Kṛṣṇa, etc., as grammatical terms (e.g. *PItāmbara* = *bahuvrīhi*, etc., etc.) and in so doing has opened the door to various humorous possibilities. Nevertheless, Jīva indicated that he meant the work to be used as a serious grammar even for those who were evidently already well-versed on the subject such as Śrīnivāsa, etc.

Besides quoting the various grammarians, Jīva gives numerous examples from well-known works of literature, including *Raghuvamśa*, *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, *Kumārasambhava*, *Pāṇinikāvyā*, *Bhaṭṭikāvyā* (i.e. *Rāvaṇavadha*), *Kirātārjunīya*, *Śīsūpālavadha*, *Naiṣadhīyacarita*, *Anargharāghavenāṭaka*, *Cāṇakya*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Udbhaṭasloka*, etc., as well as from the lexicons *Amara*, *Viśva*, *Rudrakōṣa*, etc.

Nowhere does Jīva draw on *Gopālacampū* in HNV. It is further to be noted that in GC, when Jīva uses several variations on a particular grammatical theme (e.g. a group of superlatives), several of these might be typically be found in Jīva's own grammar, but one or more of the others may be drawn from the *Vārttikās* or commentaries on Pāṇini or some other grammarian (most frequently, it would seem, Vopadeva). It is thus probable

that the HNV was completed before the Gopālacampū, that Jīva's extensive studies of Sanskrit grammar served him well in his writing of this work.

BRśeṣ is intended to be an appendix to Rūpa Gosvāmin's important works dealing with the *rasas*. It might more profitably <sup>be/</sup> compared with HNV, however, for it appears that Jīva's intention was to produce a work on the *alamkāras* that would be suitable for Vaiṣṇavas who took seriously the instruction to remember Kṛṣṇa in everything that they did. Thus, though Jīva follows the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* almost word for word in its substance, he goes to his own works and those of other Vaiṣṇava colleagues for his examples. Even so, the great majority of the examples remain those either composed or selected by Viśvanātha Kavirāja, merely being "doctored" by Jīva in order to make them suitable for the Kṛṣṇa story, much in the same way that his uncle Rūpa did with a number of verses in the anthology, *Padyāvalī*.<sup>69</sup> Thus, verses from even such classical erotic authors as Amaru are made acceptable for the holy ears of renounced devotees by the changing of a word, by replacing the anonymous or secular lovers with the transcendental Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In this way, BRśeṣ is a less original work in its field than HNV.

A number of verses quoted from the GC indicate that BRśeṣ was compiled after that work.<sup>70</sup> The great majority of the some 18 quotes come from the *Pūrvacampū*. The other major sources of quotes are Kavi Karnāṭūra's *Alamkāra-kaustubha* and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Govinda-līlāmṛta*. Rūpa Gosvāmin himself has not been cited more than once, other than for the entire twelve verses of his *citrakāvya* found in the *Stavamālā*.

## 1.224 Poetry

Jīva wrote four books which can be classed as literary works. First among these is *Mādhavamahotsava*, Jīva's earliest dated work and possibly his earliest creative effort. Two editions of this poem have been published, the first by Haridas Das with a Bengali translation, the second an interesting critical edition by Purīdāsa.<sup>71</sup> It is a work of the *mahā-kāvya* genre, most of whose general conventions it respects. The work contains nine chapters with a total of 1192 verses; its last chapter written in a wide variety of metres. Jīva's affection for the name "Mādhava", discernable in the few original verses written for *BhāgS*, appears to be in imitation of Rūpa, who similarly preferred this name of Kṛṣṇa. Jīva later shows a tendency to the name "Gopāla".

The work is unique amongst Jīva's works in a number of respects. It does not show the didactic tendency which affects the GC and SKD: not a single quotation from *BhP* is anywhere to be found. Furthermore, it is the sole work in which Jīva overtly accepts elements of the *para'īyā'īlā*. In several places in *Mādhavamahotsava*, Jīva writes about Jaṭilā, Rādhā's mother-in-law, who is prominently featured in Rūpa Gosvāmin's plays and in Kṛṣṇadāsa's GLA. Though she is decidedly a minor character, the *sakhīs'* deceptions of her are given a cameo role in the story. In one passage (*MādhM* 4.83, the word *śvaśrū*, "mother-in-law", and Jaṭilā, the name of Abhimanyu's mother in Rūpa Gosvāmin's writings, indicates that Rādhā's marriage to Abhimanyu was considered acceptable subject matter for poetic description by Jīva at this time. A second passage is longer and describes not only how Candāvalī's friend Svāmālā, being envious of Rādhā's trysts with Kṛṣṇa, directs Jaṭilā and her son

(still unnamed) to Vṛndāvana, but how her plans are foiled by Vṛndā so that no disturbance comes to the meeting of the two lovers. This passage (6.6-16) is not found in one of the two manuscripts used to make the critical edition. It is not easy to determine whether it was later added or deleted in the course of Jīva's self-avowed recension of the work. It would seem more likely, in view of his frequent denial of the *parakīyā* position, that he deleted it. The other option, i.e. that some other person interpolated the passage seems unlikely; the language and style are consistent with the rest of the work.

"Because Jaṭilā came here with her son, Mādhava, not being too pleased, has gone with his friends [to hide] in the *mādhavī* bower. Now listen, Rādhā, how Śaivyikā practised the following deception on the old woman. The mental anguish, which has departed does nevertheless not go entirely if not related to a friend.

"[Śaivyā said,] 'Old woman! you have done well to see that your daughter-in-law is taken care of by Hari. But be careful to insure that he does not become separated from her, for he is easily distracted by the beauty of passing women. Therefore, you and your son should have a word with him who brings peace to those who have controlled their passions...'"<sup>72</sup>

Elsewhere (MādhM 1.62-5) Yaśodā, while telling Nāṇḍimukhī of her great affection for Rādhā, expresses her feeling of misfortune that Rādhā had not become her son's bride. She tells her that she feels as though Rādhā were in fact her daughter-in-law and sends her a message revealing her love for her.<sup>73</sup>

If these events are considered to take place on the plane of the *prakaṣaṭīkā*, the manifest pastimes, there is no contradiction to Jīva's

position of *svakīyāṭva* in the *aprakāṣaṭīkā*. Nevertheless, the contrast is marked when one compares this work with GC where the names of Abhimanyu and Jaṭilā, Kuṭilā (Rādhā's unpleasant sister-in-law) and her rather stupid husband are not mentioned at all. The only word Jīva uses in GC to refer to the gopīs' husbands is *patimanya* or "those who merely think themselves to be their husbands".

Gopālavirudāvalī<sup>74</sup> is another of the few works by Jīva without any *maṅgala* dedication to Rūpa and Sanātana. It shows great formal similarity to Rūpa's Govindavirudāvalī. The printed edition appears to be incomplete for only seven of the 24 metrical exercises found in Govindavirudāvalī have been executed. The commentator Rasikadāsa does not appear to have known a lengthier text. To suggest, as Jana does, that this too was written after GC cannot be substantiated simply on the basis of Jīva's use of *viruda*-type metres there.<sup>75</sup> Some discussion of these metres will be found in the analysis of GC prosody later in this thesis.

The Gopālacampū<sup>76</sup> itself was Jīva's most ambitious work. He states at the outset that it was written in an attempt to expand on the themes of Kṛṣṇa in a more poetic manner. Evidently, Jīva was aware that his numerous works of theology and exegesis were insufficient if he wished to achieve his ends in transforming the way that people viewed the activities of Kṛṣṇa. He basically had to rewrite the BhP's tenth book, which narrates the life of Kṛṣṇa. Jīva's view of Kṛṣṇa, based more on Sanātana's commentaries than on Rūpa's poetic works, needed a more literary presentation if it were to compete with Rūpa's.



Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja mentions the work twice in CC<sup>77</sup>, where it is called a "great hero of a book" (*grantha mahā śūra*), referring no doubt to its size as well as its theological daring. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's other comments are also interesting; he states that the book establishes the *nityalīlā*, which indeed it does by reuniting, in the words of the KṛṣṇaŚ, the *prakaṣa* and *aprakaṣa* activities of Kṛṣṇa, first by describing in detail Kṛṣṇa's return to Vraja, then his ascension into his heaven Goloka and his activities there. It would appear, then, that though Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja seems to have had an alternative view of the *nityalīlā*, as demonstrated in his GLA, he nevertheless did not see any contradiction between his ideals and those of JIva.

There is little doubt that *Samkalpakalpadruma*<sup>78</sup> is JIva's last oeuvre, for at its beginning he makes it clear that he is on his deathbed, or at least near the end of his life.<sup>79</sup> Like Raghunāthadāsa in his *Manahśikṣā*, JIva addresses his mind, instructing it to remember Kṛṣṇa in the way that he directs. The contents, i.e. the *nityalīlā*, appear suitable to a life-long *sādhaka* who is preparing to leave the mortal realm.

The book begins and ends with the same introductory verse as the GC (1.1. 5.6). GC is also referred to on two occasions. Indeed, SKD might be said to contain the essence of *Gopālacampū*, written in somewhat simpler language.

The format of the work is both interesting and original. The first chapter (*janmādilīlā*) is written in *anuṣṭubh* metre as a single syntactical entity, i.e. as a *mahākulaka*. The main clause in this 275 śloka long sentence is, "Kṛṣṇa entered the *nityalīlā*", at which point the metre changes

to *puṣpitāgrā*. Jīva cannot resist once again rehearsing the same arguments that have been covered in the *Gopālacampū*, and indeed many of the familiar verses are quoted, either in full or in *pratīka* form. The next two chapters, *nitya/līlā* (315 verses) and *nitya/līlāntargetasavartu-līlā* (131) are also written in the same *puṣpitāgrā* metre. The first of these chapters recapitulates a day in the life of Kṛṣṇa in Goloka, in terms similar to those found in GC i.2.<sup>80</sup> The *savartu/līlā* describes Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs wandering through the magical forest of Vṛndāvana in which the six seasons are manifest. The book concludes with ten verses (*phalanīṣpattī*) in the *sragdharā* metre, in which Jīva once again stresses his theological obsession. Jīva likens the work to a tree (*kalpadruma*); these four chapters are its roots, trunk, branches and fruit, respectively.<sup>81</sup>

### 1.23 Other possible works

A number of other books reportedly written by Jīva include a *Jāhnavāṣṭaka*,<sup>82</sup> *Vaiṣṇavavandanā*,<sup>83</sup> commentaries on *Dānakelikaumudī*, *Vidagdhamādhava*, etc. The authenticity of these and other works attributed to Jīva has been discussed by Jana (op. cit., 179-87). None have any relevance to GC.

### 1.3 The *svakīyā-parakīyā* controversy

According to Karpānanda, at some time after the GC had arrived in Bengal, a controversy arose in Yājñigrāma between Vyāsaśāstrya, Narottamadāsa, Rāmacandra Kavirāja, Govindadāsa Kavirāja, and other Vaiṣṇavas. The subject of contention was that of *sādhya* and *sādhana*. Narottama states in his *Premabhakticandrikā* that "that which is desired for in the course of

one's devotional practices is matched in the stage of perfection".<sup>84</sup> Jīva's GC appeared to contradict this by postulating a *svakīyā* rather than *parakīyā* state in the *nitya-līlā*. The dispute was referred to Jīva Gosvāmin for his final verdict and letters were received from him which supposedly settled the matter.<sup>85</sup> Whatever the truth of the Karṇānanda account, and it is undoubtedly true that the arrival of Gopālacampū provoked controversy amongst the disciples of Śrīnivāsa et al, Yadunandana's story is riddled with contradictions. Specifically, the letters from Jīva supposedly written to settle the controversy, in fact indicate that he had withheld the sending of Gopālacampū for further revision! The problem seems not to have been resolved by any statement of Jīva's, but rather by obscuring the issue, imputing a subtle motive to him by saying that the GC established a *suddhaparakīyā* or "purified illicit love".<sup>86</sup>

In Vivartavilāsa, a *sahajīyā* work written at least a century after Jīva's death, Jīva is said to have engaged in controversy with Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, according to which Jīva did not like CC because *parakīyā* was preached therein (*vākyata kariyā kene karile varṇane/ parakīyā bhāva kene kaile prakāśane//*). When the MS. was given to Jīva to read, he threw it into the Yamunā in anger. The book floated, however, showing that it had been accepted by the gods, and thus Jīva was forced to admit its greatness. Jīva was already dead when Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote CC, thus there is no possibility of this story's being true. It was written by *sahajīyā* supporters of the *parakīyā* doctrine to show not only that Jīva was wrong, but that he had admitted the error of his ways. Rumours of Jīva's disapproval began no doubt when his known promotion of the *svakīyā* position was coupled with the absence of his name from the list of those

who requested Kṛṣṇadāsa to write Caitanya's biography. The promulgators of these false histories were also unaware that JIva and Kṛṣṇadāsa's relations were sufficiently cordial that the latter was present at JIva's side when he was on his deathbed. Kṛṣṇadāsa gives credit to JIva in every chapter of Govindalīlāmṛta, a book supporting the *parakiyā* doctrine, for being among his inspirers.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, his *samādhi* is also situated in a prominent place at the Rādhā Dāmodara temple.

There is little doubt that JIva wrote to combat a growing opinion amongst the Gauḍīyas in Vraja who believed that Rūpa Gosvāmin was in favour of the *parakiyā* doctrine. Later Vrindavan authors, amongst them Rādhākṛṣṇa Gosvāmin and Rūpa Kavirāja, took great pains to refute the *svakiyā* doctrine. Rādhākṛṣṇa flies in the face of the evidence that JIva consistently <sup>promoted this doctrine</sup> in nearly all his works, including the largest (GC) and the last (SKD) <sup>by saying</sup> that <sup>he</sup> had altered his opinions to please a friend and disciple, Gopālādāsa. The argument is based unconvincingly on a verse found at the end of JIva's commentary to UN 1.20, where, after establishing the *svakiyā* doctrine at length, JIva states,

*svecchayā likhitaṃ kiñcid kiñcid atra parecchayā/  
yat pūrvaparasambaddhaṃ tat pūrvam aparaṃ param//21*

Some things have been written here by my own will,  
some at the behest of others,  
that which matches what I have said before  
and shall say again is the former,  
that which is not, the latter.

<sup>a similar verse</sup>  
Rādhākṛṣṇa further cites <sup>from KṛṣṇaS<sup>88</sup></sup> and the final passages of LaghuVaiṣṇavatoṣaṇI,<sup>89</sup> with the aim of proving JIva's insincerity

in presenting the dogmas found in Locanarocanī. In fact, these passages are little more than humble admissions of inadequacy in a style frequently found in devotional writings and cannot be said to make the same allusion that the Locanarocanī verse does.

Rādhākrṣṇa goes on to lay the blame for the rise of the *svakīyā* dogma on the disciple Kṛṣṇadāsa, JIva's successor at the Rādhā Dāmodara temple (and likely author of the *Laghugopālacampū*).<sup>90</sup> Rādhākrṣṇa denies that this Kṛṣṇadāsa had any authority to speak about JIva's real intentions, for he had made a false claim to be JIva's disciple, when in fact JIva had not taken any disciples, only pupils. Such arguments *ad personam* are not particularly relevant to the establishment of JIva's real intentions which can be understood only by an examination of the materials themselves. Rādhākrṣṇa does not, however, attempt to point out inconsistencies in JIva's writings, indeed he would be hard-pressed to do so. Rūpa Kavirāja, on the other hand, has made such an attempt at the beginning of his *Sārasaṅgraha*, but with only limited success.<sup>91</sup>

JIva's comments on the *BrahmaS*, his *Prītisandarbhā*, the *Locanarocanī* commentary on Rūpa's *Ujjvalanīlamanī*, *RādhāKṛṣṇārcanaśīpikā*, are all dominated by a defense of *svakīyāśvāda*. The first chapter of what is generally considered to be JIva's final work, *Saṃkalpakaḥpadrūpa*, also summarizes the activities of Kṛṣṇa's *avatāra* with an end to showing that he leads an eternal existence in the married state with the *gopīs*. The repeated elaboration of the same theme as well as the sheer magnitude of the effort that went into producing the *Gopālacampū* with its elaborate description of Kṛṣṇa's wedding to Rādhā, would certainly make it difficult

to argue inconsistency on JIva's part. That the *parakIyādvāda* was able to supplant JIva's *svakIyādvāda* amongst the Gauḍīyas was not due to want of effort on his part.

Radha Govinda Nath claims in his *Caitanyacaritāmṛter Bhūmikā* that the *Locanarocaṇī* verse does not appear in all manuscripts, without telling us which MSS he has examined.<sup>92</sup> If <sup>*an interpolation*</sup>, it is a very early one indeed, for Rādhākṛṣṇa lived and wrote in the mid-17th century, less than 50 years after JIva's death. In view of JIva's overwhelming consistency, however, it is far more likely that the verse is at most an apology for any inconsistency that might have slipped through despite his best efforts. As such it is similar in both form and substance to comparable verses of his predecessors. Compare, for instance, the following *śloka* found in the introduction of Sanātana's VT:

*svayaṃ vilikhitaṃ kiṃcid kiṃcid yogyair vilekhitaṃ/  
chidraṃ yad asti tac cātra śodhyaṃ Vaiṣṇavapaṇḍitaiḥ//*

Some things have been written by myself,  
worthy persons have instructed me to write others;  
whatever fault there may be in this work  
should be corrected by Vaiṣṇava scholars.

## Notes for chapter one.

1. In BhP, ed. Rāmanārāyaṇa Vidyāratna, Murshidabad: Rādhāramaṇa Press, 1896, at end of 90th chapter, 1572-4.
2. ed. Nandalāl Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta: Gauḍīya Mission, 1960, 25-8.
3. Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement, 108-9.
4. Vṛndāvaner chaya gosvāmī, 20-1.
5. Unpublished doctoral dissertation "Sacred Rapture: a study of the religious aesthetic of Rūpa Gosvāmin", University of Chicago, 1990, 275-9. Delmonico makes some interesting points about the originator of the family, Sarvajña Jagadguru, tentatively equating him with the court scholar of Śiṅgabhūpāla, Vidyādhara. *ibid*, 249-54.
6. Bāṇlā sāhityer itihāsa, i.1 (3rd edn), 302-3.137. The MS. is dated Śaka 1532 (i.e. A.D. 1609). Jīva was a life-long bachelor and reputedly initiated no disciples, though he had many students. It is thus something of a mystery that in the *dalil* of 1709 or whatever, the existence of a *parivāra* of Jīva is mentioned. This mystery is partially solved by Sen's discovery. There, Jīva's brother, unnamed (Sen suggests Rājendra) is said to have had a son named Mathureśa Sārvabhauma who left the family home in Kumārahaṭṭa to live in Malleśvara country, i.e. Viṣṇupura. He is said to have been a great devotee and gone to Vrindavan to die. No doubt his descendants went by the name of Jīvaparivāra. Sukumar Sen, Bāṇlā sāhityer itihāsa, i.1, Calcutta: 1963, etc., p.315-7.
7. The full text, translation and discussion of this document is found in Tarapada Mukherjee and J. C. Wright, "An early testamentary document in Sanskrit", BSOAS, XLII(2), 1979, 297-320.
8. Cf. Tarapada Mukherjee, "Mahāprabhvādi-prākāṣya-saṃvatsarāṇi", Sāhitya-pariṣat patrikā, 92.1, 1986, 1-10. City Palace Museum, Jaipur, acc. no. 5171, Cf. also Wright/Mukherjee, 314. Mukherjee compares and discusses two other documents, one from the VRI, a Bengali list found as an appendix to an MS. of Gopālasahasranāma, the other from the Jaipur City Palace Museum (acc. no. 5171). The colophon of our Gopālacampū MS a<sub>1</sub> (see next chapter) also has a portion of MPS (only that concerning Caitanya) in the same wording as found in most of these documents.

9. op. cit., 40.
10. ibid., 632-3.
11. Printed in Śāntilatā Rāya, *Vaiṣṇava sāhitya o Yadunandan*, Calcutta University, 1976. The work is dated 1606, but this is certainly false for it cites CC many times, written in 1615.
12. CC ii.19.36: *Anupama Mallika, tāṃra nāma Śrī Vallabha/ Rūpa Gosāñīra choṭa bhāi parama Vaiṣṇava//*. Kṛṣṇadāsa also uses the formula Anupama-Vallabha, which he has never done for Rūpa or Sanātana. In CC iii.4.30, Sanātana refers to his brother as Anupama, while addressing him as Vallabha in iii.4.34. The context shows clearly that the two names correspond to Jīva's father before and after his meeting with Caitanya.
13. BRK 1.665 (p.32). S. K. De also seems to have accepted the BRK version, Cf. op. cit., 109, fn.2.
14. CC ii.1.183.
15. See note for GC 1.1.2, in translation appendix to this thesis.
16. In the conclusion to *LaghuVT*: *ādiḥ ŚrīlālaSanātanas tadanujāḥ ŚrīRūpanāmā tataḥ ŚrīVallabhanāmadheyavalito nirvidya ye rājyateḥ*.
17. The History of Bengal, Dacca, 1948, p.153.
18. There is a slight possibility that their positions were hereditary, though BRK (1.580-3, p.28) says that the brothers were widely known as learned and wise men and were recommended to the Shah as intelligent and reliable assistants. Sanātana's birth is given in MPS as 1488-9, which would make him only 27 when he met Caitanya. His date of death is given as Thurs. 30/6/1558, though other, similar documents suggest 1568. Rūpa is said to have been born in 1493-4, which would mean he was only 22 when he met Caitanya. His date of death is given as Wed. 4/8/1568.
19. In October-November of 1515, Rūpa and Vallabha met Caitanya in Prayag. After an unspecified length of time in Vrindavan, the two brothers left, intending to go to Puri to see Caitanya, taking the route through Bengal. While in Bengal, Vallabha died. Rūpa continued on to Puri where he arrived shortly before the Rathayatra festival, i.e. in June-July. It is generally taken that this would have been the year 1516. If so, the very latest possible date for Jīva's birth must be taken as the beginning of 1517. Cf. CC ii.19.239 and iii.1.32-34. An



element of doubt does enter into this latter dating, however, for Kṛṣṇadāsa does not indicate the length of time that these two brothers spent in Braj after meeting Caitanya at Allahabad. Rūpa is said to have started writing *Vidagdhamādhava* on the way to Purī, but the colophon of that work indicates that it was completed in 1533, i.e. 16 years after its commencement according to this calculation! One is further disturbed by this dating for it makes Jīva's period of greatest creativity, i.e. the time of writing the ambitious *Gopālacampū*, when he was nearly 70 years old.

20. The English translation of seven land deed transfers naming Jīva and Raghunāthadāsa at Arith between 18 Sept. 1546 and 25 Sept. 1577 are found in an Appendix to Jana, 1970: 295-8. The only comment given by the editor is that these were translated at the Mathura court from the Farsi documents held at Radha Kund.
21. If one takes MPS's *gārhasthyaṃ [varṣa] 24* to mean that Jīva came to Braj in his 24th year (i.e. after his twenty-third birthday), as seems less likely, he could have arrived in Braj in 1546, in which case the purchasing of land would have had to be one of his first acts upon arrival. MPS also states that Caitanya spent 24 years in householder life when in fact he was 23 years, 11 months old when he took his vows of renunciation. This unfortunately does not resolve the question.
22. Sarker, (1932), 3.
23. Mukherjee and Wright, op.cit., 315.
24. This is the ancient name for Halisahar, which neighbours Naihāṭī on the River Hooghly and can be considered the same town. Naihāṭī was the home of Jīva's grandfather Mukunda. Jīva was probably born at Rāmakeli, where his father and uncles lived. Śrīvāsa Paṇḍita had a home there. Nityānanda's home in Khardaha is about 10 km. to the south, also on the Hooghly.
25. *Bāṇī sāhityer itihāsa*, 2nd edn., Calcutta: Eastern Publishers, 1978; 317. Sen appears to have changed his mind on this point in the third edition of his work, where he says that the name *Gopāla* refers to Jīva's brother. Though we have only seen the text as Sen gives it, *Gopāla* appears to be Jīva's name, while the brother's name is irretrievable. Its text in corrupt Sanskrit reads as follows:

*Śrīvallabhasya dvau putrau jātāu... Gopāla Śrījīva nāmā vivāhadivase  
ŚrīVṛndāvanam āgatya pītṛvyayoś caranāntike vāsaṃ cakāra..*

26. CC iii.4.213ff.
27. BRK 1.754-74, 34-5.
28. op. cit., 111, note 5.
29. op. cit., 151.
30. Sundarānanda Vidyāvinoda, *Acintyabhedābheda*, Calcutta: Gauḍīya Mission, 1951, *parīśiṣṭa*, 56.
31. 5.1627-70, 181f.
32. Entwistle, A. W., *Vraja, Centre of Krishna Pilgrimage*, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1987, 397.
33. Stated at the end of Jīva's *LaghuVT*. *śatasaptatimanau pūrṇeyam  
ṭippanī śubhā/ saṃkṣiptā yugaśūnyāgrapañcaikagaṇite tathā//*
34. *Vaiṣṇavavandanā*, in *Bhaktitattvasāra*, (ed.) Rasikalal Chandra, Calcutta: 1850.
35. ed. Haridas Das, Calcutta, 1946, 214. *Rādhādāmodaro devaḥ  
ŚrīRūpakeraṇīrmitaḥ/ Jīvagosvāmine dattaḥ ŚrīRūpeṇa kṛpābhinā//*  
BRK 4.286, p.85.
36. (ed.) Puridāsa, Calcutta: Śacīnātha Rāya, 1947; 205. *Harināmāmṛta-  
saṃjñam yad artham etat prakāśayāmāse/ ubhayatra ca mama mitram sa  
bhavatu Gopāladāśākhyaḥ//*
37. (ed.) Haridāsa Śāstrī, Vrindavan, n.d., 9.48, p.60-1.
38. VRI ser. 9, acc. 1. Mukherjee-Wright (1979: 315) and Mukherjee ("Caitanyacaritāmṛter racanāṅkāla evaṃ Vrajer Gauḍīya sampradāya", *Sāhitya Pariṣat patrikā*, 87.1, 1987: 37) give the date as 1590. Mukherjee (1987) also states that only the petition from Rājā Toḍar Mall was sent and that there was no response from Akbar. Irfan Habib and Mukherjee in a paper presented to the Indian Historical Congress at Goa in Nov. 1987, "Akbar and the temples of Mathura and its environs", corrected this date as well as the reading of the document (93-4). In a later paper presented by Irfan Habib ("The Chaitanya Gosains of Vrindavan in the 16th and 17th centuries: a documentary history" (typescript), presented to the Govindadeva Temple Seminar, Vrindavan, April, 1991), Rūpa Gosvāmin's name has been added from a previously undecipherable portion of the MS. Thus the contents given there (p.29) are as follows "it was ordered therefore that the *adhikāra*

of the *devalas* of Madan Mohan and Gobind dev be entrusted to him 'as it had been given to him also by Rūp Gosā'in', he being thus entitled to receive all the offerings (*khairāḍ*)."

Sunderānanda (op.cit., *pariśiṣṭa* p. 57) cites a book *Bhaktakalpadruma* which states that Jīva actually met Akbar and settled a dispute over which of India's sacred rivers was superior, the Gaṅgā or the Yamunā. When pressed to take a reward Jīva asked only for writing paper from Agra and some text books from Benares. The cotton paper given by the emperor was supposedly the first of its kind to be used in Braj.

39. Tarapada Mukherjee, op. cit., (1987), 32. Engl. trans. from Mukherjee/Wright, op.cit., 318. The text of Raghunātha's testament, given in verse, is as follows: *saṃvat somasamudraṣoḍaśamite śvetāśvayuk saptaṃI-saṃyukte kavirājato 'ntasamaye saṃlekhyā patraṃ mayā/ andhaŚrīRaghunāthadāśalaghunā Śrīkuṇḍasevaiṣaṇā Jīvārādhyapadāmbujeṣu nihitaṃ sarvaṃ matatvāspadam//* It may be noted that *Jīvārādhyapadāmbujeṣu* could also be a direct reference to Jīva.
40. Svanīyamadaśaka 9, in *Stavāvali: mariṣye tu preṣṭhe sarasī khalu ŚrīJīvādīpuraṭaḥ//*
41. Irfan Habib, 1991, p.29.
42. Premavilāsa, 138. BRK 4.402, p.90.
43. BRK 4.424, p.90.
44. Śyāmānandaprakāśa, For a good, though non-critical resume of the story of Śyāmānanda, see Steven Rosen, *The lives of the Vaiṣṇava saints*, New York: Folk Books, 1991; 121-45. BRK tells essentially the same story, though making no mention of any conflict (6.48ff).
45. BRK 9.266, p.389; 14.25, p.633.
46. BRK 9.107, p.384.
47. *Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal, 1486-1900*, Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1986; 213.
48. *ibid.*, 216.
49. Primary sources for Jāhnavā's visits to Braj are *Muralīvilāsa* 15-17, *Narottama-vilāsa*, ch.6, p.9, PV, ch. 14, 189-193; BRK, 386-8, 632-4. BRK 11 describes Jāhnavā's visit to Braj. She is said to have heard the *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* from Jīva. BRK 11.201-2.
50. op. cit., 220.
51. op. cit., 112.

52. The additions are mostly in the form of quotations, many of which would (ed.) Cinmayi Chatterjee, Calcutta: Jadavpur University, 1986.
53. *Anyapariseṣapustakāntaraṃ cātra vartate, tad yadi mṛgyate, tad ājñāptavyam. Samprati Śrīmaduttaragopālacampūr likhitāsti kintu vicārayitavyāstīti niveditam.*
54. (ed.) Sitanath Goswami, Calcutta: Jadavpur University, 1967, 3-5: *Jayatām Mathurābhūmau ŚrīleRūpaSanātanau/ yau vilekhyatas tattvaṃ jñāpakau pustikāṃ imāṃ// ko 'pi tadbāndhavo bhaṭṭo dekṣiṇadvijavamsajah/ vivicya vyalikhaḍ granthaṃ likhitāḍ vṛddhavaishnavaiḥ// tasyādyam granthanālekhaṃ krāntavyutkrāntakhaṇḍitam/ paryālocyātha paryāyam kṛtvā likhati Jīvakah//* The last of these verses is found at the beginning of each of the other five volumes, following this verse: *tau santoṣayatā santau ŚrīleRūpaSanātanau Dēkṣiṇātyena Bhaṭṭena punar etad vivicyate//*
55. PrītiS, (ed.) Cinmayi Chatterjee, Calcutta: Jadavpur University, 1986; 157: *tatra vistaraśaṅkāṭāṃ yā yā vyākhyā na viśṛtā/ sā Śrīdeśamītippanyāṃ dṛśyā rasam abhīpsubhiḥ//*
56. *yasya brahmeti saṃjñāṃ kvacid api nigame yāti cinmātrasattāpy aṃśo yasyāṃśakaiḥ svair vibhavati vaśayann eva māyāṃ pumāś ca/ ekaṃ yasyaiva rūpaṃ vilasati paramavyomni Nārāyaṇākhyam sa ŚrīKṛṣṇo vidhattāṃ svayam iha bhagavān prema tatpādebhājām//*
57. RKAD (ed.) Haridāsa Śāstrī, 2nd edn., Gaurābda 462 = A.D. 1948. p.1: *āstāṃ tāvat Lakṣmīvijetṛguṇagagopīganapradhānatayā ŚrīKṛṣṇasānderbhāḍau nirṇītā, atra ca nirṇeṣyamāṇā svayam bhagavataḥ ŚrīKṛṣṇasya svayam Lakṣmīrūpā. pp.17ff = KṛṣṇaS 185-6.; p.23, prāha yadi tāḥ Kṛṣṇasya nityapriyāḥ tarhi kathaṃ parakīyātvarūpam, tatrāpi putrādisaṃyoktṛtvam śrūyate. Satyam, tad rūpaṃ māyikam iti VaiṣṇavatoṣaṇInāṃnyāṃ śrīdeśamītippanyāṃ, Kṛṣṇasānderbhāḍau pramitam iti viśārabhayān nātra prepañcitam; BrSc, 2 = KṛṣṇaS 116-7.*
58. *gaurāśyāmarucojjvalābhir amalair akṣor vilāśotsavair nṛtyantībhir aśeṣamādanakalāvaidegadyadigdhātmaabhiḥ/ anyonyepriyatāsudhā-parimalastomonmadābhiḥ sadā RādhāMādhavamādhurībhir abhitaś cittam mamākramyatām//*
59. (ed.) Haridāsa Śāstrī, Vrindavan: ŚrīGadādhara-gaurāṅga Press, 1981, 2: *yad yac ChrīKṛṣṇasānderbhe viśarāḍ vinirūpitam/ atra tat punar āmrśya vyākhyātum sprśyate mayā//*

60. Compare comments on verse 5 (pp.27-38) and KṛṣṇaS 116-7.
61. Comment on verse 4: *viśeṣajijñāsāyāṁ Kṛṣṇārcanadīpikā draṣṭavyā*.
62. GC ii.37v79 is fully quoted under BRS iii.4.76. One verse quoted in Jīva's comments on UN 15.134 is introduced as being from Gopālacampū. This verse cannot be found in any extant edition of GC. On the other hand, six other verses from GC are cited without any mention of their source at the end of Jīva's long commentary on *samṛddhimān sambhogah* in which he argues for Kṛṣṇa's return to Vraja and his marriage to the gopīs. There are altogether five such verses in long metres are interspersed with three others of the same type not traceable to any other work, plus a sixth after another brief prose interlude. GC verses cited are i.15v63, ii.35v88, 36v15, 37v129.
63. The introductory verse is a prayer to Caitanya: *ŚrīGopālatāpanīya-śruteḥ tīkām śubhāvahām/ kurve ŚrīKṛṣṇacaitanyaśaktyā ŚrīKṛṣṇa-vallabhām//* The two verses at the beginning of the Uttaratāpanī are rather unusual and merit attention. In them, Kṛṣṇa is addressed as *Śrīmatprabodha*. This unusual address to Kṛṣṇa could only have been used by someone with the rather unusual Vaiṣṇava name of Prabodhānanda, desperately trying to find a connection.
64. Comp. for instance, Sukhabodhinī 2.81 (p.20) which adds the telling words *Golokākhye Vṛndāvanasyaiva prakāśaviśeṣe nijadhāmni* which explains *svapade* in Kṛṣṇavallabhā, 2.100, p.68. The rest of the two commentaries is identical.
65. Cf. Jana, op. cit., 167.
66. (ed.) Purīdāsa, Calcutta: Śacīnātha Rāya, 1947.
67. (ed.) Haridas Das, Haribol Kutir, Nabdwip, 1942.
68. Published with *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa*, (ed.) Bhaktivilāsa Tīrtha, Māyāpura: Caitanaya Maṭha, 1969. This commentary was left incomplete by the author and finished in A.D. 1846 (Bengali year 1253) by Gopīcaraṇa Dāsa.
69. A typical example is Pv 190, where *rāmā* from a verse by Govardhana is transformed to *Rādhā*. See also 196, 216, 219 etc.
70. GC i.2v4 (p56), 12v11 (p79), 17v27 (p21), 17v29 (p50), 17v43 (p23), 21v51 (p20), 23v8 (p27), 23v23 (p17), 24v51 (p48), 29v15 (p24), 29v20 (p15), 29v23 (p24), 29v25 (p23), 29v59 (p14,24), 31v35 (p34), 31v45 (p51), 33v61 (p84); GC ii.5v76 (p67), 8v21 (p48).

71. (ed. with Bengali trans.) Haridas Das, Nabadwip: Haribol Kutir, 1942; (ed.) Purīdāsa, Calcutta: Haridāsa Śarma, 1953.
72. *ibid.*, 42-3; *praṇayitām yuvayor avalokitum sahasutātra yato Jaṭilāgatā/ tadanaṭipremanāḥ sakhi Mādhavaḥ sakhibhir aid iha mādHAVIKāgrhe// atha śṛṇu tvam idam sakhi Śaivyikā yad atanoc chaṭhatām jaratīm anu/ akathitam suhr̥di svamano 'sukham gatam api pratarām na jahāti hi// Jarati sādhu kṛtam Hariṇā 'vitām iha vidhāya mahe svavadhūm tvayā/ api tu māstu tayā sa tadantikāt yuvatimohanadrg vyavadhīyatām// tvam anusūnur amūm nijaśāntatām śamijane prathayantam idam vada/ aham api tvam api vyavadhāyite mahasi Kṛṣṇa vasāva vadhūm anu//*
73. MādhM 1.62: *Hanta Nāndi bata madvadhūpadād Rādhikāpagamitāpi vedhasā/ tatpratītivibhavaṃ sadā gatā manmanaḥ sthalaṃ asau virājate//*; Yaśodā's message to Rādhā (1.65, 67): *bhaṅgureṇa vidhinā svabālakālokanam kṣaṇikam eva me 'prathi/ Kaṛtideyī, bhavatī ca dūragā putri tena kaṭhinātmanā 'ghaṭi// tvam sute paravatī guroḥ kule, cetasā satatam didṛkṣyase/ tam dhig astv ahaha yena nirmame prema bhūmani vicārasūnyatā//*
74. (ed.) Haridas Das, Nabadwip: Haribol Kutir, 1941.
75. *op.cit.*, 161.
76. For a complete bibliography of different printed editions and MSS. of GC, see the next chapter.
77. CC iii.4.221; ii.1.39.
78. (ed.) Śacīnandana Gosvāmī, Vrindavan: Devakīnandana Press, 1907.
79. *Vṛndāraṇye jaraṇ jīvaḥ kaścit prāha manaḥ prati/ mriyase sāmprataṃ mūḍhaḥ gūḍhām etāṃ sudhāṃ piba//1.4; tāṃ pibann eva he svānta svam ca gokulasaṅgatam/ sevāṃ ca vāñchitāṃ kāñcid bhāvabhedaṇa bhāvaya//*
80. See translation in appendix.
81. *mūlaṃ janmādīlīśya skandhaḥ syān nityalīlatā/ śākhās tattadṛtuślokāḥ phalaṃ premamayī sthitiḥ//11*
82. Madras Oriental MS. Library, 4 vol page: 4471-2, MS. 3053x
83. Printed in B. B. Majumdar, Caitanya carita upadān, Calcutta University, 1934, appendix 1a, 101-112.
84. *sādhane bhāvibe yāhā, siddhadehe pāibe tāhā, sādhyā sādhaner ei vicāra*
85. Kṛṣṇānanda ch 5, 92-97.
86. Kṛṣṇānanda 5.6-11. e.g. *suddha parakīyā līlā granthete likhila/ tāhā*

*dekhi prabhura baḍe sukha upajila// ŚrīJīvera gambhīrāśaya nā bujhiyā/  
bahiḥ śloka vākhānaye svākīyā baliyā//*

87. (ed.) Haridas Das, Nabadwip: Haribol Kutir, 1957: *ŚrīJīvasaṅgodgate*.
88. §181; *yad etat tu mayā kṣudratareṇa taralāyitam/ kṣamatām tat  
kṣamāśīlaḥ śrīmadān Gokulavallabhah//*.
89. *Ilāstavaṣ ṭippanī ca seyaṁ vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī/ yā saṁkṣiptā mayā  
kṣudratareṇāpi tadājjīyā// abuddhyā buddhyā vā yad iha mayakālekhi  
sahasā tathā yad vācchedi dvayam api saheran param api/ aho kiṁ vā  
yad yan manasi mama visphoritam abhūd amībhis tan mātram yadi balam  
alam śaṅkitakulaiḥ//*
90. See notes in chapter 2.
91. *Asya svecchākr̥tavyākhyā sevyaṭe 'sau mayā sudhā/ śrīmalLocanarocanyām  
tadkr̥dbhir yāsu sañcitā//* (1.30). Rūpa Kavirāja goes on to cite Jīva's  
commentary on UN 14.154 where Jīva speaks of the *anurāga* stage of  
love where the sacrifices one make's for love's sake appear to be  
pleasure. Jīva there talks about the gopīs' desertion of their religious  
principles and families for Kṛṣṇa's sake as being a case in point, but  
does not in any way contradict anything he has to say elsewhere about  
the gopīs have an eternal *svakīyā* relation with Kṛṣṇa in Goloka.
92. 4th edn., Calcutta: Prācyavāṇī Mandir, 1958; 377. Nath makes no  
references to specific MS. materials, thus diminishing the weight of  
his claim.

## Chapter II

### Notes on the materials used in the study of Gopālacampū.

#### 2.0 Introduction

Jīva Gosvāmin's Gopālacampū has been published in India several times since the first edition of 1891. In conducting research on this work, I have had the opportunity to look at all of these editions as well as having access to a number of MSS of GC. It has been necessary to make a survey of these texts and account for the differences which are found in them. I will start by describing the manuscripts and the various printed editions and then make an assessment of their comparative value, giving a sample of a comprehensive critical reading of some of the text. A critical reading of the first two chapters on the basis of two MSS from the Vrindavan Research Institute can be found in an appendix to this thesis.

#### 2.1 Manuscripts of GC in the Vrindavan Research Institute

##### 2.11 MSS not used

The only manuscripts used in this research are those which have been made available through the Vrindavan Research Institute. In the four volumes of its catalogue<sup>1</sup>, a total of 17 different items are said to contain the Gopālacampū either in whole or in part. Microfilms #84 and #85 made by the VRI contain the bulk of this material and these were made available to me through K. C. Bhatia, the current director, and Prof. J. Clifford Wright of SOAS. Those items which were not filmed were later made available in photocopy form. Of the MSS identified in the VRI catalogue as being of Gopālacampū, only one, #5770, was found by the researchers



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there to contain irrelevant material. Upon inspection of the other MSS, however, many of them were also found to be such. These are listed here accompanied by the reasons that they were not used in the current research.

(a) #5967 appears to be a copy of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Haṃsadūta*. The manuscript is in poor condition, is cluttered with multitudinous margin notes. It is missing the first folio and approximately three from the end.

(b) MSS #2776-7 (on reel #85) and #5760, 5765-6 (given in photocopy format) are all, with the exception of a few miscellaneous folios, written in the same hand. They appear to form the notes for a work in progress called, tantalizingly, *Laghugopālacampū*. This work is most probably that of a disciple of Jīva's<sup>2</sup> who envisaged a type of *aṣṭakāḥIyasmaranapaddhati* of the *nitya/īḥ* using verses from *Gopālacampū*, *Samkalpakalpadruma* and writings of the other Gosvamins. It is not known whether this work exists anywhere in completed format.<sup>3</sup>

(c) #2761 is listed as a complete edition of GC in the catalogue, but is in fact only a summary of its contents up to GC ii.2.59, including a selection of verses. It is introduced by the author as a *cūṛṇikā* (resume) of *Gopālacampū*. The writer has dispensed with the first two chapters by saying that they describe the *nitya/īḥ* in terms similar to those found in SKD.

(d) #5966 is a short manuscript of eight folios only, containing GCP 3, but even there two folios are missing. MS #9320 is also very fragmented; it

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contains only the portion from GC 1.3.61-4.10. MS #12341 contains the bulk of GC 1.4, but again has two folios missing.

(e) #5961 contains GC 11.1.1-11.27 in a neat and professional Devanāgarī hand. Although this manuscript could undoubtedly have served effectively in the work of textual criticism for the Uttaracampū, such an undertaking lay outside the scope of this thesis.

2.12 Manuscripts used to establish the authentic text of GC.

(a<sub>1</sub>). #4160, available on Microfilm 85, is in a dense Bengali hand showing characteristics of the Manipuri or Assamese script. It has 169 folios of the Pūrvacampū only. It is complete though the folios have been mixed up, several chapters of the Kaiśoravilāsa (chapters 14-21) having been placed before the Bālyavilāsa (chapters 3-13). Both this and the <sup>below</sup> MS have margin comments which are for the most part identical. The scribe writes the following in a colophon at the end of GC 1.33: *Śrīhṛt [-mat?] Vṛndāvanadāsagosvāmījī yasya pustako'yaṁ (sic) svākṣaram idaṁ ŚrīKṛṣṇacarāṇadāsasya. ŚrīVṛndāvane Śrīveṇukūpera (sic) kuñje 12 Vaiśākhe sampūrṇam astu jaya jaya Vaiṣṇavagosāñi.* Unfortunately no date is given for its transcription. From a critical reading of GC 1.1-2, found in the appendix to this thesis, it can be shown that the text of this MS is somewhat better than that of a<sub>2</sub>. Many of the faults found in a<sub>2</sub> are also in the text of a<sub>1</sub> but have been corrected in the margins, not always by the same hand. Both these MSS are more accurate than any of the printed editions described below.

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#4161, made available to me in a Xerox copy version, is in a professional hand in Bengali script. It is more densely written than the last MS, containing more letters to the line (though fewer lines to a page). Since it contains only the Uttaracampū, it seems to form a single set with the previous manuscript. The scribe gives his name on the last folio as Muralidhara Śarma but gives no further information about himself or the date of transcription.

(a2) #2763, available to us on Microfilm 85, is in Devanāgarī script, has 631 folios, is in good condition and complete, containing both the Pūrva- and Uttaracampūs. The scribe has written at the end of the second chapter of Pūrvacampū: *saṃvat 1741 varṣe āṣāḍhe kṛṣṇe pakṣe trayodaśyām ravivāsare pūrṇam*. The date is equivalent to A.D. Sunday, 29 June, 1686.

(a3) #2762, in Devanāgarī letters in a very legible large hand, is an incomplete manuscript containing the first two chapters of GCP only. The name of the scribe is added (Haricand) and the date of transcription given as V.S. 1747, i.e. A.D. 1691.

(a4) #9321 contains GCP 1.1-5.6 only. These last two MSS have been of limited assistance, primarily because of their limited length, but also because they are less correct than a1 or a2.

### 2.13 Other Manuscripts

In one of the first major efforts at cataloguing extant Sanskrit MSS, Rajendralal Mitra reported the existence of a Gopālacampū as entry 72 in the first volume of his Notices.<sup>4</sup> This work was ascribed to a certain

Jīvarāja Dīkṣita, said to be of the latter part of the seventeenth century. The colophon is quoted by Mitra and in it we find a description of the author's ancestry and what appears to be a statement that this is a work called *Campūvihāra*, a commentary on his own work *Gopālacampū* rather than that work itself.<sup>5</sup> This is confirmed by another verse, identified as the last one of this work, which again repeats this title (*Campūvihāra*) in the form of a pun about the nature of *campū* literature in general.<sup>6</sup>

In a later volume of the same catalogue, a report appears on a work called *Rasavatī* by the same Jīvarāja. This appears to be another commentary on *Gopālacampū*. However, this time it becomes clear that this *Gopālacampū* is not a work on the life of Kṛṣṇa (as may already have been made clear by the invocatory stanza dedicated to the moon<sup>7</sup>), but about a certain king named *Gopāla*.<sup>8</sup> It may thus be concluded that all these works by Jīvarāja have absolutely no relation whatsoever to the subject of this study.

Listed in the catalogue of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal<sup>9</sup> as MS #5422 is another *Gopālacampū*, said to be by the above-mentioned Jīvarāja. The text is incomplete, starting from folio 49. Upon examination of the information given in the catalogue, it is clear that this MS in fact contains Jīva Gosvāmin's *Gopālacampū*, 1.17-30.

The mistaken ascription to Jīvarāja was then perpetuated in the BORI catalogue, which also possesses a fragmentary manuscript of Jīva Gosvāmin's GC. In fact, of all the MSS described in the new *Catalogus Catalogorum* as being the work of Jīvarāja, only the first one, given by Mitra, actually is. The rest are all the work of that name by Jīva

Gosvāmin. As far as JIvarāja's work is concerned, it was in the hands of a private collector in 1871 and its current whereabouts are unknown.

As with the two MSS of JIva Gosvāmin's Gopālacampū mentioned above, the majority of other MSS described in the New Catalogus Catalogorum are also fragmentary. The MS sources which have been made available for this study come from Vrindavan where JIva Gosvāmī lived and wrote and where his works were studied. Thus, though close examination of the various other extant MSS was not possible in the course of this research, it is felt that little could have been added by such an examination other than perhaps to reconstruct the procedures of the various editors involved. This is not felt to be a particular fruitful area for investigation as shall be demonstrated in 2.3 below.

## 2.2 Printed editions of Gopālacampū.

The various printed editions have been listed here in chronological order. They have been given capital letters as sigla by which they will be referred to in any critical discussions of the text. The sigla for their MS sources shall be referred to by the corresponding lower case letters.

### 2.21 B

(ed.) Rām Nārāyaṇ Vidyāratna, Murshidabad, 1891; contains the Sanskrit commentary of Māḍogrāmanivāsī Nityānanda Vamśāvatamśa Vīracandra Gosvāmin (referred to as T for *ṭīkā* ).

It would appear that this edition of GC was never completed, ending with 1.9v24. Its readings are at the greatest variance with those found in the

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available MSS and the other printed editions. It is evident by a comparison with the next edition below that Vidyāratna used the manuscript of the commentator as his unique source.

B's readings, corresponding to d<sub>3</sub> referred to below, not only differ most widely from all other sources, but are also demonstrably the least correct. The best example of this is in the song found in GC i.6.57 where the alternative reading is found uniquely in B and is riddled with metrical and other flaws. Numerous other examples of such passages can be found (e.g. GC i.2v4, 6v4, 6v74, 7v6, etc.) and thus it can only be concluded that the MS available to Vīracandra Gosvāmin was very old and damaged and in these particular instances at least, the reconstruction of a lost portion of text was rather unsuccessful. Further confirmation of this statement can be found in the sample critically edited text given in 2.4 below.

The commentary is by Vīracandra Gosvāmin, a member of the Nityānanda family from Māṇḍa or Māḍo in Burdwan, West Bengal. He was the son of Kīśorīmohana Gosvāmin and the well-known Raghunandan Gosvāmin, author of the Bengali poems Rāmarasāyana and Rādhā Mādhavodaya, was his step-brother. His commentary on the GC was completed in 1800 Śāka (A.D. 1878) <sup>10</sup> and was printed in full in 1907-1910. (See D below.)

Other than this commentary, Vīracandra also wrote one on Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī which was published with a translation by the same editor. S. K. De <sup>11</sup> remarks that this commentary "is not particularly valuable, being the work of a very recent author". He goes on to point out several errors made by him in his gloss of the Padyāvalī, as well as being rather scathing

in his criticism of the editing of the printed text. Similar criticisms could be levelled here on both counts. Rām Nārāyaṇ Vidyāratna undoubtedly performed a great service in making the first concerted effort to present the entire canon of Gauḍīya literature in printed form, but in his rush to complete such a great task, for the most part single-handedly, he understandably was subject to error.

Though T occasionally coincides with the margin notes described in MSS a<sub>1</sub> and a<sub>2</sub> above, because his text gives him the most misleading readings, he often shows a mistaken understanding of the author's original intent. He has been most helpful where no margin notes are given in the VRI MSS, but I have rarely found him to be more authoritative than they are.

## 2.22 C

(ed.) Kṛṣṇacandra Bhāgavatabhūṣaṇa and Śacīnandana Gosvāmin, in Devanāgarī characters, "Pracīnaṭippaṇṭsameta", pub. Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārī, Vrindavan: Devakīnandana Press, V.S. 1961 (A.D. 1905). This text is referred to in Puridāsa's edition as *gha*.

This text corresponds more closely than B to the MSS which are found in the VRI. The *pracīnaṭippaṇṭ* found in this text in the form of footnotes is more or less identical with the margin notes found both in a<sub>1</sub> and a<sub>2</sub> listed above. These notes are generally valuable. Though infrequent as well as terse, they often pinpoint the most obscure vocabulary and from time to time clarify the antecedents of pronouns. The editor (S), occasionally supplements these with variant readings, which are found to be in the majority unique (viz. 19.23, 19v8, 19v17). Most of these variants

are relatively minor (e.g. *lakṣyate* for *labhyate*, *yaḥ* for *naḥ*) and more or less demonstrably incorrect.

## 2.23 D

(ed.) Rāsa Bihārī Sāṅkhyatīrtha, Cossimbazaar, 1907-1910, with Sanskrit *ṭīkā* of Vīracandra Gosvāmin (T) and Bengali translation in four volumes. This is Puridāsa's *ḥa*.

This is the major complete printed edition of the *Gopālacampū* and first complete translation into a modern vernacular. The editor has availed himself of four MSS which he has identified by nickname, but given limited supplementary data. There is no explanatory introduction. He names his sources as follows:

- (d<sub>1</sub>) Ānanda (no further information given)
- (d<sub>2</sub>) Gaura, i.e. the MS of Gaura Kīśora Śīromaṇi of Katwa. 12
- (d<sub>3</sub>) Māṇḍa, i.e. the manuscript of Vīracandra Gosvāmin (≅ B above).
- (d<sub>4</sub>) Vṛndāvana (no further information, perhaps = C above).

It seems that since the editor had committed himself to the use of Vīracandra Gosvāmin's commentary, he was often obliged to use the commentator's readings (d<sub>3</sub>), though it must be said that T occasionally appears to be reading something which is not found in any of the MSS. Due to the editorial effort, however, the text of D is already far closer to the VRI MS readings. By comparing D to B, which we know he used, and C, which he probably used, it is evident that the editor of this edition did not draw attention to all the variant readings. In certain cases, he indicates a variant or additional reading (or conjecture?) by putting it into the text within enclosed brackets. In such cases he does not indicate



which of the MSS is his source. An examination of the readings of the four source texts used in this edition showed that d<sub>3</sub> had the most consistently idiosyncratic and faulty readings, often barely defensible as choices for the root text. In most cases, the three other MSS were unanimous in their disagreement with it, though d<sub>1</sub> frequently coincided with d<sub>3</sub>. It is suspected, however, that d<sub>1</sub> may have been an incomplete MS as readings from it cease to be given in later chapters of GC i.

#### 2.24 P

(ed.) Akīrcana Purīdāsa, Dhākā: Śacīnātha Rāya, 1947. The text is in Bengali characters, with critical apparatus making reference to three manuscripts and two printed editions.

This is the source book with which I started my work, and it is from this edition that I owe my numbering system, i.e. a different series of numbers for verse and prose passages. These are indicated by the presence of either a "v" for verses or a period "." for prose sections.

The editor claims to have used three manuscripts in establishing his text, as well as the two printed editions C and D above, referred to as *gha* and *ṇa* respectively. Purīdāsa has given the following information about his sources:

- (p<sub>1</sub>) Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad #1629. According to the catalogue, this MS is lacking numerous portions. <sup>13</sup>. This is Purīdāsa's *ka*.
- (p<sub>2</sub>) Varāhanagara's Pāṭha Bāḍī library MS #392 = Purīdāsa's *kha*.
- (p<sub>3</sub>) Vanamālilāl Gosvāmin's library in Vrindavan = Purīdāsa's *ga*.

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Unfortunately, the presence of a critical apparatus in this edition is the only evidence of the scientific application of the critical method. The editor has given no introduction describing his method, nor given an extensive description of his materials or conclusions about their relative merits.

It would appear that Purīdāsa primarily used the printed editions C and D. An examination of the choices made by the editor in a test sampling of three chapters (GCP 26-7-8), revealed that where C and D disagreed, P chose D readings on 69% of occasions. An impartial study of the readings, however, shows that C (corrected by comparison to a<sub>1</sub> and a<sub>2</sub>) has the best reading in at least 85% of the cases.<sup>14</sup> Again, this study revealed that many variants were not noted, even when grammatically correct. P makes no reference to the multiplicity of sources used by D. This is especially unhelpful when he advises us that a certain reading is "*napādaṭṭikādhṛtaṃ kvacit pāṭhāntaram*", i.e. a variant given by D in his footnotes. Neither was P diligent in noting these variants: it was evident from an examination of D, that P only refers to these variants infrequently, listing them (according to sampling in GC 1.19) on only 38% of cases where the variant agreed neither with C nor D's primary reading.

Only rarely throughout this text has P rejected both C and D readings, but in those cases one is left curious about the source from which he made his choice due to the sparseness of references to his three manuscript sources. From an examination of these references, one is led to doubt that any of the MSS were complete. We have already noted above that the Sāhitya Pariṣad MS (p<sub>1</sub>) contains numerous lacunae. Other than one

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reference in i.2.40, p<sub>2</sub> has been cited with frequency only in i.6-15, and sparsely thereafter until it ceases to be referred to at all after chapter 18. References to this MS reappear in the Uttaracampū where it is again cited fairly frequently. p<sub>3</sub> has been cited infrequently if at all in Pūrvacampū, and sparsely in Uttaracampū. Variant readings ascribed to p<sub>1</sub> were not found to be identical with D even once (out of 62 citations), and p<sub>2</sub> only twice (out of 83). On the other hand, p<sub>1</sub> agreed with C 71% of the time cited (44/62) while p<sub>2</sub> agreed 62.7% of the time (52/83). If we accept then that P's data has been presented honestly, then D is greatly devalORIZED by the relative unanimity of opposition to it, and yet it would appear that this is the text which is being depended on for the greater number of P readings. However, Puridāsa shows the three non-D sources (p<sub>1</sub>, p<sub>2</sub> and C, p<sub>3</sub> being insufficiently represented to count) in agreement only six times. We know that there are serious lacunae in p<sub>1</sub>, but we have not been informed about the status of p<sub>2</sub>. For this reason it is impossible to conclude that the ascription of a faulty reading to one source implies the unanimity of all others not mentioned in the notes there. Furthermore, a failure on the part of the editor to present the evidence comprehensively can be demonstrated in e.g. i.6.9-11, 7.6 and elsewhere, where p<sub>2</sub> readings are seen to coincide with B and the variants given by D.

In conclusion then, P has been thorough neither in the examination of his source material nor in his determination of the correct readings of the text. In particular, he has not taken into account the main constraint faced by the editor of D, who felt obliged to make the text agree as far as possible with the commentary published with it. He has thus shown a

mistaken and misleading preference for D's readings. Even so, in the process, he has thrown out many incorrect readings from D and has thus made some improvements on it.

#### 2.25 V

(ed.) Vanamālī Dāsa Śāstrī, Sanskrit with Hindi translation, published by Purushottama Das, Vrindavan: Sarveśvara Press, 1969.

This edition is again an improvement over P, though no attempt has been made at giving any critical apparatus. V appears to have looked critically at all three of the above printed editions (other than B) without following any one of them blindly. It is possible that he used a Vrindavan based MS which agreed for the most part with C above. Nevertheless, he has on occasion shown preference for other readings from P. His translation also shows the influence of the previous editions, though it is in general superior to both the Bengali ones described above and the Hindi one below. This is the publication which seems to have excited interest amongst Hindi-speaking Indian scholars, for since its publication at least four doctoral dissertations have been written in northern India on the Gopālacampū. All of these dissertation have used V as their main source book. In the above-mentioned control reading, V has followed C's readings on 82% of occasions, D only 14%, the rest appearing to be from another manuscript which coincides quite well with a2. Once again, where V is wrong, the source of the error can generally be traced to D and then to B.

#### 2.26 H

(ed.) Śyāmalāl Hākim, Sanskrit text and Hindi translation, Rāsavihārī Śāstrī

and Nṛsiṃhavallabha Gosvāmin. Introduction by Haridāsa Śāstrī, Vrindavan: Sāṅkīrtana Press, 1969.

H states explicitly in his *sampādekīya* that he has depended uniquely on the P edition for his readings without making any attempt at critical editing. For his translation, he has referred almost exclusively to D noted above, often giving a literal rendering of it in Hindi. He fails to resolve many of the problematic portions, almost never contradicting D even where faulty. Occasionally, he follows him even where the D reading has been corrected by P, thus leaving him in the uncomfortable position of contradicting the Sanskrit text with his translation.

### 2.3 An attempt at critical editing.

At the end of this chapter, some portions of text from the first chapter of GCP are given accompanied by critical apparatus. Clearly revealed in this first exercise is the markedly more flawed nature of the B (d<sub>3</sub>) readings. Of further interest are the two idiosyncratic readings attributed to p<sub>1</sub> (page 1, note 4; 2,10). Mistaken a<sub>2</sub> readings cannot be taken too seriously here because these folios were written in another hand, and though the hand is neat, flaws of omission are apparent.

Though an examination of these two pages of text given in 2.4 reveals clearly the relation of B to D, other relationships are not so clear. C showed a higher degree of difference from the a<sub>1</sub> and a<sub>2</sub> than had been anticipated. Though the errors are minor in both cases, a correlation of C and B (d<sub>3</sub>) is notable (1,15; 2,5). a<sub>2</sub> has also coincided with B on two occasions (1,2, 2,5), though the latter cannot be considered of real

(2) Materials for the study of GC

significance (since any errors after 1,19 may be attributable to the later scribe). In the first instance, it is a question of the obeisance to the deity where it seems that each individual is free to put whatever he likes, hence the scribe in a3's enthusiastic invocation of several deities. Jīva's most probable invocation was *ŚrīŚrīRādhakṛṣṇābhyāṁ namaḥ*, found in both a1 and a2, both here and at the beginning of chapter 2. The use of the invocation to Rādhāramaṇa in both B and C indicates that these two probably belong to the same branch of the textual family tree, though an invocation to Caitanya might have been added later by anyone and does not necessarily indicate a similar connection. The omission of an invocation to Caitanya once it has entered the chain of transmission seems unlikely however, indicating that the branch of which d3 is a member, split off from that of C before the invocation to Caitanya entered the line.

In an effort to establish the relation between the texts with the object of making a hypothetical *stemma codicum*, other cruxes have been sought out which would reveal the relation of D's sources to those of P. A high degree of probable error is admitted in view of the various problems which have hopefully been made clear above in the discussion under 2.23 and 2.24. For this task, a reading of all the problematic texts in the first nine chapters of GCP (the extent of the B edition) was undertaken. The total number of obviously nonsensical readings which could be considered helpful, i.e. where two or more of these sources shared a common error, was reduced to only fourteen. The chief problem is that erroneous readings from d3 matched all other sources but a1 on at least one occasion. In order to minimize the difficulties presented by this MS, which seems to have collected the mistakes of all its predecessors, serious errors (marked

(2) Materials for the study of 6C

with a star) have been differentiated from the less so (where mere coincidence could be involved) to indicate stronger points of correlation.

- (1) a<sub>2</sub>, C [6.8] *śakyati* for *śakṣyati*
- (2) a<sub>2</sub>, p<sub>1</sub> [2v45] *vratānām* for *vrajānām*;
- (3) a<sub>1</sub>, d<sub>2</sub> [7.23] *prastutam* for *prasnutam*. This relation seems to find some support from corrections made in the a<sub>1</sub> MS which are found in their incorrect form in d<sub>2</sub> in 6.16, 35, 44, etc.
- (4) a<sub>1</sub>, d<sub>2</sub>, d<sub>3</sub> [6.44] *siṃhatulāviṣu* for *siṃhatulāliṣu*
- (5) d<sub>1</sub>, d<sub>2</sub>, d<sub>3</sub> [6v1] *cūkāra* for *cūckāra*
- (6) C, d<sub>4</sub> [4.27] *Yamunām* for *Yamunāyām*.
- (7) C, d<sub>3</sub> [6v54] *abhilebhire* for *api lebhire*.
- (8) C, d<sub>3</sub>, d<sub>4</sub> [6v65] *acitrīyata* for *acitrāyata*
- (9) d<sub>3</sub>, d<sub>4</sub> [2.18]\* *vilasantaḥ* for *sabhānukārāḥ*.
- (10) C, p<sub>2</sub> [6v12] *nipItāṅgīm* for *nipItāṅgī*;
- (11) d<sub>1</sub>, p<sub>2</sub> [6v28]\* *kalyāṇadātā* for *ānandadātā*; (12) [6v61]\* *prākāśakaḥ* for *prapañcakaḥ*.
- (13) d<sub>3</sub>, p<sub>2</sub> [6.9-11]\* A major mixup is duplicated; (14) [7.6]\* Another rather glaring difference is matched.

Conclusions drawn from this supplementary information are as follows:

(1) The relationship between a<sub>1</sub> and d<sub>2</sub> is apparent from (3,4). These MSS would appear to be fairly correct, but a<sub>1</sub> is the more correct of the two. They may have the same source, but a<sub>1</sub> has been corrected against a higher authority. They are taken as belonging to a separate branch of the tree. The common minor errors of d<sub>2</sub> and d<sub>3</sub> (4,5) have been ignored in making this conjecture, however.

(2) From crux readings 11,12 we find that d<sub>1</sub> = p<sub>2</sub> on two serious flawed readings. p<sub>2</sub> also equals d<sub>3</sub> on the most serious flawed readings of all (13,14). Since clearly, these three MSS do not match in all readings, in particular not those of d<sub>3</sub>, they can be said to derive from a common

(2) Materials for the study of GC

source, with d<sub>3</sub> having one or more interim generations to account for the large number of new readings. This source is given the name y.

(3) d<sub>4</sub> also has one major common reading (9) with d<sub>3</sub>. The high incidence of correct readings from this MS alluded to in 2.23, however, makes this information suspect. How could such a major error be transmitted to d<sub>3</sub> but not to the other MSS which share d<sub>3</sub>'s errors? This evidence is therefore taken to be erroneous and d<sub>4</sub> is placed higher up on the *stemma*.

(4) A certain number of common errors in a<sub>1</sub> and C (MS c) are found in GC i.1-2 (See appendix), but the former is evidently the more correct of the two. C has a number of minor readings in common with d<sub>3</sub> and d<sub>4</sub>. It does not, however, share any of the major faults found in 11-14. Thus C belongs to the same main branch, but separated from that which started to produce these major errors. The common source of c, d<sub>4</sub> and y is called x<sub>2</sub>.

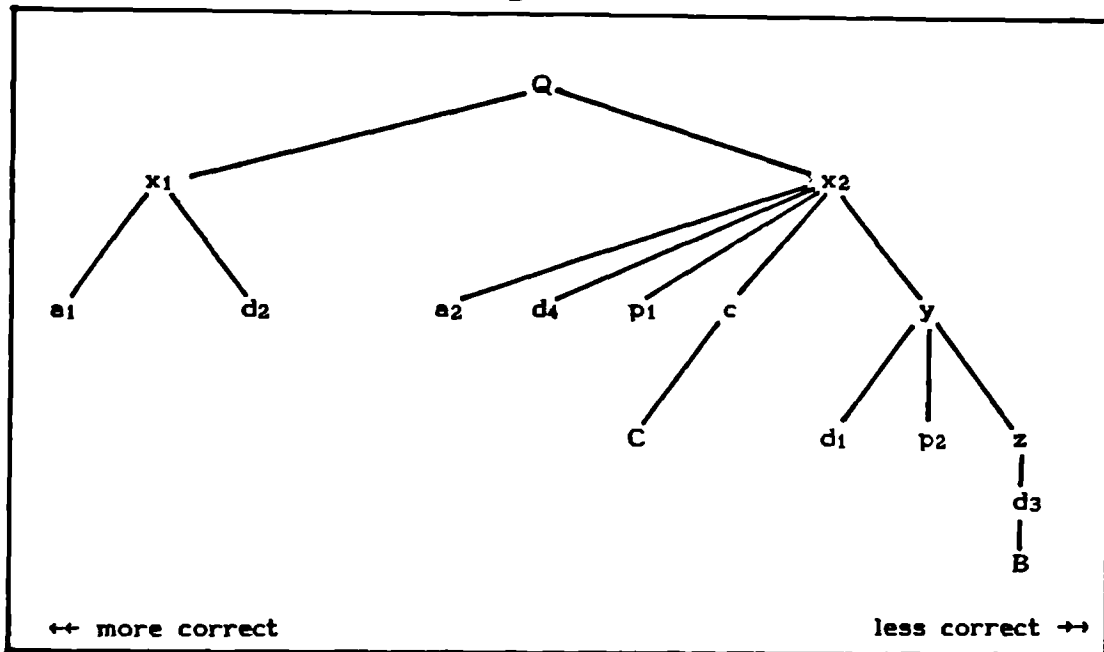
(5) p<sub>1</sub>, though it has its own idiosyncratic errors, has not been shown to have errors in common with any other MSS but a<sub>2</sub>. It must therefore be assumed that it belong to a separate branch of the tree with the same source as c.



## (2) Materials for the study of GC

The *stemma codicum* derived from these rather inadequate details is as follows:

### Figure 2.1



In conclusion, any further research into the relationships between the various MSS must of necessity be based on a closer scrutiny of the original materials. Nevertheless, it would appear that the further one can avoid the d3 (B) readings, the easier the task of establishing the correct text of GC. The three sources a1, a2 and C appear to provide adequate source materials for the task of producing a critical edition.

## 2.4 Gopālapūrvacampū – Chapter One with critical apparatus

ŚrīŚrīRādhākṛṣṇābhyāṃ namaḥ<sup>1</sup>

ŚrīŚrīKṛṣṇacaitanya namaḥ<sup>2</sup>

ŚrīKṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇacaitanya Sasanātanarūpaka/

Gopāla Raghunāthāptavraja Vallabha pāhi mām//1

[1] Tad evaṃ ārambhasambhavadantarmahasā sahasā<sup>3</sup> vilikhya tad idam ullikhyate. Kim idam? Madiṣṭadevasya, madanviṣṭadaya<sup>4</sup>śiṣṭatadbhakta-samudayasya ca<sup>5</sup> kramataḥ<sup>6</sup> smaraṇam āvirbhūtam. Kiṃ vā, kevalasya madiṣṭadevasya; kiṃ vā, tadviśiṣṭasya. Āṃ āṃ, tantratas tat trayam api svatantratayā labhyate<sup>7</sup>. Tatra <sup>8</sup>prathamam tāvata<sup>8</sup> prathamataḥ prathayāmi. Atra Śrī padam anyad<sup>9</sup> anyad api kiñcid<sup>10</sup> anuṣṭupchandaḥparacchandatayā pūrvatra ca paraparatra<sup>11</sup> ca yatra<sup>12</sup> na dattaṃ, tatra ca sandhātavyam.

[2] Yathā: He ŚrīKṛṣṇanāmnātidhanya! Sarvamūrdhanya! He ŚrīKṛṣṇacaitanya! Sarvasārmadekīrtanya! He mahitaŚrīSanātanasaḥita-ŚrīRūpanāmadheya, man<sup>13</sup>mūrdhany ādheya<sup>14</sup>! He ŚrīGopālabhaṭṭākhyā<sup>15</sup>-pravṛddhabhaṭṭārakatā<sup>16</sup>samṛddha! He ŚrīRaghunāthadāsa! Nāmadhāmatayā 'tiprasiddhāparamabhaktibharāviddha<sup>17</sup>! He teṣāṃ evāpta<sup>18</sup>vrajetā-siddhavarṇanasaṭkarnāgarbhābharaṇaŚrīBhūgarbhādi-saṅjñādhikaraṇa! He ŚrīVallabha! Prāgbhavīyadurlabhasukṛtasandhīyamāna-madīyaśaraṇa pitṛcaraṇa! Kiṃ vā, he ŚrīRaghunāthasyāptān vrajaty anuvrajetīti tattayā sarvavallabha! ŚrīVallabha! [19]Mām pāhi! Nijacaraṇacchāyayā matprati-pālakatām āyāhi.

1. B,C,P: ŚrīRādhāramaṇyā namaḥ; a3 ŚrīGaṇeśīya namaḥ. ŚrīKṛṣṇacaitanyacandro jayati. ŚrīGopālo jayati. ŚrīSarasvatyai namaḥ. Kṛṣṇāya namaḥ; 2. absent from a2 and B. 3. a4 utsāhena; 4. p1, °dayā°; 5. B,D vā; 6. B svataḥ; 7. B,D °virbhūtam; 8. B omits; 9. B omits; 10. B,D kathañcit; 11. B paratra; 12. D yatra yatra; 13. D san°; 14. B omits from man°; 15. B,C,P °ākhyā°; 16. B,D,P °bhāṭṭārakatā°; 17. C,D,P °bharāviddha?; 18. B,D āpta. 19. From this point, a2 has been written in another hand for two folios.

[3] Atha dvitīyam api pratīyamānam nirmāmi. ŚrīKṛṣṇa iti. Śrīr atra Rādhā. Eṣā hi Śrīpradhānatayā sādhaiṣyamānatāyāṃ nirābādhā. Tad-anantarakṛṣṇasābdas cātra śabdabrahmagūḍhaparabrahmaNandanandana-vācakatāyaṃ rūḍhaḥ. Tena, he ŚrīRādhākhyasvarūpaśaktiyukta<sup>1</sup>Kṛṣṇety arthas ca nirvyūḍhaḥ. Kṛṣṇa iti:

Kṛṣṇir bhū<sup>2</sup>vācakaḥ śabdo ṇas ca nirvṛtivācakaḥ/

tayor aikyaṃ paraṃ brahma Kṛṣṇa ity abhidhīyate//

iti premāñajñātacaraḥ Kṛṣṇasābdas tv atra yogapuraskṛtarūḍhitayā tatparaḥ. Bhūr iti bhāvakvibantatā<sup>3</sup> karaḥ. Sa cāyaṃ bhāvasābdavad dhātv-arthamātratādharaḥ. Dhātvarthas cātrākaraṇam, tad eva sphuṭam āptatayāpta<sup>4</sup>[manasām ākaraṇam. Tatas ca bhinnapadārthatayāvagatayor dayitayor iva tayor aikyaṃ yoga eveti. Tadyukta ānandaḥ sarvā<sup>5</sup>karṣakānanda ity artha evānandaḥ.<sup>3</sup> Paraṃ brahma iti: Nirākṛti<sup>4</sup> paraṃ brahmaiti hi<sup>5</sup> prasiddhiḥ. Yogapuraskṛtarūḍhatopagūḍhatayāpi ŚrīNandanandanam eva vakti tacchabdasaktir iti vyaktisiddhiś ca. Tad etad<sup>6</sup> abhidhīyate cābhidhīyate<sup>7</sup> iti. Tasmād eva<sup>8</sup> tadīyasvabhāvaviśeṣa-bhāvanārtham eva punaruktir iyaṃ yuktiḥ<sup>9</sup> yunakti caitanya iti. He sarvaprakāśaka! Sadrūpatayā sarvāśrayasvarūpa<sup>10</sup>! Tadrūpatā ca vipaściddbhir avagatā<sup>11</sup>, saccidānandarūpāya Kṛṣṇāyākliṣṭakarmaṇa iti Tāpanīyanāndīnīśamanāt, tvayy eva nityasukhabodhatanā<sup>12</sup> iti ŚrīhāgavatīyaBrahmastave nigamanāc ca. Sasanātanarūpaka iti; he sanātanena sadātanena, svasvarūpam anubhavadbhir api sunirūpeṇa<sup>13</sup> surūpeṇa rūpeṇa<sup>14</sup> saha vartamāna! Tena svabhaktivittacittam anuvartamāna! Gopālaraghunāthāptavrajavallabha iti; gopāleṣu ye raghavo laghavo ye ca nāthā mukhyā iti vikhyātagāthās tair āptasya vrajasya ballavetalla<sup>15</sup>javrajasya vallabha! Kimvā, gopālānām laghur iṣṭaḥ, sa ca nāthas ca yas, tasya sambodhanam triṣv iṣṭe 'lpe laghur iti nānārthavargalabdhabodhanam. āptavrajavallabheti āptavrajānām svajanasamūhānām vallabha! Pareṣām alabhya<sup>16</sup>satprabha!

1. P adds Kṛṣṇa°; 2. a1,a2,B,D kṛṣi bhūr; 3. a3 omits from sarvā°; 4. a3 nirākṛti; 5. a2,B,C omit; 6. B tad eva tad; 7. B omits; 8. B evam; 9. B omits; 10. p1 sarvāśrayasvarūpa; 11. B apagatā; 12. B,D add ananta; 13. B,D,P sunirūpeṇa°; 14. a2 drops these two words; 15. a4 omits the portion between brackets; 16. a2 ananya°;

## Notes to chapter two

1. Published in four volumes, 1976-1985. Compiler V. B. Gosvāmī, (ed.) R. D. Gupta and others.
2. The writer cites Jīva's *maṅgala* stanza to Gopālacampū, changing *Vrajavallabha* to *VrajaJīvaka*.
3. A *Vrajabhāṣā* *LaghuGopālacampūbhāṣā* by a not-especially talented poet named Kṛṣṇakavi was published by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābājī from Mathurā in 1961. It is much narrower in scope than the Sanskrit MS version. The colophon date is given as V.S. 1748 (A.D. 1691), but this appears to be the date of transcription rather than authorship. Kṛṣṇakavi may well be the same Kṛṣṇadāsa Adhikārī mentioned in the previous chapter.
4. Calcutta, 1871.
5. *Iti Śrīvidvatkadambaheramba-sakalavipulakavikulatilaka-Mahārāṣṭradeśa-vāridhisudhānidhibhāradvājakulakāśārārājahamṣa-Kāśīsthajagadguru-Śrīmaddīkṣita-kaviSomarājasūrivarasūnu-ŚrīKāmarājasūrivaratanaya-ŚrīVrajarājakavirājātmaja-bālakaviŚrīJīvarājaviracitāyām Campūvihāra-amākhyaāyām svanirmīta-Gopālacampū-vyākhyāyām pūrvāṅgam samāptam.*
6. Calcutta, 1892, X.86: *Madayati mano madīyam tanujaghanabhāratī-rasavilāsaḥ/ kim u sutanunīravihāro nahi nahi Campūvihāro 'yam//*
7. *Atra maṅgalaṁ pratipaccandraviṣayakam. (Rasavatī).* See the entry under i.72, Mitra's Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Calcutta, 1871.
8. *Kavi Jīvarājanām tām ātanute 'bhinamya gīrvāṇīm/ Gopālabhūpāla-campūvyākhyām khalu Rasavatyaākhyām//*
9. ed. Haraprasāda Śāstrī, Calcutta, 1934.
10. Rāsa Bihārī Sāṅkhyatīrtha edn., vol. 2, 2084. *yugmaśūnyāṣṭaśubhrāmsum śāke rathāham īkaiṣā pūrṇatām āgāt vīracandrena śreyasaḥ//*
11. Padyāvalī, Dhākā University, 1934, cxli-cxlii.
12. He was a reputed scholar of the late 19th and early 20th centuries who made many visits to Vrindavan before finally settling there to become an ascetic to whom a number of miracles are ascribed. Cf. Haridas Das, *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Jīvana*, Vol. II, Nabadwip: Haribol Kutir, 1951. 55-78. It is likely therefore, that this MS. was copied in Vrindavan which accounts for its similarity to d4.

**(2) Notes**

13. ed. Chintaharan Chakravarty, Calcutta, 1934, 194.
14. It must be said that such a bias is less evident in the early chapters of Pūrvacampū.

## Chapter III

### Notes on the *campū* genre of Sanskrit Literature

#### 3.0 Introduction

The *Gopālacampū* comes at a pivotal point in the development of that genre of Sanskrit literature known as the *campū*, which itself comes at the end of a long process of development in the entire corpus of Sanskrit literature. It is among the last of Sanskrit's literary genres and endeavours to incorporate the best of all its possible stylistic worlds. Its existence thus only truly became possible when all other genres of Sanskrit writing had been developed to their fullest extent. In the *Gopālacampū*, we find that Jīva Gosvāmin, whatever his subsequent influence as a Sanskrit stylist (which seems to have been minimal), tried to take this concept of stylistic mixture further than any previous author had.

Due to the derivative nature of the *campū* composition, it has been argued that it and its corpus of works do not represent a particularly important segment of Sanskrit literature. S. K. De in particular writes:

The large number of *campūs* that exist scarcely shows any special characteristic in matter and manner which is not already familiar to us from the regular metrical and prose *kāvya*s... The *campūs* have neither the sinewy strength and efficiency of real prose, nor the weight and power of real poetry. The form no doubt affords scope for versatility, but the *campū* written as a rule has no original voice of its own.... The history of the *campū* is therefore of no great literary interest.<sup>1</sup>

### (3) Campū Literature

Such sentiments have unfortunately led researchers to ignore the entire field of *campū* literature as though no important contributions were made through this medium to Sanskrit as a whole. Precisely because of its versatility, the *campū* was increasingly the prime vehicle for poetic expression in the second millennium, and a closer examination of the genre is surely warranted.

Nevertheless, the very nature of mixed composition is such that it allows for a great deal of variety, and a variety of styles indicates a variety of sources of inspiration.

#### 3.1 Etymology

Although many scholars, Indian as well as Occidental, have made attempts to solve the problem of the word *campū*'s etymology, no satisfactory solution has yet been found. Indian Sanskrit scholars have habitually looked for a Sanskrit verb root from which to derive the word. This has led to at least four attempts, which are presented here as found in secondary literature.

(a) *capl gatyām*.<sup>2</sup> This derivation is supposed to indicate the constant movement back and forth from prose to poetry and vice-versa. Warder has supported this etymology.<sup>3</sup>

(b) From *ścamp*, which is glossed, *camatkṛtya punāti sahrdayān vismitī-kṛtya prasādayatīti campūḥ*.<sup>4</sup> No such root is found in Dhātupāṭha, though this may be a misspelling of *śchamp* also meaning "to go" (32.76) as *chapl* is a MS. variant of *capl* "to go" (above). The gloss which is given,

however, (from the combination of *camat* and */pū* meaning to delight and to purify) is typically artificial and has no relation to any such root, but is rather a fanciful interpretation of the following root.

(c) *cap sāntvane*,<sup>5</sup> This meaning is justified, according to Deshpande, because "the introduction of poetry passages must have given breathing time to the readers and must have greatly relieved their strain and broken the monotony." He supports the remark with a quote from S K De: "The impossible prose form with its superfluous ornamented and interminable prolonged sentences never appealed widely to later taste."<sup>6</sup> The root */cap* with this meaning ("to soothe, caress, console") is found in Dhātup 11.5.

(d) *cah parikalkane*, *cap ity eke*. Like "a pharmaceutical compound which is pounded together", *campū* literature combines both prose and versified poetry in one genre.<sup>7</sup> The meaning "to pound, knead" for the root */cah* is found in Dhātup 32.82, though an alleged variant */cap* is not otherwise reported.

All of these etymologies must be judged artificial. Nevertheless, one would be hard-pressed to accept that it could have derived from one of the proto-Munda or proto-Indian languages as Kuiper suggests.<sup>8</sup> Even though the words *tjampur* from Malay and *campur* from Sakei both mean "mixed", it seems highly unlikely that a Sanskrit literary term could have derived from the languages of the illiterate tribals who lived separately from the guardians of the language of the gods.



It is far more likely that the word is of Dravidian origin. The first appearance of the word itself is in the southerner Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, works of the mixed genre are found in most southern languages from an early time. A perusal of the earliest *campū* works shows us clearly that of the sixteen known *campūs* written before the beginning of the 16th century, only 2 could be said to be northern in origin. In all, of the some 249 such works about which information is available, only 47 are northern (18.9%). K. Krishnamoorthy points to the Karnatak origin of the first two Sanskrit *campūs* and expressly states that the word is of Kannada origin, though he does not give a specific etymology.<sup>11</sup> The Dravidian Etymological Dictionary lists the Malayalam *cāmpu* "length, stretch," and the Telugu *cāṇpu* "to extend, stretch, lengthen" and other cognates of the same root in other Dravidian languages.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.2 Definitions of *campū* within the *Śaṅkārīka* tradition

The Sanskrit critical tradition is rather vague in its definition of this genre, many of the writers such as Bhāmaha omitting it altogether. The term appears in *Agnipurāṇa* (338.38) where it is defined simply as a genre of mixed prose and verse. Daṇḍin (7th century) does not say much more<sup>13</sup> and gives no examples of any works in the genre. The Buddhist commentator Ratnaśrījñāna (10th c.) gives Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* as such.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, it is hard to see which works other than this Daṇḍin could possibly have had in mind at this period of Sanskrit literary history.

Bhoja and later Hemacandra and Vāgbhaṭa further state that a *campū* should contain *śāṅkas* and that it should be divided in *ucchvāsas*.<sup>15</sup> These authors give *Vāsavadattā* and *Damayantī* as examples of this genre though these

have proved problematic.<sup>16</sup> The term *aṅka* is obscure, though it clearly could not mean dramatic acts.<sup>17</sup>

Tripathi, in his study of Sanskrit *campū* literature, gives his own working definition of the genre:

The *campū* genre of poetry, soaked in *rasa*, is that which is composed both in prose and verse, is meant to be heard (or read) rather than enacted, has a cohesive theme with extensive descriptions containing the full range of poetic embellishments.<sup>18</sup>

The essential element which appears to distinguish the explicitly named *campū* from the other types of mixed prose/poetry literature is that both the prose and verse portions must be saturated with poetic figures. Thus Lienhard correctly distinguishes the Buddhist Sanskrit Jātaka literature written in poetry and prose from the *campū*, classifying it as narrative literature. "Since their chief purpose is story-telling, they do not make any excessive use of descriptions and, as a rule, are moderate also in exhibiting other painstaking poetic devices."<sup>19</sup>

### 3.3 The evolution of the mixed genre of Sanskrit literature

#### 3.31 The early period

Like most literatures, the Sanskrit has its origins in an oral tradition which expressed itself in verse, the simplest and most memorable way of conventionalizing the rhythms of speech. Because this early literature springs out of the ethnic genius, it is closely related to the idea of revelation, and verse remains the privileged literary medium. The appearance of prose in any literature is a significant step, reflecting different mental processes. In the history of Sanskrit, the first prose

literature appeared in the Brāhmaṇas. This prose also contained a few interspersed verses. For the most part, these verses were quotations taken from the particular Vedic *saṃhitā* to which the Brāhmaṇa is attached, while the prose passages gave instructions for their ritual use. However, within the Brāhmaṇas, one first encounters some narrative passages in a mixed prose/poetry style such as the story of Śunaṣṣepa in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.<sup>20</sup> The language is generally simple (according to Macdonell "crude, clumsy, abrupt and elliptical"<sup>21</sup>), yet in some places it foreshadows later narrative literature.

Prior to the beginning of the Christian era, the narrative Pali Jātaka literature which is presented in a mixed-style form came into existence. In this period these Jātakas are the only example of mixed prose and verse composition, but again their prose possesses neither sophistication nor figurative language. The versified portions or *gāthās* are either of the nature of moral sayings or instructions or summarize the narrative given in the prose portion. Although the so-called "*śkhyāna* theory"<sup>22</sup> has still not been universally accepted, it nevertheless seems that as with some of the Brāhmaṇas, the Pali Jātakas too are an example of an early written prose literature which was built up around earlier, mnemonic *gāthās*. These *gāthās* can be found in the canonical Jātakapāṭi where there is little prose at all; later authors constructed a narrative and commentatorial framework around these verses to produce what appeared, at least to their later audience, a homogenous whole.

Amongst the Jātakas, however, the Kuṇḍala is something of an exception in that it contains archaic prose portions which are said to be in part verse

### (3) Campū Literature

of the *veḍha* metre, also encountered in early Jain Prakrit works. This indicates the existence of a prose tradition which accompanied the Jātakapāli *gāthās* from an early time.<sup>23</sup> Because the prose of the Kuṇḍalajātaka has greater sophistication than the rest of the Jātaka corpus, it is said by some "to be a true *campū* in form".<sup>24</sup> Such statements must be considered premature, however, for compounds alone, no matter how long, when predominantly of the *dvandva* type cannot be considered to have the sophistication required of a *campū*. Similarly, the verse of the Kuṇḍalajātaka is nearly all in the *anuṣṭubh* or *triṣṭubh* metres, not showing the metrical diversity found in true *campū* literature.

The influence of the Pāli Jātaka literature could make itself felt through the Avadāna literature (pre-2nd), which like it is primarily in prose, though some portions, such as Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna<sup>25</sup> contain increasing amounts of verse with a little more metrical variety. But it is in the Jātakamālā (pre-5th) that we see the form of mixed composition which when developed to full maturity becomes the *campū*. The proportion of verse to prose as well as the metrical variety is greatly increased over the Pali literature. About the mixed nature of the composition, Warder writes:

The alternation of prose and verse is a matter of formal balance and rarely corresponds to any content. However, the verse medium seems to be regarded as more elevated in that moral reflections and discourses on morality spoken by the Bodhisattva are usually in verse.<sup>26</sup>

*however,*

In the Jātakamālā of Haribhaṭṭa, Michael Hahn sees a meaningful division in the functions of *gadya* and *padya* which he feels is attributable to his predecessor Āryaśūra. Prose is said to be used primarily for the

description of persons and circumstances while verse is for statements of a more general nature, for forms similar to *subhāṣitas*, for descriptions whose vividness is enhanced by the accompaniment of a certain rhythm, and for parts which advance the plot. Hahn thus makes the basic distinction that prose has "a static and retarding character with regard to advancing the story line", while verse has "a more dynamic and accelerating character" in these works.<sup>27</sup> Later Sanskrit Jātakamālās (e.g. that of Gopadatta) show even more sophistication.

On the whole, however, the authors of these works show a marked preference for verse. It is not only used for most dialogue, but also for many of the extended descriptions. Prose is relegated primarily to the introductory paragraph where it imitates the introductions in the Pali Jātaka literature. It otherwise <sup>merely</sup> plays a linking role, even when it is at its most ornate and descriptive.

### 3.32 The classical period

#### 3.321 Narrative literature

From the second to the sixth centuries A.D., works of mixed composition branched off into a number of different stylistic schools. One branch followed stylistically in the path of the Pali Jātakas, though it had its own antecedents. This was the story-telling literature which used the simplest forms of both prose and verse, ostensibly to make moral lessons accessible to ordinary folk. Hitopadeśa and Pañcatantra are the most famous works which fit into this category. Like the Jātakas, these works borrowed a great number of their verses, which consisted of sententious sayings and

aphorisms (*subhāṣita*), from a floating body of wisdom, much of which is common to these and later works of the genre.<sup>28</sup>

The Prakrit (Pāṣāṇī) Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, is considered to be the archetype of this school of literature. Though lost to us in its original form, it was most probably written in this style.<sup>29</sup> Many of the later narrative works were based on stories from the Bṛhatkathā. Stylistically, these works show occasional flashes of poetic brilliance, but such is the exception rather than the rule. The use of metre in most of them is restricted to the shorter metres, *anuṣṭubh* and *triṣṭubh*, though portions of Pañcatantra have considerably more metrical variety than Hitopadeśa. The division of prose and poetry usage is the most clearcut in this genre: prose is nearly always simple, free from anything but the most basic figures and used exclusively for narration, while the sententious utterances are in verse. To some extent, this particular function of the verse is kept even in the *campū*, and the wise saying in *śloka* or *śryā* is a feature of nearly all mixed works.

### 3.322 The play

Another stream of mixed composition is to be found in the *drśya-kāvya* or drama, which even in the pre-classical period contained verse in diverse metres as well as mixing Sanskrit and Prakrit prose.<sup>30</sup> In later times the play became the most prestigious of Sanskrit genres and influenced all realms of Sanskrit literature, particularly through the critical schools whose categories dominated the attitudes toward characterization, etc. in all the literary forms. Thus Vāmana could say that "other literary forms flow out of the drama, forms like *kathā*, *śkhyāyikā*, *mahākāvya*".<sup>31</sup>

The mixed nature of metrical usage in the *campūs* follows more closely that found in the dramas than any specifically metrical composition. Later, of course, the influences of prose-poetry are found in the late-medieval Sanskrit plays in which not only the introductory comments of the *sūtradhāra*, but much of the other conversation is in the high-flown prose attributable to Bāṇa and his followers.

Although from the linguistic point of view the play may be said to have little influenced the development of Sanskrit prose, it certainly played an important part in that of verse, primarily in giving it its "molecular structure", or individual jewel-like character<sup>32</sup> in which the verse stands apart from its context as an entity complete unto itself. With the diminishing role of Sanskrit as a comprehensible medium for public performances, the late centuries of the first millennium saw the rise of the anthologies, starting with the various *śatakas* of Amaru and Bhartṛhari and then rising to the large compendia such as *Subhāṣitaratnakōśa*. Although Ingalls may not be entirely correct in attributing a dramatic provenance for the majority of the contributions to these anthologies<sup>33</sup>, the anthologies definitely seem to reinforce the tendency of the drama to create such molecular stanzas. It is primarily individually worked verses dominated by clearly expressed figures which are found to predominate in the later *campūs*.

### 3.323 The *prāśasti*

In the few stone inscriptions dating from the beginnings of the Christian era is found a style of prose in which many adjectives are strung together to form lengthy compounds creating increasingly bulky sentences. This is

first evident in the Gīrnār stone inscription of Rudradāman (ca. A.D.150)<sup>34</sup> which contains several such *śamāsas*, though these are not yet of the complex sophistication found in the later prose. Nevertheless, it would appear that the use of such an elaborate style dominated by compounds was already considered as the "very life" of good prose, as later stated by Daṇḍin, *ojaḥ śamāsabhūyastvam etad gadyasya jīvitaṃ*.<sup>35</sup> The Prayag inscription of Hariṣeṇa dedicated to Samudragupta<sup>36</sup> (ca. A.D. 360) begins with verse, then has a segment of prose before returning to verses in long metres. The prose portion is extremely heavy with compounds (up to 25 words to form a single compound), while the verses show talent and beauty of feeling which has elicited praise from a great range of critics.<sup>37</sup> The subject matter is also one which is to be found in many *campūs* (and strong in GC): the glorification of a king and his city. That this style was increasingly popular in the courtly milieu is attested by the inscription at Mandasor eulogizing Daśapura, as well as those at Kailāśanātha, Trisīrāpallī and Nālandā.

### 3.33 Prose poetry

The style of prose with its lengthy compounds and extended figures of speech took the form of prose-poetry, often called the romance, in the seventh and eighth centuries. Works such as Subandhu's *Vāśavadattā*, Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* and Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita* established the reputation of this style of writing. According to the earlier classifiers of the different genres, prose compositions fell into two categories, the *kathā* and *śkhyāyikā*, both of which were permitted a limited amount of verse.<sup>38</sup> This is indeed a characteristic of the *Harṣacarita*, which possesses a number of verses in several metres.<sup>39</sup>



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underlined their admiration of Bāṇa.<sup>44</sup> Not only they, but Ratnākara, author of the giant *mahāśākāya*, Haraviṣaya<sup>45</sup> and Govardhana<sup>46</sup>, known primarily for his verses in the *śṛyā* metre, amongst others, stressed their indebtedness to him. Because of this general admiration, Vāmana could state that the test of a poet was in his prose.<sup>47</sup> Nevertheless, later authors adopted Bāṇa's innovations while toning down his excesses. Statements in elegant prose were certainly viewed in themselves as poem miniatures much like a verse and any author writing a work containing prose would make an attempt to include at least a few passages of the classical Bāṇaesque type.

### 3.34 Mixed composition in Dravidian and Prakrit languages

Some time after Āryaśūra had written the *Jātakamālā*, the Tamil epic *Cilappatikāram* was also being composed by a Jain prince, Iḷaṅkō Aṭikāl,<sup>48</sup> in a mixed prose-verse style. Other similar uses of figurative language appeared in Tamil, particularly in its *Maṇipravāla* style which contains a great deal of Sanskrit vocabulary. This movement spread to the Kannaḍa and Malayalam languages as well. The result was that all these vernaculars grew closer to Sanskrit.

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The southern *Maṇipravāla* style was not only used separately in uniquely prose or verse compositions, but in the mixed genre also. From the seventh century, stone inscriptions have been found written predominantly in this style. Some stone inscriptions were written in both Kannaḍa and Sanskrit in which a draft of *campū* poetry with all its characteristics up to the tenth century can be identified. These include: figures of speech in both the verse and prose sections, both of which are used equally for

description; tight composition, the use of quotations from other poets, narrative composition, a prayer at the beginning of the work, *maṅgala* verses at the end, brief description of the poet, etc. Certain technical terms like *cūṛṇī* preceding prose portions and *ṛtṭa* preceding verse were used in these works.<sup>49</sup>

A Kannada work on poetics, *Kavirājamārga*, written in the 9th century, tells that Guṇaverman had written *campūs* on Śūdraka and Harivaṃśa in that language. A number of Jain works in mixed prose and verse were written in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>50</sup> These works are all written with a sophisticated prose and variegated metres. They too precede the relevant portions with the indicators *cūṛṇī* and *ṛtṭa*.

It would appear that works in the mixed genre continued to be produced in the southern vernaculars until a late date. K. K. Raja tells us that in Kerala, the Malayalam *campū* was generally presented as a *kūttu* or properly *prabandhakūttu* "histrionic performance of written compositions", carried out by a single individual.<sup>51</sup> There is little indication, however, that Sanskrit *campūs* were similarly performed, even though amongst the later *campūs*, *Gopālacampū* has been written in a format consisting for the most part in a sung and recited performance before an audience.

The Jains in particular wrote works of the mixed *kathā* genre for didactic purposes. This they called *saṃkīṛṇa* or *saṃkīṛṇakathā* or "mixed story", in effect a number of shorter poems within the framework of a poem in the major form. The Jain poet Uddyotana Sūri wrote *Kuvalayamālā* (A.D. 779) in a mixture of Prakrits, primarily Maharashtrian, which Upadhye says in

his introduction to it can be called a *campū* "in view of its poetic qualities and free admixture of prose and verse".<sup>52</sup> Though Uddyotana speaks highly of Bāṇa and imitates his style, albeit in Prakrit, nevertheless his 4180 verses are almost all *gāthā*, including not a 100 in other Prakrit metres, 14 verses in *sragdharā*. Verse is used as much for narration as any other purpose, indeed Uddyotana seems to switch from one medium to the other without any specific plan. Such Jain works appeared in Sanskrit also, most notably *Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā* (906 A.D.), written by Siddharṣi a Śvetāmbara Jain from Gujara. This is a huge allegorical novel with more than 10000 verses, almost all śloka.<sup>53</sup> As with the other works in this *kathā*-genre, the author switches from lengthy passages in relatively unsophisticated prose to lengthy passages in <sup>verse</sup> ~~prose~~. The narrative aspects are subsumed to the didactic. The influence of this style can be felt on the *Yaśastilaka* (A.D. 959), one of the earliest works to be accepted as being a genuine *campū*, by the Kārṇāṭa Jain, Somaprabha Sūri. Daṇḍin also seems to emphasize that the *kathā* was only secondarily a Sanskrit genre, being primarily written in the vernaculars.<sup>54</sup>

### 3.4 Subjects of *campūs*.

A great number of the earliest *campūs* are predominantly based on Jain or Hindu purāṇic material. The Jain literature has a highly didactic style, stressing the value of human life as a medium for attaining salvation; the narrative is generally a tool for preaching this goal. The Hindu tales are less didactic and more purely aesthetic in their purpose. The historical *campū* also was of increasing importance, the first being perhaps written by Ahobala (mid-13th century) who is credited both with a history of the Śrī Vaiṣṇava *ācāryas* (*Yatirājaviṇaya*) as well as an account of the

Vijayanagar kings (amongst other things, in Virūpākṣavasantotsava<sup>54</sup>). These were imitated by several other compositions on similar subjects, e.g. Ācāryavijayacampū, Varadāmbikāparipāya<sup>55</sup>, Nāthamunivijaya<sup>56</sup>, Rāmānujavijaya<sup>57</sup>, etc. The importance of the historical campū is further evidenced by Bhoja and Viśvanātha Kavirāja's mentioning historical works as examples of the genre.<sup>58</sup> Post-16th century campūs include an even greater number of historical works, but also "travelogues" and mēhātmyas of particular holy places, their deities and their festivals. A breakdown of the subject matter of known published and unpublished MSS. gives us the following information:<sup>59</sup>

TABLE 3.1

subjects	-1600	+1600	total
biography/history	7 (22.6)	40 (18.3%)	47 (18.8%)
Bhāgavata	6 (19.4%)	40 (18.3%)	46 (18.5%)
Rāmāyaṇa	3 (9.6%)	35 (16.1%)	36 (14.5%)
Mahābhārata	3 (9.6%)	24 (11.0%)	27 (10.9%)
deity/place mēhātmyas	1 (3.2%)	25 (11.4%)	26 (10.4%)
other Purāṇas	2 (6.5%)	21 (9.6%)	23 (9.2%)
Śiva Purāṇa	0 (0%)	18 (8.2%)	18 (7.2%)
yātrāprabandha	0 (0%)	10 (4.6%)	10 (4.0%)
Jaina Purāṇas	6 (19.4%)	1 (0.4%)	7 (2.8%)
original themes	1 (3.2%)	4 (1.8%)	5 (2.0%)
philosophical and other	0 (0%)	5 (2.3%)	5 (2.0%)
totals	31	218	249

If the cutoff point for the above division were moved earlier to 1350, the proportion of Jain works would be increased again to over 50%.

### 3.5 The mixture of prose and verse

The obvious question which arises when discussing the mixed style of literature is, how does the poet differ in his usage of either the one or the other of his media? What are the specific duties and functions of either medium and how do they compliment and contrast each other? As might be expected, there is a wide range of different answers to this

question, from the extreme in which there is little or no difference in their functions and where they are used interchangeably whenever it suits the author. S. K. De writes:

...in this respect the campū scarcely follows a fixed principle and its formlessness, or rather, disregard of a strict form, shows that the campū developed quite naturally, but haphazardly out of the prose kāvya itself, the impetus being supplied by the obvious desire of diversifying the prose form freely by verse as an additional ornament under the stress or lure of the metrical kāvya.... The verse is not always specially reserved as one would expect for an important idea, a poetic description, an impressive speech, a pointed moral or a sentimental outburst, but we find that even for ordinary narrative and description, verse is as much pressed into service as prose.<sup>57</sup>

De calls this a decadent development by which verse gradually ousts prose from its "legitimate employment" until "prose and verse are used indifferently for the same purpose."<sup>58</sup>

Winternitz, when contrasting *śkhyāyikā* and *kathā* literature with the campū, says that in the former "verses are always brought in with some particular objective: they are either epigrams or a brief synopsis of the story or they serve to bring an important moment of the story into prominence." The latter, however, "is a particular type of literature in which verses do not serve any purpose other than which is served by prose."<sup>59</sup>

Though these statements no doubt have validity in the cases of certain campū works, it cannot be said to be so in all cases. Ahobala's 13th century *Virūpākṣa-vasantotsavacampū*, in particular, stands out as a work

in which the author switches from prose to verse and back again with clockwork regularity. In other, later *campūs* such as Mandana Miśra's *Ānandakandacampū* and Śeṣakṛṣṇa's *Rukmiṇīpariṇayacampū*, the authors seem to tire of writing in prose and turn to verse for extended passages of narrative in the Purāṇic or *mahākāvya* style. A closer examination of earlier *campū* works, however, shows that the authors had rather clearer ideas of the respective functions of verse and prose in their works.

The poets themselves do not betray a desire to abandon the alleged tedium of prose. Many statements by writers of *campūs* could be marshalled forth to show that they felt the two media were complementary and that when joined together the pleasures of literature were enhanced. Bhoja, in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, writes that the poet's decision whether to use prose, verse or a mixed medium is in itself a type of poetic ornament.<sup>60</sup> In the introduction to his own *campū* work, he states:

Beautiful stanzas of verse mixed with the flavour of sentences in prose are perceived as being as dear to the heart as the song which is accompanied by the playing of instruments. Therefore I desire that my tongue should ordain the pleasure of the followers of the poetic path by composing a work in the *campū* style.<sup>61</sup>

It is quite clear from *such* statements that these poets found the *campū* genre one in which they had the most freedom to display their talents. The *mahākāvya* was too restricting in its insistence on a certain consistency of metres and the explicit demand for specific subjects to be covered while the prose poem was indeed tough going. Within a *campū*, one could use verse in the popular *sūkti* method of the "miniature painting"<sup>62</sup> without having to use it for less the sake of continuity. At

the same time one could display one's command of the language by the occasional *tour-de-force* in the concentrated form of prose. In JIva's GC, a concerted effort is made to use all the variegated forms of prose as well as verse, including even *virudās* and songs like those of Jayadeva.

### 3.6 Type-A and Type-B *campūs*

In those early mixed works whose colophons show that their authors (or those near to them) styled them as *kathās* as well as *campūs*, i.e. *Damayantīkathā* or *Nalacampū* (DK) and *Udayasundarīkathā* (USK)<sup>63</sup>, the proportion of prose to verse is far higher than in other *campū* works of the same period (See Table 3.2<sup>64</sup>). In these, prose is the primary medium and verse is found to have a more specialized function. In the subsequent discussion we shall refer to these works as Type-A *campūs*. The *Yāśas-tilaka* (YT) of Somaprabha is also taken to belong to this class of work.

On the other hand, Bhoja (CR), or the authors of *Campūbhāgavata* (CBh) or *Campūbhārata* (CB) have written in a different style, though apparently not without a clear conception of propriety about the use of both prose and verse. Bhoja uses segments of highly ornamented prose interspersed amongst verses in various metres. The two other *campūs* which are based on the primary epic source material have been written in much the same style. There is a noticeable difference in the metres of preference from the DK and USK, which have a far higher proportion of both the longer and moric metres, rather like that found in the plays or the anthologies, while the CR, CB, and CBh all show a marked preference for *mahākāvya* metres of up to 15-syllable,<sup>5</sup> an inclination also found in the *Jātakamālā* (JMD). These shall be referred to as Type-B *campūs*.



See note 64 for abbreviations.

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Table 3.2  
COMPARATIVE CHART OF METRICAL USES  
(all figures in percentages)

y 2

TEXT	JM	CE	CB	CBh	DE	DEK	AVC	GC	S	LM	SEM
1. ANUŠTUBH	29	29%	13%	25	31	13%	3	23%	13%	6	3
2. indravajrE	6%	2%	4%	%	✓	3	%	%	1	0	%
3. upendra*	4%	2	3	%	1%	0	0	✓	0	0	✓
4. upajEti	32	7	17%	18%	1	10%	1	2	4	1	1
5. sElinI	1	1	%	✓	0	0	%	3	%	✓	0
6. avEgatE	0	0	4%	1	0	%	3	1	0	1	%
7. rathoddhatE	0	2	3	1%	0	%	1	3	%	2	%
8. indravapE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	✓	0	0	0
9. vapEsatEha	10	0	4	1	%	1%	✓	%	5	✓	%
10. upajEti(12)	0	0	%	✓	0	0	✓	2%	0	✓	%
11. drutavi*	%	1	2	2	%	1	1	%	2%	2	1
12. bhujaAga*	✓	0	0	0	0	0	0	%	0	0	0
11/12 syll.	54%	15%	39%	31	3	16%	7%	15	17%	7	4%
13. praharEpiI	1	1	%	✓	0	0	1%	1	1	%	✓
14. pramitEkgara	✓	0	0	✓	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15. maEjubhEpiI	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
16. rucirE	%	%	0	0	✓	0	0	1	%	0	✓
17. vasanta*	8	23%	25	14%	4	26	22%	4%	15	8%	6%
18. mElinI	%	12	2	1	13	5	3%	3	5	6%	3
MEDIUM	9%	36%	30%	16	17	31	27%	9%	21%	15%	10
19. prthviI	✓	1%	0	2	3	0	2	2	0	6%	1
20. hariI	0	1	%	0	0	0	✓	✓	1%	2%	5%
21. EikharI	✓	2%	%	8	2%	2	6	6%	3%	10%	12%
22. nardatake	0	0	0	0	0	0	4%	0	0	0	0
23. mandE*	0	2%	%	%	2	0	6	2%	2	5%	4
24. sErdEla	1	10	4	27	25	26	19%	14	10%	17	43%
25. sragdharE	0	1%	1%	2	5	5	5%	8	0	2%	8
LONG METRES	2	18%	9	39%	37%	32%	43	33	17%	44%	74
26. EryE	%	✓	✓	0	8	6%	1	3%	17	9	3
27. udgIti	0	0	0	✓	0	0	%	3	0	1	0
28. upagIti	0	0	✓	0	✓	0	1	3	0	✓	✓
29. gIti	0	0	✓	✓	%	0	1	5	1%	1	0
30. EryagIti	0	0	0	0	✓	0	0	0	0	0	0
GAṆACHANDAS	%	✓	%	%	6%	6%	3%	14	18%	11	3
31. puspitEgrE	2	2	5	✓	3	0	3	1%	1%	2	2
32. viyoginI	1	0	2	%	0	0	6	✓	1%	3	✓
33. aupacch.	0	✓	3	4	0	0	2	✓	2	1	✓
34. aparavaktrE	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
MĀTRĀ*	4	2%	10	4%	3	0	11	2%	6	6	2
35. song metres	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
36. virudas	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	%	0	0	0
Other	2	%	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	%
PROSE/VERSE Ratio	43	45	38	49	72	88	75	56	not applicable		
No. of VERSES	1430	382	1043	666	372	231	1006	3471	199	483	2380

It would appear that these two entirely separate traditions of mixed composition blended together to become the *campū* genre: one arising out of the prose-poetry tradition, the other out of another mixed-composition tradition such as the Kannada, or perhaps out of a more purely metrically oriented tradition, such as that of the *mahākāvya*. The characteristics of the two types of *campū* works, which shall be made more clear in the subsequent discussion, are by no means to be found in any one work with absolute consistency. Later works assigned to Type-A are naturally less true to the model than the earlier. The assessments of these two types of composition are based on an examination of a rather small sampling of materials and thus may be subject to some limitations. Of the some 30 *campūs* which are known to have been composed prior to the end of the sixteenth century, only 20 have been published and of these, only eleven were available for first-hand examination.<sup>65</sup>

### 3.61 Type-A

*Campū* works assigned to this group are characterized by the dominance of prose which is used for both narration and description; verse, which is proportionately less important, is not used for narration, but rather fits in as a supplement to descriptive prose passages. The individual size of these works is generally larger than those of the B category. Thus the largest of the *campū* works, GC, YT and Ānandavṛndāvanacampū (AVC) are all of this type. For the purpose of this analysis, however, we have in the main referred only to the earliest works to establish the character of the stylistic differences. Thus AVC has not been dealt with, and of course, any features unique to the GC will be discussed separately.

Of the three works which are used as paradigms of the A type, YT is somewhat different in that it really contains two different books. Its first five *śvāsas* contain the story of King Yaśodhara and his renunciation, while the latter three contain instructions about the Jain religion and stories to further that end. These short stories, called *kālpas* are more formal in their construction and much closer in structure to the Jain *kathānikās*, except that the prose is more high-flown. The verse is nearly all in Jain *Apebhraṃśa gāthā* metres, coming at the beginning and end of each section, separated from the narration. For the purpose of this discussion, these last three *śvāsas* have not been included as their characteristics indicate a different genre, a distinction clearly stated by Somadeva himself at the end of the fifth *śvāsa*. On the whole, Somadeva clearly shows the influence of the Jain *saṃkīrṇakathā* tradition and thus even in the first five chapters of his work has lengthy passages of philosophical and religious discussion in *anuṣṭubh*, particularly toward the end.

### 3.611 The use of prose in Type-A campū works.

In these works, the prose is used in the four types mentioned in *Sāhityadarpaṇa*: *muktaka*, *utkalikāprāya*, and *cūṛṇikā* , as well as *vṛttagandhī* (prose containing fragments of classical metrical patterns). Some complex sentences may well contain several or all of these side by side, not unlike that of the prose stylist Bāṇa, to whom at least the authors Sodḍhala and Trivikrama pay overt respect. Prose is thus used in all contexts just as in the prose poem. Sequential descriptive and narrative passages are a feature of the prose of these works, in which a certain syntactical pattern is successively repeated until all the relevant

possibilities of a particular type of figure of speech have been exhausted.

Common structures used are:

- (1) Strings of poetic figures, such as this list of metaphors (*rūpakas*) taken from DK (p.21), where Nala's chief minister, Śrutaśīla is introduced and his qualities are listed:<sup>66</sup>

*Tasya ca mahāmahāpater asti sma  
praśastistambhaḥ sakalaśrutisāsanāḥkṣaramālikānām,  
nyagrodhapādepaḥ puṇyakarmapraroḥaṇām,  
ākaraḥ sādhuvyavahāraratnānām,  
induḥ pāṛthivanītijyotsnāyāḥ,  
kandaḥ sakalakalāṅkurakalāpasya,  
sāgaraḥ samastapuruṣagunamaṇīnām,*

(five more like this, then a longer, combined simile)

*jīvitasaṃmah, prāṇasaṃmah, hṛdayasaṃmah, śarīramāstrabhinno dvitīya  
ivātmā,*

*kulakramāgataḥ saṃkrāntidarpaṇaḥ sukhaduḥkhaḥyoḥ,*

(then simplifying to shorter adjectives)

*svabhāvanuraktaḥ, śuciḥ, satyapūtavāk, kṛtājñāḥ,  
brāhmaṇaḥ Sālaṅkāyanasya sūnuḥ Śrutaśīlo nāma mahāmantrī.*

- (2) Such descriptions can often be continued by attaching numerous further subordinate clauses through the use of relative pronouns. Thus one returns again and again to newer and newer descriptions of a city preceded by *yatra* or *yasmin*; descriptions of a king with *yasya* or *yaś ca*, etc. Similarly passages which repeat either one adverb or its variants, such as *itaḥ*, *atra* (here, there, etc.) in describing a scene, or *kadācit*, in listing different activities, as in DK's description (pp. 22-24) of how Nala occupied himself, where almost every phrase includes a simile:

*Kadācid anutpannaviṣamaraṇabhayo Garuḍa ivāhitāpakārī Harivāha-  
vilāsaṃ akarot.*

*Kadācid Candramaulir iva Madanabāṇāsanātimuktaśarasañchādityāṃ  
parvatabhuvī vijahāra.*

*Kadācid ... (nine more times)*

*Kadācid Daśaratha ivĀyodhyāyāṃ puri sthitaḥ Sumitropeto  
ramamāṇaRāmaBharataprekṣaṇena kṣaṇam āhlādam anvabhūt.*

*Evam asya sakalajīvalokasukhasantānam anubhavato yānti dīnāni.*

(3) As can be observed from the above example, one will often find a repeated pattern around *iva* (simile), or *api* followed or not by *na* (*virodhābhāsa* or apparent contradiction) within such a framework, though not necessarily. Similarly, an apparent contradiction can follow a sequence of repeated syntactical patterns such as in this example from DK, description of the people of Āryavārtā: *Tathā hi: kuṣṭhayogo gāndhikāpaṇeṣu, sphoṭapravādo vaiyākarāṇeṣu, sannipātas tāleṣu ...galagraho matsyeṣu drśyate, na prajāsu.* This particular ornament is highly dependent on paronomasia, where words have a different meaning according to the context: “*kuṣṭha* (the plant *Costus speciosus* or *arabicus*, a medicine) could be found at the pharmacist, but not amongst the citizens of that land (where *kuṣṭha* should be taken to mean leprosy.)”

(4) A fourth type of repeated pattern is that in which gerund/absolute phrases are used, subordinated to a finite verb at the end of the sentence. This is, of course, a familiar pattern in Pāli Jātaka literature, though it is never taken there to the same extreme found in Sanskrit prose. Here is a rather elegant example from YT describing Yaśodhara's queen leaving him at night for a tryst with a paramour: (vol II, p220)

*Mahādevī tu mām svabhāvasuptam ivālakṣya,  
nibhṛtam ākṣipy matkaṇṭhadeśād upadhānīkṛtaṃ karam,  
avekṣya muhur muhur ākulākulavilocanā madīyānanam,*

utsṛjya śanaiḥ śanaiḥ śayanam,  
 upādhāyārdhamuhūrtamātram bahir antaś cātanacāpalatvam,  
 anuvitarkya niḥsañcāratayā śūnyatābandhyam iva  
 rājabhavanamedhyam,  
 avakīryātmanaḥ śīlāṃ iva dhammillakusumāni,  
 parāmṛśya saccaritam ivāṅgarāgam,  
 avijñāya hitopadeśam iva karṇābharaṇam,  
 evadhīrya matpraṇayam iva hṛdayabhūṣaṇam,  
 evadhūya priyasakhīm iva kāñcīdāma,  
 nirbhartsya bāndhavam iva nūpurayugalam,  
 apahāya vaihāyakocitapatikeva sakalaṃ valayādikaṃ maṇḍanam, anyac  
 ca rājamahiṣīyogyam ākelpam,  
 atitvaritam upāttanijāsannacaracāmaradhāriṇīveśā vidhāya kiñcid  
 ardhodgalitam upakaraṇam utsaṅgādhikaraṇam,  
 asandhāya ca kapāṭapuṭam āśu prasthitavatī.

Once again, one can observe the repeated use of *iva* within this framework. Similarly, other structures such as those referred to above, or even quotations in relatively simple prose can be intercalated to produce complicated and difficult passages. Any noun in a sentence, and sometimes more than one, might be targeted for such extended descriptive treatment, often producing tortuous effects.

Clearly, the above four examples can be reduced to one abiding principle: the repetition of a particular syntactical pattern. These are primarily the innovations of Bāṇa, and are thus not original to the writers of Type-A campūs. The same formulae are applied in the writing of the *mahākāvyas* where verses are sometimes combined into *kulakas* which are syntactically connected to one another in the same way. Nevertheless, the authors of the three works examined here appear to be truly dedicated to this style of prose writing and it predominates in their works.

## 3.612 The use of verse in Type-A campūs.

The *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* were both said to contain verses in certain metres. Kādambarī only contains two verses in the body of the work, on both occasions being demanded by the topic: one is the parrot's speech, introduced as an *śryā* and containing a panegyric of the king (Kād, p.26), the other a love message (also specified to be an *śryā* written on a piece of bark (Kād, p.280). The classical example of the latter genre, the HC, which contains a total of twelve verses within its text, admits a rather wider variety of usage, although all are used self-consciously as such, and all quoted as direct speech. For example: the only verses there in a longer metre (*sragdharā*) giving a natural description of a horse are introduced by the following words: *Atha yāminyās tūrye yāme pratibuddhaḥ sa eva vandī ślokadvayam agāyat.*<sup>67</sup> "Awaking at the fourth quarter of the night, the same bard sang the (following) two verses." In other instances, Bāṇa names the metre used also, such as before HC 3.3-4: ... *nātidūravartī vandī... idam śryāyugalam apaṭhat.* In this case as in most, the words of the verse are of some special significance, as they inspire Bāṇa and his cousins with the desire to relate and hear the glories of Harṣa. Sarasvatī (HC, p.7) overhears a verse in *aparavaktrā* spoken by the chief of the swans, which she takes as a message of particular significance for her; in the course of instructing Bāṇa, Mekhala advises him about the nature of a bad master with a verse in *vasantatilaka* (HC, p.24) and so on. Thus, as might be expected, though the amount of verse in these predominantly prose works is small, that which is found plays a significant role. In the three Type-A campūs with which we are dealing, though verse is given an ever expanding role, the specific types of functions given to it are similar to

those described above. It is rarely if ever used for overt narrative purpose.

(1) A great number of verses in the *kathā/campūs* are given in direct speech. As with *Bāṇa*, we are sometimes told specifically that a verse was spoken in a certain metre. In *USK* (p.13) a verse in *Āryā* metre was also of some significance in inspiring the author to become a poet, much as was the case with *HC* 3.3-4 referred to above.:

*...sahasaiṣa maṇitattvavidāṃ narendrah prastutārthadalaśālinīm āryāṃ  
papāṭha:  
ekaikaśaḥ prakīrṇair muktāmaṇibhiḥ kim ebhir ebhis tu/  
yaṃ sṛjasi hanta hāraṃ tasyāntaḥ ko 'pi paribhogaḥ//*

This is, however, the exception, for generally the authors do not find it necessary to tell us self-consciously that what was spoken was in verse of any particular metre in the way that *Bāṇa* did. Thus *USK*:

*Atha tathākṛtopasthitir asāv agnimayākṛtir agnimayālokapaddhatir  
agnimayālāpavṛttir agnimayāstrasambhṛtir agnimayāśeṣavyāvṛttiś  
ca durakṣareṇa vacasā kṣitipālam abravīt.*

This is followed by a verse in *śārḍūlavikrīḍita* metre in which the demon challenges the king, *Kalindaketu*. His speech then continues on in prose.

Descriptive passages are often given in verse by use of the same play found in *HC* 3.5-6, mentioned above. *Somadeva Sūri* (in *YT* 3.1-13, 14-22) puts all manner of versified descriptions of the morning, etc., into the mouths of bards waking the king. Similarly, thoughts are put in verse format (e.g. *USK*, p. 119). Such thoughts might contain long descriptions



of a particular scene in verse, such as Nala's reflections on some bathing Nāga women (DK 5.57-64, pp. 153-155).

Verses used for didactic purposes are often contained within lengthier prose quotations and are treated as aphorisms, being introduced by the words *tathā hi* or *yataḥ*. These are usually in shorter metres, *śrīḥ* and *anuṣṭubh* generally being favoured in this context. YT, being more didactic in nature, often has ministers or saints speaking numbers of such verses in sequence as they discourse on the flaws of women, etc.

(2) Outside of direct speech, verse is primarily used to conclude or summarize descriptions already started in a passage of prose. Thus, after the prose passage cited above from DK (p.22) describing Nala's minister Śrutaśīla, the following verses are added.

*Mitraṃ ca mantrī ca suhṛtpriyaś ca vidyāvayaḥśīlaguṇaiḥ samānaḥ/  
babhūva bhūpasya sa tasya vipro viśvambharābhārasaḥ sahāyaḥ//  
Api ca,  
Brahmaṇyo 'pi brahmavittāpahārī strīyukto 'pi prāyaśo viprayuktaḥ/  
sadveśo 'pi dveṣanirmuktacetāḥ ko vā tādṛg dṛśyate śrūyate vā//*

The Type-A authors often precede such verses with the expression *kim bahunā*. The verses then appear either singly or often in pairs, occasionally in a group. Though YT and DK contain more verse than USK, in general they follow this same pattern. Descriptive or summarizing verses may be introduced by the words, *tathā hi*, *api ca*. On occasion, an alternative way of describing a situation is introduced by the word *athavā*. This use of introductory markers shows a certain self-consciousness in the use of verse which is hardly ever found in Type-B campūs. Favoured

### (3) Campū Literature

topics include lengthy descriptions of seasons, the time of day, various descriptions of natural beauty, wedding ceremonies, etc.<sup>68</sup>

An interesting feature of these works is the double verse, usually though not always of the same metre, usually but not always connected by subject matter. Both DK and USK seem to have avoided using verses in more than groups of two, and when they do it is usually a description, such as the thoughts of King Nala upon seeing the Nāga women bathing mentioned above, a passage which follows an already rather lengthy prose description of the scene. In other such passages, both authors make sure to mix metres and separate the verses with *api ca*, and similar formulae.<sup>69</sup> The same rule holds true for YT except in the case of groups of verses in *anuṣṭubh* appearing in the course of didactic pronouncements. The only other exception to this general rule is an *aṣṭaka* of verses in praise of Nārāyaṇa in DK and specifically introduced as such. Though this is an exception, it shows the beginnings of a tendency on the part of the *kathā/campū* authors to introduce more and more variety into their works, a phenomenon in greater evidence in later works like AVC and GC.

(3) On some rare occasions in the Class-A *campūs* verse does adopt a partial narrative function, as in this interesting example from the DK in which a sentence begun in prose is finished in metre: (p.28)

*Atha maulimilanmukulitakarakamalayugalena senāpatinā, "Yad  
ājñāpayati devaḥ" ity abhidhāya tvarayā tathā kṛte satī, svayam api  
nirmāṃsaṃ mukhaṃṇḍale parimitaṃ madhye laghuṃ karṇayoḥ  
skandhe bandhuraṃ apramāṇaṃ urasī snigdhaṃ ca romodgame/  
pīṇaṃ paścimapārśvayoḥ pṛthutaraṃ pṛṣṭhe pradhānaṃ jave  
rājā vājinam āruroha sakalair yuktaṃ praśastair guṇaiḥ//*

This verse, while predominantly descriptive, contains a minimum element of the narrative function. On only one occasion in the DK do we find a group of verses in *anuṣṭubh* used for straightforward narration (3.8-12, pp. 73-74). USK has no narration at all in verse, the YT only in its second portion, which I have already stated should lie outside the realm of this discussion.

### 3.62 Type-B campūs

As the first *campūs* belonging to this category appeared in the early or mid-11th century, at least a hundred years after the DK, it may well be that they are a later development arising out of these works. Nevertheless, in many respects, these works are closer in format to the *Jātakamāliś* than they are to those classed as Type-A. The first three works of this type are all based on the great epic sources of Hindu literature, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. Being based on this familiar material, they have the tendency to condense rather than expand the narratives, the goal being to present the story in a way most conducive to the production of literary figures. However, despite the much increased role of verse in the narrative aspects of these works, prose still has a pivotal role to play in that regard.

Though the dating of these works is generally somewhat doubtful<sup>70</sup>, it would appear that Bhoja was the innovator of this style of composition and his *Campūrāmāyaṇa* had great influence in establishing the genre. A theorist and prolific writer, it may well be that he desired to give a working example of his theories about writing in both prose and verse. Bhoja gave the names of two lost works as examples of the *campū* genre in

Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa, and these works may have provided him with his stylistic model. Bhoja is also known for a stanza about Bāṇa in which he is critical of his verse,<sup>71</sup> showing that he was not entirely held in thrall by Bāṇa's reputation. Nevertheless, Bāṇa's influence in the writing of prose is all-pervading, and Bhoja has on one or two occasions used the patterns outlined in 3.611 above.<sup>72</sup>

In these three works, the narration moves quickly and little time is lost on extended descriptions in either prose or verse. Figures of speech are omnipresent, but predominate in the metrical portions rather than the prose. In some later works classified Type-B, such as Virūpākṣa-mahotsavacampū of Ahobala, the effort seems more and more to be one of keeping the formal balance and prose moves to verse and back again without any particular relation to the subject matter.

### 3.621 Prose in Type-B campūs

It might be said that the narrative framework of these works is in prose, though there is a far greater amount of verse used for narrative than in the Type-A works, and series of several verses with purely narrative purpose often occur. New subject matter is most often initiated in prose, though it may switch over very quickly to verse. The contents of one or more chapters of the original epic might consist of a prose introduction followed by several verses summarizing the events of the episode. This pattern may be repeated several times before the episode is complete. Thus prose passages often commence with temporal expressions such as *ekadā*, *kasmimścit samaye*, *aparedyuh*, *tad anu*, *tadanantaram*, etc. Here is a short illustration from CB (pp.39ff):<sup>73</sup>

*Ekadā tu te sarve suparvasaritaḥ salileṣu vihr̥tya, samuttīrṇā  
vīcībhir anīcībhir utkūlitaphenakūṭeṣv iva paṭagr̥havāṭeṣu  
parigr̥hitamanoharāmbara-paṭīrahārābhyavahārāḥ kumārāḥ  
kuśalakuśīlavakalāśīlita-vicitravāditrakalāśīravavivāśīkr̥tamanasaḥ  
sukham āśmāsuḥ.*

*Rahasi nalinatalpe ratnaparyāṅkakalpe  
dinaviratisamīraiḥ sevyamānaḥ sa Bhīmaḥ/  
taṭabhuvi kusumānām tādṛśair gandhapūrair  
adhikam alasaṭāyā hānidadrau nidadrau//1*

*Atha nīśīthe tathābhūtasya tasya jighāṃsayā Kurunarendranandanena  
coditair narendrair upetya yugapad eva jhaṭiti nibhr̥taṃ  
samudghāṭiteṣu niyantraṇapeṭakeṣu,  
sute pitṛsvādimasampredāyāśusutsaye va śvasanāśanendrāḥ/  
samīrasūnum samupetya jihvābahiḥprasārān bahusō vitenuḥ//2*

*suptasya tasya tu Suyodhanabhṛtyamuktā  
vātāśanāś ca sakalā vandadevatāś ca/  
āśīrdvayaṃ vapuṣi cāyuṣi ca pratenuḥ  
pūrvā na tatra caremaiva pupoṣa vīryam//3  
marmadattadaśanā bhujaṅgamā Māruter vapuṣi suptibhūruhaḥ/  
muṣṭimeyatanavo virejire mūlikā iva bahir vinirgatāḥ//4*

Then a new introduction in prose: *Anyedyur api*, etc.

The prose in the above passage is used rather for narration than description, and any descriptive passages within prose are generally well subordinated to the narrative. There are a few Bāṇa-type passages, but these are not omnipresent as in Type-A works. Thus, rhyming and alliteration (*śabdālaṃkāra*) rather than figures of meaning (*arthālaṃkāra*) are the prominent features of the prose of Type-B. Thus, in the above passage from CB, in the first prose paragraph there is only one simile, and the alliteration of the compound *kuśala-kuśīlava-kalāśīlita-vicitra-*

*vāditra-kalāśī-rava-vivaśīkṛtamanasaḥ* is the dominant literary feature of the passage.

(3) Though the prose in these works consists generally of shorter sentences, it is not necessarily facile, and even without the overabundance of similes, etc., can still require close attention to be understood. Passages like the following one from CR (p.26) in which the god of the wind's fear of Rāvaṇa is fancifully expressed are to be found throughout that work as well as CB:

*Tena Pulastyanandanena saṅkrandanandanāt svamandīrodyānam  
ānītasya mandārepramukhasya vṛndārakataruvṛndasya bandīkṛta-  
surasunderīnayanendīvaradvandvāc ca karāravindakalītekanekakalāśāc  
ca mandoṣṇaṁ syandamānair ambhubhir jambālītālāvālasya  
pacelīmānām apī kusumānām patanabhayaṁ śśaṅkamānāḥ pavamānāḥ  
parispanditum apī prabhavo na bhavanti.*

The winds are not capable of even stirring as they suspect the fear of falling felt by the flowers of the numerous mandāra and other celestial trees, captured from Indra's garden and brought by the son of Pulastya to his own palace grounds, which though overbloomed, may fall on the ground where their bases are being muddled by the warm waters which flow out both from the golden pitchers held in the lotus-like hands as well as from their lotus-like eyes of the captured heavenly damsels.

(4) There is little if any didactic material in these works, whether in prose or verse.

### 3.622 Verse in Type B campūs

(1) Unlike the *kathā-campūs*, which follow Bāṇa in giving lengthy introductions giving the reasons for their writing and something of an

apologia for their style, etc., all of which fits the description given in the *Ślaṅkārikas'* definitions of the *kathā*, the CB, CBh, CR restrict their introductions to a *maṅgalācaraṇa* consisting of between one verse (CB) and three in CR. Only CBh is somewhat of an exception, containing a few words of this nature.

Very indicative of the difference between Type-A and -B *campūs* is the descriptive entry to the story, which gives its setting and then introduces the main characters. In Type-B, these are in verse rather than prose, and usually brief. E.g. CB (1.2)

*tuhinekirāṇavamaṣasthūlamuktāphalānām  
vipulabhujavirājadvīralakṣmīvibhūmnām/  
hasitasurapuraśrīr asti sā Hastinākhya  
ripujanaduravāpā rājadhānī Kurūṇām//*

Or, CBh 1.14

*āsīd asīmamahimāmahānīyarūpa-  
rūpānurūpacaritaḥ sukṛtapradhānaḥ/  
rājā Parīkṣidabhidho yad ajasradāna-  
nīrair upaiti marubhūmir anūpabhāvam//*

We do not get the formulaic prose introduction often reminiscent of the *prastāntis*, found also in Kādamabarī and which the Type-A works have also followed (e.g. *asti samastaviśvambharābhogabhāsvallalāmalīlāyamānaḥ... ścāryabhavanam śryamaryādopadeśānām śryāvarto nāma deśaḥ*, DK, p9). CBh and CR have even dispensed with any extended descriptive introduction of place and characters altogether.

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(2) It might be said that direct speech still favours the use of verse in Type-B *campūs*, and rare is the speech of significance in these *campūs* which is entirely devoid of any versified portion. Conversations in prose, found in Type-A *campūs* are not found in Type-B.

(3) Descriptions show the influence of the *mahābhāṣya*. We occasionally get extended descriptions in verse in syntactically combined verses as in the description of Hastināpura in CB. Generally, however, because the narration moves fairly swiftly in these works, extended descriptions (e.g. CB 2.87-96, Draupadī's pre-wedding toilet), whether in prose or in verse, are rather infrequent. The single verse containing a well-defined *alaṃkāra* is the primary concern of these authors.

(4) Although much narration is given in verse, the language there is never without figures. In the verse 3 of the passage quoted above from CB (2.621,1), the essential element is "the snakes bit Bhīma, but their bite was ineffectual". This is expanded in a poetic fancy which plays on the word *śaṣṭh* ("serpent's teeth" or "blessings"), contrasting the powers of the snakes with those of the forest deities. The verses are narrative because they contain new information related to the sequence of events, but their primary purpose is to illustrate these events (which are no doubt already familiar) by means of an entertaining figure of speech.

There is already an increased amount of narrative verse in *anuṣṭubh* in CBh, which is <sup>frequently</sup> almost Purāṇic in its simplicity as can be seen from the following example (5.32-37, p.335f):



*Etad ākarṇya citralekhanakuśalayā Citralekhayā narasurakinnara  
gandharvavidyādhareṣu sunderatayā pratītān puruṣān akhilān  
anulikhya, "katamas tavātrābhimateḥ" iti prṇṇā tu tuṣṭā ca seyaṃ  
"so 'yam" iti Prādyumnin niredīśat.*

*"Citralekhe tavānvarthaṃ nāme"ti muditāpy asau/  
mugdhā punar abhūt serṣyā bhartuś caraṇalekhanāt//  
praviśya gurukṛtyā sā purīm Dvāravatīm niśi/  
Aniruddhaṃ tato raktaṃ ninye Śoṇitapeṭṭanam//  
Citralekhopkṛpte 'smin kurvati prāṇavad dhiyam/  
reme samam Uṣā tena rahasyaviśaye nṛṇām//*

2/

*Tad anu katipayadinair antarvaśikajanena tadīyasaṅkete kathāffid  
anagamyamāne,  
śubhāgrahāḍhyām api kanyakām imām  
asatkriyāpṛatayā vimṛśya te/  
upasthitam duḥsamayaṃ nyavedayan  
nṛpāya doṣajñatayā cukopa saḥ//*

(5) Occasionally, the Purāṇic story within a story is recounted in *anuṣṭubh*, such as the story of Sāgara in CR, or CBh 1.98-103 (56f)

*Evam abhidadhānu tanayavirahakātarau mātāpitarau Muraśāsanaḥ  
sādaram idam avādīt:  
Purā khalu yuvām PrāśnīSutaṇāmadhārayau/  
tapaḥ param atapyethām tena pramudito 'bhavam// etc,*

### 3.7 Conclusion

In conclusion it would appear that S. K. De's statements about the *campūs* need to be adjusted.

(1) It does not appear to be correct to say that the *campū* developed exclusively out of the prose *kāvya*. The prose *kāvya* itself is a courtly development arising from a variety of genres which mixed prose and verse.

### (3) Campū Literature

Although we do not know the exact form of the Brhatkathā, which might be considered the ultimate source of all the varieties of *kathā* literature, it is not unlikely that it took the form of the other narrative literature written in mixed verse and prose, including those of the Buddhists and Jains. This literature never ceased to exist, though under the influence of Bāṇa, tended to increased sophistication in its prose. By the same token, it also adopted more and more figurative speech in its verse, largely with the increase in prestige of the *subhāṣita*-verse of the descriptive type rather than gnomic. Though Type-A authors took their inspiration primarily from the prose-poems (Soḍḍhala says USK was spoken by Bāṇabhaṭṭa himself), Type-B *campūs* merely borrow elements of *gadyakāvya* to create a more innovative form.

(2) It does not appear entirely justifiable to say that in the early *campūs*, at least, prose and verse are used entirely indiscriminately, particularly not in Type-A *campūs*. The style of Type-B *campūs* is more eclectic and narrative in short metres is considered a legitimate aspect of usage by some of their authors. Other Type-A works such as JIvandharacampū, AVC or GC, while sticking quite closely to the format described above, have nevertheless extended the limits of the genre by adding more lengthy descriptions in exclusively one metre, occasionally briefly narrating an episode or adding lengthy panegyrics in verse. Entertainment, especially in GC, has replaced didactic and Bāṇaesque pedantry.

A further examination of other, later *campūs* is needed to establish the extent to which the typology outlined here has validity.

## Notes for Chapter 3

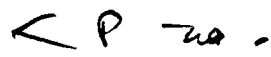
1. S. K. De and S. N. Dasgupta, A History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, University of Calcutta, 1962, 434-435. Also, S. K. De, "The Champū", Journal of the Gangadhar Jhā Research Society, Vol. 1, 1943, 58.
2. Upodghāta to Ānandakandacampū, (ed.) N. K. Sharma, (Benares, 1932), 1. The Dhātukāvya of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has *nayanapracampaiḥ* glossed by the commentator *kaṭāksasañcārāiḥ* which confirms this definition.
3. History of Indian Kāvya Literature, Vol. I, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1972; 436.
4. N. K. Sharma, op. cit. fn.2, quote from a certain Haridāsa Bhaṭṭācārya. No reference given.
5. Deshpande, C. R., "Derivation of the word campū", Oriental Thought, Vol. vi/3, October 1962, 11.
6. A History of Sanskrit Literature, 434.
7. Rao, M. K. Suryanarayan, "Origin and Development of Campūs" in ed. G. T. Deshpande, Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume, Nagpur, 1965, 176.
8. "Proto-Munda words in Sanskrit", Amsterdam, 1948, Acta Orientalia, Ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica, Leiden. Cf. Mayerhofer, M. A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary, Heidelberg, 1956. sub verbo.
9. About Bhojadeva, see Rājagopālan, N. V. "The Influence of Tolkāppiyam and Akapporuḷ in Sanskrit Poetics", in Proceedings of the Second International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, ed. R. E. Asher, Madras, 1971. 177. Soḍḍhala was also under the patronage of the southern Cālukya kings.
10. ed. R. P. Bhaṭṭācārya and S. R. Banerjee, Calcutta, 1963; 1.33.
11. Essays in Sanskrit Criticism, Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1974; 299. His reasoning seems to be based on the provenance of the first two Sanskrit *campūs* from that area.
12. T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, Oxford, 1960, 158, art. 2007.
13. cited above. note 9.
14. Kāvyaśekhara by Daṇḍin with the commentary Ratnaśrī, (ed.) A. Thakur, Upendra Jha, (Darbhanga: Mithilā Prācīnācārya Granthāvalī, 1957) 23.
15. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa 429; Kāvyaśaṅkārā 8.9; Vāgbhaṭa ch.1
16. The examples too have been a cause of confusion: Vāsavadattā must be

- a different composition from the famed work of Subandhu which contains no metrical portions at all. Raghavan (op. cit., 816) also argues that the work *Damayantī* is not the *Nalacampū* which was also known as *Damayantīkathā* for a verse quoted by Bhoja from the work in question is not found in the *campū* by Trivikrama.
17. V. Raghavan interprets *aṅka* as a type of signatory line (*cihna*) in the final verse of each chapter, a tradition he attributes to Bhāravi and Māgha in their *mahāśākyas*. Cf. Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Madras, 1963, 626. No such sign is in fact found in the works he cites; apparently the device of changing metres at the end of each canto is what is intended. Neither understanding has any relevance in understanding the *campū*. Surya Kanta, in his introduction to *Nṛsiṃhacampū* (Jalandhar, 1958), cites an unknown source which states that there is no conversation or sub-scene in a *campū* (*uktipratyuktiviṣkambhaśūnyā campūr udāhṛtā*). This seems to be a further attempt to distinguish the *campū* from the play as a result of the above ascription of *aṅkas*.
  18. Tripathi, C., *Campūkāvya kā ślocanātmaka evaṃ aītiḥāsika adhyayana*, (Benares: Chowkhamba Vidyā Bhavan, 1965) 49; *gadyapadyamayam śravyam sabandham bahuvārṇitam/ sāmāṅgīyam rasaiḥ siktam campūkāvya udāhṛtam//*
  19. p.266, note 6.
  20. vii.3.
  21. A History of Sanskrit Literature, London, 1900; 175.
  22. For a summary of the arguments for and against this theory, see L. Alsdorf, "The Ākhyāna theory reconsidered", in JOI 13. 1963/64, 195-207.
  23. Text and translation of this work, (ed.) W. B. Bollée (London, 1970).
  24. Warder, A. K., History of Indian Kāvya Literature, Vol. 2 (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974) para. 611.
  25. (ed.) Sujitkumar Mukhopadhyaya (Santiniketan: Visvabharati, 1954).
  26. op.cit. Vol. 2, para. 915.
  27. "Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta: two authors in the succession of Āryaśūra on the rediscovery of parts of their Jātakamālās", Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1977; 7-8.
  28. Cf. Ludwik Sternbach, *Mahāsubhāṣitasamgraha*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974. Introduction, lxviii, etc.

29. A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, (Oxford: 1920), 268: "written in Paśācī prose, verses may have been interwoven".
30. H. Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen* (Berlin, 1911). In the script of the Kuṣāṇ period (ca. 2nd century A.D.), one allegorical play in Sanskrit prose and verse with diverse metres, one hetāra story and one Buddhaghōṣa play (Śāriputraprakaraṇa) in Sanskrit prose and verse with some Prakrit prose passages.
31. op.cit., 1.3.32; *Tato daśarūpakoad anyeṣāṃ kṛtiḥ kalpanam iti. Daśarūpakasyaiva hīdaṃ sarvaṃ vilasitam yac ca kathākhyāyike mahākāvyaṃ iti.*
32. David Smith, *Ratnākara's Haraviṣaya*, (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985) 142.
33. *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry*, trans. Daniel H. H. Ingalls (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965) Introduction, 33-37.
34. Kielhorn, *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. viii, 36.
35. *Kāvyaḍarśa*, 1.80.
36. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, (ed.) J. F. Fleet, Calcutta: 1888, Vol. III, 76ff.
37. A. B. Keith, op. cit., 78: "a rare example of the most perfect effects of Indian miniature word pictures."
38. Daṇḍin (op. cit., 1.26-7) objects to limiting occasional verse to the ākhyāyikā alone, as well as limiting the metres permitted to vaktram and aparavaktram by saying āryādivat. Daṇḍin does not really draw any distinction between these two genres (1.28; *tat kathākhyāyikety ekā jñātiḥ saṃjñādvayāhkitā*), though later authors do.
39. A total of 49 verses in HC: *anuṣṭubh*, 23; *āryā* 17; *aparavaktrā* 4; *sragdharā*, 2; *vaktrā* 1; *vasantatilaka* 1; *śārdūlavikrīḍita* 1. The majority of these appear at the beginnings of the each ucchvāsa.
40. *Kāvyaṇuśāsa*, (ed.) Rasiklal C. Parikh (Bombay: Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya, 1938) Vol. 1, 463. *dhīrasāntanāyakā gadyena padyena vā sarvabhāṣā kathā*. Hemacandra lists a number of subdivisions of kathā including *nidarsana* of which Pañcatantra is said to be the example.
41. *Kāvyaśāṃkārā*, xvi.24-5.
42. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 6.330. A fourth type of prose mentioned by Viśvanātha is *vṛttagandhī*. Viśvanātha, though not expressly stating it in his definitions, appears to visualize a metrical element in all his varieties

- of prose, as does Gaṅgādāsa in his Chandomaṅjarī. Vāmana, apparently the earliest author to have pointed to different varieties of prose mentions *vr̥ttagandhi*, *cūrṇa* and *utkalikāprāya*, but his examples show no signs of metrical thinking (Kāvyaśāṃkārāsūtra, 1.3.22-5).
43. Just as Bhāmaha's definition of the *śkhyāyikā* comes out of that for the *mahākāvya*, so too does Bāṇa's style appear to be derived from the language of the *mahākāvya*, specifically in his stringing of subordinate clauses, which has precursors in Buddhacarita.
44. Soḍḍhala in his Udayasundarīkathā, (ed.) C. D. Dalal and Embar Krishnamacharya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series #11, (Baroda: Central Library, 1920); 3, 150-154.
45. (ed.) Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, with commentary of Alaka, Kāvyaśāṃkārāsūtra 22, (Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press, 1890). Cf. Smith, op.cit. 105.
46. Āryaspaśaṭī, ed. Somanath Sarma, (Dacca, 1864) 1.71.
47. Kāvyaśāṃkārāsūtra, vr̥tti to 1.3.21. *gadyaṃ kavīnāṃ nikaṣaṃ vadanti*.
48. The date of this work is still much in question. Friedhelm Hardy puts its final recension at the 6th century A.D., much later than the majority of Tamil scholars. Cf. Virahabhakti op.cit. 170-2. Also, Zvelebil, The Smile of Murugan, .
49. See Jain inscriptions 54, Epigraphica Carnatica 67. Cf. Tripathi, op.cit., 91-94.
50. Some of these are Ādipurāṇa and Vikramārjunavijaya by Pampa, the first completed in 941; Gadāyuddha (982), Ajitapurāṇa (993) by Raṇṇa. Both of these writers were Jains. Warder, op. cit., V.3239, p.240.
51. The Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature, (Madras, 1958) 238.
52. (ed.) Upadhye, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1959; Vol. 1, 84. Lienhard gives a summary of this work in A History of Indian Literature, Vol. III, 1.A., (Wiesbaden, 1984) 266-7.
53. (ed.) Peter Peterson, (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1899).
54. op. cit., 1.38: *kathā hī sarvabhāṣābhīḥ saṃskṛtena ca badhyate*.
55. *gadyapadyamayam kāvyam campūr ity abhidhīyate, yathā deśarājacaritam*. Sāhityadarpaṇa 6.336. Bhoja, Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, Vol. II, 470.
56. Cf. Tripathi, op.cit., 272. The author has given a listing of 246 campūs, the most comprehensive that I know of, giving a more detailed analysis of 102 of them. I have made some slight additions and alterations.

57. In De and Dasgupta, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, 434f.
58. *ibid.*, 495.
59. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol III, part 1, trans. Subhadra Jha, Delhi, 1963, 413. Keith also states something similar: Keith comments: "We have works in the full *kavya* style in which the poet shows now his ability in prose and now in verses without seeking to reserve verses for any special end." *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1920. 336.
60. Śṛṅgāraprakāśa (vol. II, 412); *padyaṃ gadyaṃ ca mīraṃ ca kāvyam yat saḥ gatiḥ smṛtā/ arthaucityādibhiḥ sāpi vāgalaṅkāra iṣyate//*
61. *Campūrāmāyaṇa*, 1.6: *gadyānubandharasamīritapadyasūktir hr̥dyā hi vādyakalayā kaliteva gītiḥ/ tasmād dadhātu kavimārgajuṣāṃ sukhāya campūprabandharacenāṃ rasanā madīyā//*
62. K. K. Handīqui calls *Yasastilaka* "a veritable anthology of *kāvya* poetry in the tenth century... There are groups of verses on diverse topics as well as individual ślokaḥ which are detached from the context without causing any appreciable break in the narrative form, so to speak, an independent body of verse, valuable for the study of the poetry of the period." *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur, 1949, 139.
63. Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa (DK 1.14-15) states his debt and acknowledgement to the *kathā* tradition: *śaśvad Bāṇadvitīyena namadākaṛadhāriṇā/ dhanuṣeva guṇādhyena niḥśeṣo rañjito janaḥ// itthaṃ kāvyakathā-kathanākarasair eṣāṃ kavīnāṃ amī vidvāṃsaḥ paripūrṇakarnāhr̥dayāḥ kumbhaḥ payobhir yathā/ vāco vācyavivekaviklavadhīyāṃ Idṛgvidhā mēdṛśāṃ lapsyante ka kilāvakāśama thavā sarvaṃsaḥ sūrayaḥ//* Or, (1.24) *saṅgatā surasārthena ramyā merucirāśrayā/ nandanodyānamāleḥva svasthair ślokyatāṃ kathā//*. He does, however, also use the word *campū* (1.25): *Udāttanāyakaopetā guṇavadvṛttamuktakā/ campūś ca hārayaṣṭīś ca kena na kriyate hr̥di//* In USK also, the author refers to his work both as a *kathā* and as a *campū* *bhavatā sampraty eva kṛtā campūr Udayasundarīti kathā. Sā ca nirjanāraṇyavartini Sarasvaty-āyatane śāpāgatasya śrāvitā Bāṇabhaṭṭasya*, 155.
64. For a complete statistical analysis of these representative works, see Table 3.2. Although no examples of the distribution of metres has been given from the *mahākāvya*, the authors of this genre generally

prefer the shorter and medium metres rather than the longer ones. In the chart, *Saduktikarṇāmrta* (SKM) has been given as an example of an anthology, *Śakuntalā* (Ś) and *Lalitāmādhava* (LM) of Rūpa Gosvāmī as examples of plays. The two other titles given are *Ānanda-Vṛndāvanacampū* (AVC) and *Gopālacampū* (GC), both of which seem to adhere more closely to the former of the two traditions referred to above. The symbol ✓ indicates that verses in that metre were found in the work, but not in sufficient quantity to be rounded off to a half percent of the total. The rounding off of the percentages makes for a certain inexactitude in the totals which do not always add up to exactly 100%. The calculations have been made on the basis of figures collected by myself in the cases of CB, CBh, AVC, GC, USK, DK and LM. Metrical analysis of Ś and SKM is found in their printed editions. For CR, the analysis of metre for the first five *khaṇḍas* written by Bhoja were supplied to me by V. Kulkarni; those for JM (*Jātakamālā*) are found in Michael Hahn, "Zur Verteilung der Versmasse in der buddhistischen Campūdichtung", ZMDG, Supplement V, XXI, 248. The proportion of prose to verse is an estimate based on the *grantha* system which calculates according to syllable. 

65. A list of pre-16th century *campūs* is given in Appendix II at the end of this volume in which these works are classified according to this typology. Works like *Rukmiṇīpariṇaya*\*, though they start like Type-A works but change in character shortly afterward. Such works have all been styled Type-B.
66. Since the object here is simply to point out the structure of the Sanskrit composition, no translations are provided.
67. *Harṣacarita* 3.5-6. p.42. In this way they follow the tradition of the early citers of verses in the *Brāhmaṇas*, etc., who often introduce verses with a phrase such as *tad apy atra śloko bhavati*. See also USK p.5 (*āryayugaleṣu prakāśaṁ vācayāmsa*), p.14 (*ślokeyugaleṣu stutim akaroḥ*), etc.
68. e.g. YT 1.53-68, 3.376-387, 389-401, 425-435, etc.
69. Other examples of groups of verse used in these works are USK 72-74, the description of morning, similarly at the end of a prose passage; DK 7.28-33, descriptions of the moonrise; DK 5.34-47, pp. 139-143, Śrutaśīla's descriptions of the Vindhya mountains, etc.



70. Bhoja is known to have lived until 1063. A number of other authors were known by the title Abhinava Kālidāsa and the editor of the printed edition, Toḍapalli Sāmbamūrti Śāstrī has identified the author of CBh as Vellāla Cidambara Śāstrin of the sixteenth century who also wrote the RāghavaYādavaPāṇḍavIyam. His arguments are not stated, but are based on the Telugu edition of the CBh edited by Kāśī Bhaṭṭa Brahmayya. Krishnamachariar (History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, Madras, 1937, p.506) identifies our author with a Cidambara contemporaneous with Rāja Rājesvara Coḷa of the early 11th century. If CBh did belong to the early part of the 11th century, it would be the first known work clearly based on BhP which would make it of extra interest. The idiosyncratic account of Rādhā given in this work does speak for its predating Gītagovinda which must have been widely known in all parts of India soon after its composition, particularly on the east coast, including Vijayanagar. Krishnamachariar also states that Ananta Bhaṭṭa was a contemporary of Abhinava Kālidāsa (11th century), but Lienhard dates the latter on the basis of the terminus *a quo*, Mānadeva's commentary to CB at the end of the 16th century. #/ 2,
71. This verse is sometimes translated, "Bāṇa excelled as much in poetry as in prose." This is a result of reading the penultimate word as an instrumental ending of the preceding word rather than as the negative particle: *yadṛg gadyavidhau Bāṇaḥ padyabandhe na tādṛśaḥ*. SKA, Vol I, 142. See also Kane's HC, Introduction, xv.
72. e.g. Campūrāmāyaṇa, Aranyakhaṇḍa, p.245.
73. *hānidadrau* in v.1 is explained *alasatāyāḥ śramasya hāniṃ kṣatiṃ dyanti khaṇḍayanti* *hānidā dravo vṛkṣā yasyāṃ tasyāṃ tatābhuvī; Niyantṛaṇapeṭakeṣu = sarpabandhanamañjuṣāsu.*

## Chapter IV

### The Use of Metre and Prose in Gopālacampū

#### 4.0 Introduction

The *campū* has been defined as a mixed composition. This is generally taken to mean simply the mixture of verse and prose, or metrical and non-metrically bound poetry. In Gopālacampū, Jīva has taken this concept of mixed composition further than any other Sanskrit poet of his age. Showing a great command of all genres of Sanskrit writing, he not only uses the standard classical metres but adds Jayadeva-type songs and lengthy *virudas* or *kalikāśa*, nowhere else to be found in any *campū* work. Not only does he use prose of the variety familiar from Bāṇa and other prose-poetry, but includes lengthy conversations in what could be called a conversational style of Sanskrit, as well as making use of his experience as a writer of theological works to write in an ornamented commentarial language. The purpose of this chapter is to look at the way in which Jīva Gosvāmin has used the two media in the Gopālacampū. This will require an examination first of the use of metre, then of prose and the way the two are combined.

#### 4.1 Prosody

Though Sanskrit prosodists have described a vast number of metrical possibilities, the *campū* literature examined in Chapter 3 of this study generally stayed within the limits of a few familiar classical metres used in Sanskrit literature, almost exclusively of the *varṇavṛtta* type. The *campū* has been influenced by the entire spectrum of Sanskrit literature,

but in its selection of metres, it appears to have looked toward the drama, also mixed in composition, and the anthology, rather than the *mahākāvya*.<sup>1</sup>

In *Gopālacampū*, besides a number of lyrical songs of the type written by Jayadeva and verse of the *viruda* type, JIva has used a total of 38 different types of metre, though only 27 of these are used with any frequency.<sup>2</sup> Thus, making exception for a number of preferences shown by JIva with regard to the choice of metre, he keeps for the most part within the range of familiar metres of classical poetry. He does not attempt a tour-de-force of composition in rare metres in this work as in the ninth chapter of *Mādhavamahotsava*, where he uses not less than 47 different metres including some which cannot be identified according to any extant work on Sanskrit prosody.<sup>3</sup>

JIva shows an intimate knowledge of the prosodical literature, not only in the use of differing metres, but also in the application of at least one obscure prosodical rule, rarely followed in classical Sanskrit prosody, *prahre vā*<sup>4</sup> which states that before the compound letters *pra* or *hra*, a short vowel may optionally be counted short for the purposes of metre (1.2v21: *tr̥ṣṇag apy atihriyā nimimīla*).

A tabulation of the metres used in GC can be found in Appendix II at the end of this volume. It will be seen there that two calculations are made of the percentage of each metre, based on two different totals. The first total counts only original verses composed by JIva himself, the second includes a count of each individual stanza of every song, each quatrain of the *viruda kalikā*s, as well as the 313 complete verses which have been

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

quoted in the work. Since a great number of the quoted verses are integrated into the composition in a harmonious way, it was felt that at least one total should reflect their presence. The individual stanzas of the songs could easily have been included with the first total of original compositions as it would have given a more accurate picture of the bulk of their presence. However, it was decided that one total should reflect more accurately the percentages of the standard classical metres, while a second total would give the real picture of the proportions of each type of metre, showing the bulk of the songs and *virudas* rather than only their number.

##### (a) *Anuṣṭubh*

Jīva has, like most of the other *campū* writers surveyed, used a high percentage of *anuṣṭubh* verses (23.48%). A high percentage of quoted *anuṣṭubh* verses have also been used, bringing the real total percentage to almost 27%. By contrast, Jīva's contemporary Kavi Karṇapūra uses only 3.08%.

##### (b) *Triṣṭubh* and *jagati* (verses of 11 and 12 syllables per quarter)

Though Jīva uses metres of this length in moderate quantity, he has used far less *upajāti*, inclining more to *svāgatā*, *śālinī* and *rathoddhatā* metre. The only *campū* author to use these metres in similar quantities is Karṇapūra. Jīva is the only author of those surveyed to use an *upajāti* combining *indravamśa* and *vamśastha*, which he uses almost to the exclusion of either of those metres in their pure form. Jīva often groups the two types of *upajāti* or their "pure" component metres together, whereas *svāgatā*, *śālinī* and *rathoddhatā* are generally kept separate from them.

(c) Medium length metres (*vasantatilaka* and *mālinī*)

Considering the extent to which *vasanta*<sup>9</sup> generally dominates Sanskrit verse, and particularly its relative importance in the BhP, Jīva has not shown much affection for this metre; (4.26% of his original verse being in this metre.). By way of contrast, Kaṇṇapūra appears to like it very much (23.37%), as do Ananta Bhaṭṭa (Campūbhārata) with 25%, Bhoja (Campūrāmāyaṇa) with 19%, and Abhinava Kālidāsa (Campūbhāgavata) with 14.56%.

(d) Longer metres (17 or more syllables to the quarter)

Jīva, like Kaṇṇapūra (though not to the same degree), uses long metres to a greater extent than the authors of Type-B campūs (35.51%). Though Jīva uses almost 14% *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, this is not exceptional, but even rather on the low side. On the other hand, he uses a greater proportion of *sragdharā* than any other campū author.

(e) *Gaṇacchandas*

After *anuṣṭubh*, Jīva has used the four moric metres, *śryā*, *gīti*, *upagīti* and *udgīti*, more than any other metre; there are 510 verses of this type, representing 14.69% of the total number of original verses in the GC. This is far more than in any other campū author encountered. Jīva's use of these four metres without apparent differentiation is extraordinary. Analysis of the *gaṇacchandas* metres used in pairs or in sequence revealed no discrimination between these four types of metre. Kaṇṇapūra, though using these metres far less than Jīva, similarly mixes them. On the other hand, Kālidāsa uses *śryā* a great deal, but to the exclusion of any of the other types of *gaṇacchandas*. Rūpa, Jīva's guru, similarly shows a distinct

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

preference for *āryā* over the other *gaṇacchandās* metres. Use of this metre appears to be a feature of what we have called the Type-A *campū*s, as Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa and Soḍḍhala also use a high number of *āryā* verses, whereas they are almost totally absent from Type-B works.

#### (f) *Mātrāchandas* (Mixed metres)

In this work JIva has not used the mixed metres very much, only using *puṣpitāgrā* with any frequency and adding a few *viyoginī* (or *vaitāliya*), *of all verse* coming to a total of only 1.67%<sup>1</sup> in the work. JIva has used *puṣpitāgrā* very heavily in *Samkalpakalpadruma*. By way of contrast, Karṇapūra shows the strongest preference for these metres (10.73%).

#### (g) *Gāthās* and *virudas*

JIva's work is unique in its use of these metres, as they have been generally confined to specialized works devoted to them, i.e. *gītikāvyas* such as *Gītagovinda* and its numerous imitators, or *virudāvalīs* such as *Govinda-virudāvalī*, etc. Amongst pre-16th century *campū* authors, only Kavi Karṇapūra has used some *viruda* metres, while none has included any songs. The only other unorthodox use of metre encountered in *campū* works was in YT, where *gāthā* metres are used in its latter portion, and could be considered a separate work.<sup>5</sup> GC contains 37 songs and 20 *virudas*, which form almost 10% of the metrical content of the work. The specific metres used for *virudas* and songs will be described in some detail later in this chapter.

#### 4.11 Uses of classical metres

Despite the large number of works on prosody in Sanskrit, it is surprising

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

that so little has been written on the appropriateness of particular metres for certain subject matter. Only Kṣemendra in his *Suṣṛṭṭatīlaka* (SuT, 3rd *vinyāsa*) seems to have tackled the subject, or at least stated its importance, though his method of dealing with the subject consists of sweeping subjective judgements based on isolated examples. Indeed, little broad generalization can be made about the use of particular metres for specific subjects as any such prescription would inevitably be too constricting to allow any creative freedom for poets already bound by far too much convention. One would be hard-pressed, for instance, to confirm Kṣemendra's statement that *rathoddhatā* is to be used in describing the *vibhāvas*, or *vasantatīlakā* in describing the mixture of *vīra* and *raudrarasas*.

Nevertheless, throughout Sanskrit literature's long history, a number of different literary genres developed, and some metrical usages are certainly associated with those works. In a work like *Gopālacampū*, where the author consciously draws eclectically on a great number of styles in a deliberate effort to create variety, we can expect to see certain patterns emerge. Kṣemendra himself admits that his is only an outline (*digdarśana*) and we shall look at his suggestions as a springboard to conclusions about how Jīva uses the different metres. It must be stated, however, that these conclusions must not be considered in any way to represent rules which were followed strictly like those of grammar, but rather as tendencies or preferences which are subject to exception.

Clearly certain metres work better for particular *alaṃkāras*, frequently reflecting the *kāvya* tradition. For instance, a verse containing the

exchange of dialogue known as *vakrokti* would almost certainly be in *śārdūla* (e.g. 1.31v33-37); a *maṅgala* verse concluding *Harīḥ pātu vaḥ* would *also* quite naturally be expected to appear in *śārdūla* metre (e.g. 1.22v10, etc.) These are traditional types of verse which have great currency in the classical literature and great numbers of such verses are collected in the great anthologies. More specific examples will follow in their proper place.

#### 4.111 *Anuṣṭubh*

##### (a) Introductions

Kṣemendra's (SuT 3.16) suggestion that *anuṣṭubh* be used at the beginning of the *mahākāvya* is corroborated by Jīva's introductory explanation of the purpose of his effort. The three verses in *anuṣṭubh* are followed by two in *gaṇacchandaa*, which gives us an immediate hint of the degree to which these two types of metre are used somewhat interchangeably.

##### (b) Concluding comments

*Anuṣṭubh* is also the favoured metre for use at the end of both morning and evening sessions for the concluding verse, in which Madhukaṇṭha or Snigdhakaṇṭha (in Pūrvacampī) glorify the relation of Nanda or Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa, or (in Uttaracampī) assure the audience that Kṛṣṇa has in fact returned and is eternally reunited with them. In later chapters, some other metres are also used for this purpose when *some weightier statement is called for* (e.g. 1.33v122, 11.37v84-5, *śṛṅgadhara*, 11.37v136, *mālinī*, etc.).

##### (c) Instructions

Kṣemendra continues in the above-cited verse to give two other occasions for the use of *anuṣṭubh*: for the purpose of spiritual instruction



(*śamopadeśa*) and narration (*kathāvistārasaṅgraha*). Both of these uses of *anuṣṭubh*, which is undoubtedly the most popular of all Sanskrit metres, have their roots in actual usage. Spiritual instruction in *anuṣṭubh* is found throughout the Purāṇas, more political types of discourse are found in this metre in *Śiśupālavadha* (*sarga* 3) and *Naiṣadhīyacarita* (*sarga* 17).<sup>6</sup> The GC avoids lengthy discourses of a theological nature, though in ii.25, Uddhava advises Kṛṣṇa on how to deal with Jarāsandha and the invitation to attend the Rājāsūya sacrifice proposed by Yudhiṣṭhira. Uddhava's discourse of twenty pithy verses (ii.25v33-52) is indeed written in *anuṣṭubh*, and S. K. De has drawn attention to a "perceptible influence of Māgha"<sup>7</sup> in this chapter, though other than the use of *anuṣṭubh* for the purpose of such a discourse, I do not know what he could be referring to. Kṛṣṇa's questions about the Indra sacrifice and then instructions to perform a sacrifice to Govardhana are similarly in *anuṣṭubh* (i.18v1-18), though there they are mixed with some commentary in prose.

Clearly *anuṣṭubh* is ideal for the succinct aphorism, and the mixed prose-poetry literature of the Pāṇcatantra, etc., bear testimony to it. Jīva frequently summarizes the essence of a prose paragraph, or captures a moral from it with a single verse or pair of verses in that metre. These may be the statements of one of the characters or the narrator. *E.g.,*

*anunmattaḥ svataḥ sarvaṃ vetti svīyaṃ hitaṃ pītaḥ/  
no ced vetti na ca brūte brūte ced vetti niścitaḥ*/(i.18v26)

Father, a level-headed person automatically knows  
that which is in his own interest;  
if he does not know, then he does not claim to,  
but should he claim to, then he most certainly must know.

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

*amāninām yathā dharmaḥ sthitas tadvaṇ na māninām/  
adyāpi cen na pratītha drāḥ tatpatnīḥ pratīta ca//1.22v11)*

Righteousness does not dwell in the arrogant  
as it does in the self-effacing;  
if you do not wholly believe this by now,  
then look at the wives of the brāhmaṇas.

The wisdom found in such verses is usually of a secular nature, though theological statements in *anuṣṭubh* too may occasionally be found. In general, however, dogmatic assertions, professions of faith or devotion, etc. are more often expressed in the longer metres. (Others: 1.19v47, 22v43, etc.)

#### (d) Narration

The third option for *anuṣṭubh* according to Kṣemendra is in narrative. This undoubtedly arises out of the long tradition of story writing in *anuṣṭubh*, from the epics and purāṇas to his own *Brhatkathāmañjarī*, etc. In general, Jīva has shunned the use of metre for narrative purpose, other than where a particular action presents significant opportunities for the use of *alaṃkāras*. On only a few occasions has a somewhat prosaic narrative interlude been written in verse, though when found these are frequently in *anuṣṭubh*. An example would be in 1.29v65-68, where Kṛṣṇa's secretive visits to Vraja during the course of a pilgrimage to Ambikā are introduced in verse. A little further on, another long sequence of 16 verses in *anuṣṭubh* (1.29v71-86) follows in which Kṛṣṇa takes on a series of female disguises.<sup>8</sup> The lengthiest sequence of *anuṣṭubh* verses in the GC is found in 1.18.91 (v113-143) in which the events of the Govardhana *pūjā* and its aftermath are repeated for the benefit of the gopīs,

describing their reactions to each of the events as they happened. The first 24 verses of this passage are all in *anuṣṭubh* metre:

*param girer eva satraṃ Hariṇā na prakāśitam/  
kintu ŚrīRādhikādīnām ānenendurucer api//  
yadā tu makhasambhāraḥ Kṛṣṇena vipulīkṛtaḥ/  
tadālakṣarasambhāras tābhir apy urarīkṛtaḥ//  
yadā dīpālir ajvālī śikharaṃ śikharaṃ prati/  
sa cāmūś ca mithas tarhi vyadrśyantāvṛtasthalāt//, etc., etc.*

These verses show the parallelism of construction (*yadā... tadā*) which Jīva uses elsewhere, particular in *śikharīṇī* metre (See ii.30.47, 11 verses). These should be considered a type of figure with narrative elements rather than narrative as such.

#### (e) Purāṇic language

Where Purāṇic language is required, such as in i.18v32 where the deity of Govardhana speaks, or in Nārada's brief prayer of five verses in i.33.33. Jīva uses primarily *anuṣṭubh*, the only exception once again being a *gaṇacchandas*. In general, however, it may be said that when Jīva wants Purāṇic language, he quotes directly from his sources, BhP or HV, which he frequently integrates quite closely with his own writing. When describing Kṛṣṇa's visit to the abode of Yama, for example, Jīva has extracted a sequence of eleven *anuṣṭubh* verses from the Skandapurāṇa.

Even where he feigns a purāṇic style, Jīva generally shows his affection for word-play, decorating the simple *anuṣṭubh* with different types of alliteration.

*śam itaḥ śamito yena dānava 'sau sadā navaḥ/  
sa paro 'paratām yātaḥ sodayo 'nudayo bhavān/(i.33v17)*

Being killed by you he attained peace,  
that demon is now ever renewed;  
you are the supreme, become wholly other,  
manifest though never manifest.

*In* another segment of this type, appropriately in *anuṣṭubh*, are five verses in 1.22.52 which include a partial quote from BhP and some narration. The brāhmaṇas lament that their wives have attained heights that they themselves could not.<sup>9</sup>

*tasmai viśvajanīnāya yās tadbhogīnam āharan/  
tā evāsann ātmanīnā dīnās tu bata mādrśāḥ/(1.22v38)*

They who carried foodstuffs for him to enjoy,  
he who seeks the welfare of the entire universe,  
they have reaped the rewards of the soul,  
while those like us are wretched.

(f) Vocabulary verses

Though *anuṣṭubh* has clearly served Jīva in all the ways proposed and perhaps implied by Kṣemendra, some additional comments about his use of this metre can be made. One remarkable use of *anuṣṭubh* in Gopālacampū is in a type of verse containing certain types of word plays where a single idea is at work. I have divided this type of verse into "vocabulary verses" and "grammar verses".

Jīva frequently uses *anuṣṭubh* metre to draw attention to vocabulary normally only found in lexicons:

*aparāddhapṛṣatkā ye ye cāsan kṛtahastakāḥ/  
te sarve tulanām yātāḥ yataḥ śatruṣu sāndratā/(11.19v13)*

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

The words *aparāddhaprṣatkāḥ* ("one whose arrows miss the target, a bad shot") and *kṛtahastakāḥ* ("an expert archer") are found in the same verse of *Amarakoṣa* (2.8.69) as antonyms. In this amusing verse, Jīva says that the difference between them was eliminated due to the density of the enemy forces.

Jīva appears to have written this particular battle scene with *Amarakoṣa* open before him, for just prior to the verse *above* quoted, word plays based on a selection of vocabulary from the same section of *Amarakoṣa* give another good example of this type of *anuṣṭubh* verse.

*āmuktā vārabāṇenāpy amuktā bāṇavṛṣṭibhiḥ/  
śirastrēṇa sametās ca prāpnuvan na śirastratām//  
sannaddhās tatra naddhās te daṃśitāḥ daṃśitāḥ śaraiḥ/  
adhikāṅgayujas tv anye chinnaṅgatvam upāgatāḥ//ii.19v10,11)*

Here, *āmuktāḥ* ("those who are dressed for battle") and *vārabāṇa* ("with protective clothing meant to ward off arrows") are contrasted *amuktāḥ* ("were not free") and *bāṇavṛṣṭibhiḥ* ("from the showers of arrows"); though wearing helmets (*śirastra*) they could not save their heads (*prāpnuvan na śirastratām*). *Sannaddha*, *daṃśita*, and *adhikāṅgayuj* are also all synonyms for "dressed in protective armour".

Another variation of the above "vocabulary verse", is one in which the same word is repeated with different meanings each time, e.g. ii.21v3, where *khagā* means respectively, bird, wind, bird ("he who rides on the king of birds, *Garuḍa*", i.e. *Kṛṣṇa*) and arrow.

*khagā iva gatāv āsann āgatau tu khagā iva/  
khagādhipatipatrasya khagās cikrīḍur atra te//*

## (g) Grammatical theme verses

Similar to the above "vocabulary verses", JIva often uses *anuṣṭubh* to demonstrate an arcane point of grammar, often giving a variety of forms derived on the basis of a single Pāṇiniyan *sūtra*. In one extreme case, JIva writes a sequence of 7 verses (ii.37.82) in which he employs 33 intensive forms derived from 27 different verb roots. There is some variety in the metre as well: one is in the thirty-two syllable metre called *vidyunmālā*, where only *guru* or long syllables are used, while another is *saṁānika*, in which long and short syllables are alternated. One of these *anuṣṭubhs* is formed exclusively of *guru* syllables, except where the general rules for the *anuṣṭubh* metre require short syllables:

*jegIyante 'pi kās caite jeIyante parasparam/  
pepIyante madhūny uccair dodhūyante vadhūmanah//*(ii.37v109)

Another example, which demonstrates more clearly what I mean by a grammatical theme verse is this one describing Kṛṣṇa's feat of lifting Govardhana:

*vāvahīḥ parvataṁ bālāḥ sāsahir na tu cācaliḥ/  
bahir eva yathā vṛṣṭiḥ pāpatir na tadantare//*

The boy kept on supporting the hill,  
remaining steady throughout, never shaking;  
so that the rain kept on falling on the outside  
and not inside the mountain.

The special case of this adjectival form is derived from the intensive forms of four verbal roots. Furthermore, one would say that JIva has used them here as finite verbs rather than adjectives. In actual usage, these forms are nowhere to be found outside the *Ṛgveda*. This and

numerous other examples shall be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.<sup>10</sup> In this type of exercise, Jīva has primarily used the *anuṣṭubh* or *gaṇacchandās* metres, occasionally medium length metres, but rarely if ever the longer ones. Prose too is frequently used to make a display of grammatical knowledge, particularly when the rare forms being used are too awkward to place in verse.

#### (h) Pairing of *anuṣṭubh* verses

A feature of the Type-A *campūs* mentioned above is the paired verse where two *anuṣṭubh* verses are used as a single unit. Jīva appears to have innovated to some extent, treating a single theme in a pair of verses, usually with some word providing a link between the two. Something roughly similar may be found in Udayasundarīkathā or even Bāṇa's prose works, but not anywhere near as frequently, nor it would seem, as deliberately.<sup>11</sup> There are arguably some comparable pairings of verses in the *vasanta* metre as well. Thus,

*sa puram praviśan devīkharām āviśya dakṣiṇe/  
vavāsa yā tatra nāmnā kharavāseti tām vyadhāt//  
adyāpi tām janāḥ sarve Mathurāyām parikrame/  
dakṣiṇe suṣṭhu kurvantaḥ sprśyante 'pūrvayā mudā/(ii.4v3-4)*

Or,

*apūrvam ekam atrāśīt pūrvam naikṣyata yat kvacit/  
tasmai sadyo dadau rūpyam sārūpyam svasya Keśavāt//  
dr̥ṣṭas tacchāyayā spr̥ṣṭaḥ kurvaṃs tadveśam eṣa yaḥ/  
tyaktas tu na tayā vyaktaṃ sārūpyam tan nyarūpyata/(ii.4v16-17)*

Other examples of this type of pairing of verses, which is not to be confused with the *yugmaka*, where a pair of verses are grammatically linked, are found in goodly number.<sup>12</sup> Such pairing of verses is not

limited to *anuṣṭubh*, though by far more frequent in that metre than any other. *Gaṇacchandās* metres are often used in the same way as *anuṣṭubh*, thus we have some verse pairings in those metres as well, e.g. i.26v6-7; ii.22v6-7, etc.

#### 4.112 *Gaṇacchandās* metres:

Kṣemendra has not dealt with the *gaṇacchandās* in his chapter on the uses of metres. It would appear that for Jīva, the *gaṇacchandās* metres are used in similar contexts to those in which *anuṣṭubh* is used, other than for narration. In particular, these metres are used for didactic and aphoristic purposes. Thus, when Nanda's elder brother and chief advisor Upananda gives an analysis of the reasons for leaving Br̥hadvana to go to Vṛndāvana; the verses are written in a mixture of *gaṇacchandās* metres (i.9v5-18) as is his advice to the Vrajavāsīs about giving permission to Kṛṣṇa to get married in Dvārakā (ii.10v30-43). Nanda's greetings and praise of Garga (i.6v19-24) also have this aphoristic character:

*svāgatapṛcchā dhārṣṭyaṃ, bhavati mahiṣṭhe sadeti gṛīr yuktā/  
tadapi surārcām anu sā, yadvan nirmīyate tadvat/(i.6v20)*

It is said that inquiries after well-being are always an affront when made of someone who is truly great. This is true, yet even so, just as one formally makes such inquiries in the course of worshipping the gods,  
so also should one do when with saints.

Though the Hindu scriptures are generally written in *anuṣṭubh*, nevertheless Jīva occasionally uses *gaṇacchandās* at moments when scriptural language is called for. Thus, the preamble to the Govardhana-



*pūjā* is concluded with Kṛṣṇa advising the cowherds in a verse recalling the *phalaśrutis* of the *smṛti* literature:

*āḍhyamkaraṇī śubhamkaraṇī tadvat priyamkaraṇī/  
 ŚrīGovardhanapūjānāmnī vidyā parisphurati//  
 Govardhanagiriyaññāvajñā tu Gotrabhitpūjā/  
 andhamkaraṇī palitamkaraṇī negnamkaraṇy api//* (1.18v25-6)

These two verses are paired and contain a grammatical theme also. A number of other grammatical theme verses are found in these metres (e.g. 1.16v17) as is their pairing in the way demonstrated in the description of *anuṣṭubh* usage. In the following example, we find a pair of *āryā* verses which besides having the repeated theme "in front of our king" (*asman-nṛpateḥ purataḥ/ agre*), also lists 12 of the superlatives in *-iṣṭha* found in Pāṇ vi.4.156-7 (HNV 3.546-7).<sup>13</sup>

*drāghīṣṭha-kṣepīṣṭha-preṣṭha-variṣṭha-sthaviṣṭha-bamhiṣṭhāḥ/  
 asmannṛpateḥ purataḥ sarve garveṇa ricyante// apī ca,  
 vṛndīṣṭha-kṣodīṣṭha-jyeṣṭha-garīṣṭha-hraśīṣṭha-sādhīṣṭhāḥ/  
 asmannṛpater agre viparītābhāparītāḥ syuḥ//* (1.30v18-9)

The similarity of Jīva's usage of *gaṇacchandas* and *anuṣṭubh* is proved by the incidence at least once of verse pairing in which both of these metres are used, first an *anuṣṭubh* followed by an *upagīti*.

*ekam ekam adhaḥ kṛtvā mukhaṃ tatra caturmukhaḥ/  
 namann anyamukhasyordhvībhaṅvāt pūrtiṃ jagāma na//  
 yadyapi na naman mumude vidhir ekāsyānavāgbhaṅvāt/  
 tadapi Harer mukhaścandrālokaślopan mudam lebhe//* (1.11v29-30)

The four-faced Brahmā bowed each of his faces, one by one,  
 but when one was bowed, another faced upward,

leaving him unsatisfied.

Even though he was not joyful while bowing,  
 because one head remained always raised,

He nevertheless found joy,  
for his vision of Kṛṣṇa's moon-like face was uninterrupted.

In several chapters, verses in *gaṇacchandās* predominate. In particular, the verse content of ii.11 and ii.34 is almost exclusively in these metres. No other chapters of GC have been so dominated by a single metre. Both chapters have a unique flavour: the first is the *bhramaragīta*, where *gaṇacchandās* verses come as pithy statements lending expression to Rādhā's thoughts which are described in prose. The second of these two chapters contains 94 verses in mixed *gaṇacchandās* metres, which other than performing the descriptive function of describing Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's pre-nuptial bath and toilet, also undertake to give an exhaustive exhibition of the poetic figures. This may be an indication that Jīva felt these metres to be particularly suitable for a simple presentation of the *alaṃkāras*. A comparatively high proportion of the examples given in *Sāhityadarpaṇa*'s sixth chapter, the exposition of the *alaṃkāras*, 15 also in these metres.

Jīva occasionally uses a partial end-rhyme in verses of this metre, e.g.<sup>14</sup>

*jitanavakalpadrudale, Vṛṣaraviputryā bhujādale vimale/  
mudrāḍīdyutisukale, rejatur udyatkale paritaḥ*/(ii.34v33)

More beautiful than the young branches of a wish-fulfilling tree,  
are the flawless arms of the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu,  
the givers and enjoyers of wealth/auspicious signs  
and the forms of dawning art.

#### 4.113 Longer metres

After the *anuṣṭubh* and *gaṇacchandās* metres, the use of the longest metres, i.e. with 17 syllables or more per line, seems to be the most clearly

defined. <sup>in GC.</sup> As a general rule it may be true to say that the longer the metre, the more weight is being given to its content by the author. Kṣemendra's suggestion that *śārdūla* (SuT 3.22) is meant for panegyrics in glorification of a king's valour seems logical in view of the above observation, but is hopelessly limited when one considers the actual wide usage of this metre.

#### (a) Alliterative verses

Kṣemendra's observation that *sragdharā* is used for the turmoil arising out of a windstorm, <sup>etc.,</sup> (*sāvegapavanādīnām* SuT 3.22) can be substantiated in GC by at least one example (i.7v6)

*utsarpatkarparāṃśavranajanakajavaḥ śrotradṛktaṛjagarja-  
dhvānastruṭyakūṭheṣu prakaṭakaṭakaṭeṣv ardhayān vāyur āyuh/  
goṣṭhaṃ koṣṭhaṃ ca bhindann aṭati bata hahāhanta kiṃ tatra vṛttaṃ  
yatrāste nīlapaṅkeruhadalātulanā līlitāṅgaḥ sa bālaḥ//*

The whirlwind's speed caused pieces of gravel to be raised up,  
inflicting wounds,  
it made a sound of roaring and whining  
which pained the eyes and the ears,  
it uprooted trees which made a crashing sound  
and caused distress to life itself.  
Breaking through the cowpens and the residential quarters  
it penetrates everywhere.  
Oh, what has it done there where lies that child  
who is softer than the petal of a blue lotus flower?

It will be clear from the above verse that the longer metres are especially effective in describing the effects of natural disasters and general commotion. In such circumstances, much alliteration is used, particularly of the palatal consonants. These are, however, not to be restricted to the

longest popular lyric metre. The following verse, describing the rainstorm sent by Indra after Kṛṣṇa persuaded the Vrajavāsīs to abandon performing a sacrifice to him, is in *prthvī* (1.18v72):

*ghaḍad ghaḍad iti dhvanadghanaghaṭābhisaṅghaṭṭanaiḥ  
kaṭhorakuṭhakuṭṭakaiḥ kuṭilavāyubhiḥ kuṇṭhite/  
prakoṣṭhakuṭṭakūṭṭimāvaṭataṭāḍimaty ujjhite  
jane prakāṣam āṭa sā prathitadhrṣṭivṛṣṭiprathā/15*

(b) *Maṅgalācaraṇas* and *dhyānas*

Another prominent use of the longer metres is in *maṅgalācaraṇa*-type verses, situated at various important commencements throughout the work.<sup>16</sup> Similar to these are the grammatically simple prayers or meditations, intermittently used to add an element of devotional feeling from the speakers of the *campū*, Madhukaṇṭha and Snigdhaṇṭha or by characters in the narrative.

*śyāmāṅgedyuti kiṅkiṇidhvanidharam riṅgātiraṅgapradam  
kaṛṣac chaśvad udūkhalam kharakharatkāraprakārapratham  
viśphūrjatpratimāṛjunadvayakaṭatkārārjitāt kautukāt  
paryāvṛttanirYkṣaṇam Vrajavadhūlālyasya bālyam stuve/1.8.36)*

I praise that childhood of the one  
who was fondled by the wives of Vraja,  
whose bodily colour is blackish,  
who jingles with the sound of waist bells,  
who gives great pleasure with his crawling,  
who constantly pulled the mortar about  
    making a type of harsh dragging sound,  
and who upon hearing the crashing sound of the two Arjuna trees,  
    like a clap of thunder,  
    turned around and looked back with curiosity.

## (c) Letters and messages

Kṣemendra further prescribes (SuT 3.21), on the basis of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* no doubt, that themes of separation should be dealt with in the *mandākrāntā* metre. His opinion is justified, as the numerous pastiche *dūtakāvya*s dealing with this theme are almost universally written in *mandākrāntā*. Rūpa Gosvāmin breaks with this tradition in one of his two "messenger" poems, *Haṃsadūta*, which is written in *śikharīṇī*, though the other, *Uddhavasandēśa*, is indeed written in *mandākrāntā*. Jīva has had a great opportunity to follow suit, for a <sup>substantial</sup> portion of the *Uttaracampū* consists of forlorn love-letters from Rādhā and the gopīs in Vraja to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā and Dvārakā and letters of return. Jīva has written these letters exclusively in verse/ <sup>of longer metres</sup> though *mandākrāntā* is not the one which is generally favoured. In 11.3v8-14, the gopīs reaction to Kṛṣṇa's preparations for departure and the first exchange of messages 11.3v20-28 are in *sragdharā*, while most of the later messages are either in *śārdūla*, *sragdharā* or *śikharīṇī*.<sup>17</sup> The following is an example of one of Kṛṣṇa's first messages to the gopīs:

Īyāsyāmy āśu hatvā tam adhiMadhupuraṃ Kaṃsaṃ apy asti dūraṃ  
 Vatsādyāghātadhāmnah puram api kim adas tat priyāḥ kutra duḥkham/  
 kintv anyat prārthitaṃ yad bhavadabhirucitaṃ tad vidhatta prasattya  
 prāṇe prāṇeśvarībhir mayi kim ayi param hanta mantavyam antaḥ//

(11.3v20)

I shall return soon after killing Kaṃsa in Mathurā,  
 though the city be far from the place  
 where Vatsa and the other demons were killed,  
 what is that to me?  
 So why are you distressed?  
 But the other things that you have asked for  
 you shall have when I return as much as you desire.

What else should my heart's mistresses  
think about me, who am their life?

Not only these, but most sincere statements of feeling as well as blessings,  
etc. are also generally in the longer metres, as in the following statement  
of Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā after their marriage and ascension to Goloka (i.37v121).

*ārāmaṇ paricīyatām sakhi sakhīvr̥ndaṁ samānīyatām  
līlādhāma vidhīyatām nijakālākelis tvayā cīyatām/  
rāsādyam muhur īyatām mama ratis tatrāpi saṁgīyatām  
sarvaṁ suṣṭhu vijīyatām kim adhikaṁ maddhīr vaśe dhīyatām//*

Familiarize yourself with the garden,  
Oh beloved, take your friends there with you  
and make it your playground,  
may your sports there be many!  
Constantly perform the rāsa dance there,  
sing the songs of my love,  
conquer over the entire creation.  
What more can I say? Reign there over my heart.

(d) The cataloguing verse

One feature of the above verse, which recurs again and again in nearly all  
the longer metres, is the listing of certain activities, people or objects in  
what may be termed the "catalogue verse". These items are catalogued in  
verse rather than in prose, often with a fanciful twist at the end, as in  
the above verse which concludes with Kṛṣṇa's final, most important  
request. Some of these are of the type often called *mālā-ālaṁkāras* by the  
Sanskrit critics (*mālopaṁś* etc.). Other *ālaṁkāras* which use a repetitive  
theme in a longer verse are *sandeha* (i.3v21, v46, 18v30, 24v51), *niraṅga-*  
*rūpaka* (i.30v15, ii.13v12), *dīpaka* (i.33v110), *kāvya-līṅga* (i.24v22,

(4) The use of Metre and Prose

*vasantatilaka*), *anumāna* (i.11v28), *pratīpa* (i.34v46), *sāṅgarūpaka* (i.21v50), *samuccaya* (i.33v61); *parikara* (ii.21v6, 17v18, 8v25), etc.

Some other verses catalogue something with no real literary ornament being involved, such as this verse in *sragdharā* from the *Uttaracampū* in which Madhukañṭha identifies the queens in *Dvārakā* with the *gopīs* in *Vraja* (ii.17v53):<sup>18</sup>

*Candrālyā Bhīṣmakanyā Vṛṣaravisutayā Satyabhāmā Viśākhā-  
nāmnyā Dyōratnakanyā sphurati Lalitayā Jāmbavadvarṣmajātā/  
Śyāmāṅgyā Lakṣmaṇākhya Śivitanujuṇuṣā Mitravindābhīdhānā  
Bhadrāvalyātha Bhadrā prakṛtidarasamā Padmayā sā ca Satyā//*

The following example follows closely the classic model of the "catalogue verse", which has its antecedents in the *BhP* (e.g. xi.2.39, etc.) and in most devotional *stutis*. In it, the joyful activities of the cowherds during the move from *Bṛhadvana* to *Vṛndāvana* are listed.

*eko dhāvatī kaścanāhvayati ko 'py atrottaraṃ bhāṣate  
kaścit tatra nivṛtya gacchati nijaṃ sambhālayaty anyakaḥ/  
sarvo gāyati Kṛṣṇabālyacaritaṃ bāṣpāyate stambhate  
svidyaty ejati romaharṣam ayate vaivarṇyam āśīdati/(i.9v22)*

Someone ran, another called out, someone else shouted the answer,  
someone went to turn back another's cow,

while another controls his own;

everyone sang about the childhood deeds of Kṛṣṇa  
and shed tears, were stunned, perspired,

trembled, shivered and lost colour [from ecstasyl.

We may also include amongst these cataloguing verses those spoken by the messengers engaged by Nanda to bring news of Kṛṣṇa's exploits, where they commence their accounts with a summarizing verse, usually in *sārdūla*

or *sragdharā*. As an example, we give this verse summarizing the first part of the Syamantaka episode in *Dvārakā*:<sup>19</sup>

*siṃhasyādhīpadam Prasenam adhiyan dīrṇam tathā tam mahā-  
bhallukasya tadīyavartmagamanāt tadgartamadhyam viśam/  
aṣṭāvīṃśadināntam atra samaram Kṛṣṇaḥ pracityāmunā  
ratnam tac ca sutām ca tasya jagṛhe gehe ca Satrājitaḥ*/(ii.17v2)

Finding Prasena mauled at the lion's den,  
then following the trail of the great bear  
to his hole, where he entered,  
Kṛṣṇa engaged in battle with him for twenty-eight days,  
after which he took the jewel from him,  
as well as his daughter, and the daughter of Satrājit, too.

#### (e) Theological verses

In GC, we find that though the shorter metres may have been used for the aphoristic statement of moral truth, theological truths are more generally reserved for the lengthier verses, in particular *śārdūlavikrīḍītā*, which is undoubtedly the metre with the most gravitas in Sanskrit literature. *Anuṣṭubh* verses, in particular, often seem to be particularly light-hearted; this is much less often the case with longer metres, though the *vakrokti*, containing alternating questions and clever responses, is almost always written in *śārdūla*, (e.g. i.31v33-4, 36) though in GC, i.31v35 is in *śikharīṇī*, while the similar bantering verses i.9v27-29 are in *sragdharā*. Nearly all Jīva statements summarizing the justice of Kṛṣṇa's return to Vraja or his marriage to the gopīs are expressed in *śārdūla*.<sup>20</sup>

*yaḥ pūrvam Yadupattane Murarīpor āsīt vivāhakramam  
sphītāḥ smaḥ kila tena gopasadeṇ yaś cātra tenāpy atha/  
kintv ādye hr̥di vāci ca pratigate śamyātmanā sma sthitā  
hamho paśyata sāmprate vayam itā bhadraśriyā nānyatām*/(ii.32v40)



That sequence of marriages undertaken previously  
by Kṛṣṇa in the city of the Yadus  
    made us feel proud and joyful,  
as does his marriage in the home of the cowherds.  
But (with this difference),  
when we hear of the first or dwell on it in our hearts,  
    we are left unmoved,  
while, just look, on the occasion of this present marriage  
we have merged into the blessings of great fortune.

#### 4.114 Other metres:

No exhaustive analysis was possible for the use of other metres. *Upajātis* of both 11 and 12 syllables to the quarter have a purāṇic flavour and appear to be used to describe the killing of certain demons (e.g. i.32v4-12); the descriptions of the city of Nanda (i.1v55-63, ii.37v63-70) are <sup>also</sup> in a mixture of these metres. *Vasantatilaka*, like the *upajātis*, is found in some of the more poetic portions of BhP, and is occasionally imitated by similar verses in GC (e.g. x.53.37-43, ii.16v2-9). Other, more frequently used metres, *śālinī*, *svāgatā*, *rathoddhatā*, *praharṣiṇī*, etc. are used more or less for the simple *upamās*, *utprekṣās* and *rūpakas*, the similes, poetic fancies and metaphors that are the mainstay of the Sanskrit poet rather than for narrative purpose per se.

#### 4.115 The mixing of metres

Although JIva occasionally uses a single metre in sequence, including *praharṣiṇī* (ii.35v27-31), *mālinī* (ii.36v25-42), *sragdharā* (ii.2v14-20, 3v8-14, 20-28, 6v9-16), *śikharīṇī* (ii.1v20-9), *śārdūla* (ii.20v30-5), *drutavilambitā* (ii.20v3-9), *anuṣṭubh* (i.18v113-36 and other places), *jāti* metres (ii.34v4-46, v50-94 and others), *upajāti* metres (ii.35v41-46 and those mentioned above),

usually to carry though a particular descriptive theme, he applies his poetic abilities to the cause of variety also. After 1.24v7, for instance, the eleven verses ending v17 are in as many different metres. Verses 12-13 are a paired set which have nevertheless two different metres. Such sections in mixed metre are generally found in those chapters where prose dominates and seem intended to redress the balance of metre to the verse.

#### 4.116 Metrical faults:

Although Jīva is fairly meticulous about his prosody, he does on occasion enjamb his lines. Syntactically, he does not find it a fault to ignore the *yati* or the end of the quarter or even the half of the verse to complete an idea. There is wide attestation of this kind of thing in Sanskrit literature. More unpleasant is the occasional splitting of words at the end of a line. For example:

*āśliṣṭaḥ pratidṛṣṭicumbitamukhaḥ sughrātamūrdhā dṛgar-  
ṇaḥsiktaḥ suhrdām puro bhuvī dhṛtaḥ svenāpi nirmañchitaḥ* (1.5v24)

Another similar case is in 1.1v49 where there is an enjambment on the third line, splitting the word *vikīr-ṇa*.

#### 4.12 Song metres

Jīva has used song metres to good effect throughout *Gopālacampū*, particularly in those segments of the book which deal with Braj. Segments describing festive occasions generally call for a song. One particularly outstanding song is sung as the cowherds circle Govardhana (1.18v65). Anyone who has seen the *Girirāja parikramā* of modern residents of the area will be aware of the songs, etc. chanted antiphonically by groups of

persons as they make the walk. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's marriage is another natural situation calling for songs to be sung and there are a number of them in the *adhivāsa*, etc. Another remarkable song is that of Yaśodā's ripostes to the accusations of other gopīs who tell her that Kṛṣṇa has stolen butter and done other mischievous deeds (i.7v47).

Elsewhere, Jīva has taken the cue from his Purāṇic sources: wherever BhP calls for a song, e.g. Mother Yaśodā glorifying her child as she churns for butter (BhP x.9.2) or she and Rohiṇī as the family voyages to Vṛndāvana from Mahāvana (BhP x.11.33), there Jīva provides the lyrics that were sung (i.8v2, 9v24). On one occasion (i.24.13) Jīva takes the cue for a song from BhP (x.29.44), while finding a clue for the song's content from ViP (v.13.52: *jagau gopījanas tv ekaṃ Kṛṣṇanāma punaḥ punaḥ*).

Jīva has nowhere specified the *rāga* in which a song is expected to be sung. On two occasions (i.29v55, *prāṭastanalalitarāga*; ii.36v56, *prābhāṭika-rāga*), he does mention that a morning *rāga* was to be used. The term *mallārarāga* is mentioned in the context of Kṛṣṇa's playing the flute to attract clouds to him during the heat (i.31.34).

It would appear from the types of metres used by Jīva in his songs that he was directly influenced by Jayadeva, particularly since two of Jīva's songs (i.24v6, ii.33v13) follow closely the rather original metrical patterns used by Jayadeva in his Gītagovinda (songs 1 and 2). For the majority of his songs, however, Jīva makes use of varieties of Apabhraṃśa *pāḍākulaka* metre of sixteen moric instants per line, or the *dvipadīs* and *ṣaṭpadīs* of twenty-eight. Several of the metres Jīva has used, however, do appear to

be original. In the following classification, *pāḍākulaka* and its varieties are listed, then the *dvīpadī*s and finally other metres will be described and examples given.

#### 4.121 *Pāḍākulaka, pāraṇaka, aḍillā*

*couplets of fifteen or*

This group of related Apabhraṃśa metres contains/sixteen moric instants per line with no fixed cæsura. Although generally most of the lines can be scanned as 4 groups of 4 moræ, there are a sufficient number of exceptions to show that Jīva was rather following a pattern conforming to the Apabhraṃśa 6 + 4 + 4 + 2. The distinctions between the three types are made on the basis of the final syllabic arrangement of each line: *pāḍākulaka*, uu -; *pāraṇaka*, uu u; and *aḍillā*, uu uu. Most Sanskrit prosodists subsume these and other metres of 16 *mātrās* under *pāḍākulaka*.<sup>21</sup> The above distinction is made on the basis of the discussion of Apabhraṃśa prosody made by Alsdorf.<sup>21</sup>

It is found that the metres in this group have been assigned *dhruvapadas* or refrains by the editor, though there is little reason to believe that they are in fact such. On the other hand, in three of these songs, (below: c, i,ii; d. iv) we have something like the Apabhraṃśa optional strophe/initial couplet in a different metre (*duvaṇ*). More clearly,

we have the essential Apabhraṃśa feature in these three songs of a strophe-ending couplet in a different metre, known as *ghaṭṭā* or *dhruvaka*. These three songs, all appearing in the *Uttaracampū*, mark the apogee of a trend away from Jayadeva's uniform *pāḍākulaka* ending in --, towards the Apabhraṃśa and Hindi -uu.

(a) *Pāḍākulaka*: The following three songs are of the pure *pāḍākulaka* sort; they all have a strophic rhyme scheme, i.e. one which is consistent throughout the song.

(i) 1.7v45; 7 couplets, including the alleged refrain.

*grhagrhavīkṣaṇasakṣaṇanetrau/  
dhenupālatulayā dhṛtavetrau//*

UUUU- UU- UU- -

-U-U UU- UU- -

rhyme: masc. dual endings in \*au throughout, though pairs must match \*āsau, \*etrau, \*inau, \*antau, \*uṣau, \*anau.

(ii) 1.11v33; 9 couplets including alleged refrains. Last six couplets all rhyme in \*ān. This song can consistently be scanned in 4 groups of 4 moræ (4 x 4).

*nandatanujanur adya vyālam/  
hatavēn hṛtavēn asmatkālam//*

(iii) 1.29v60: 9 couplets including an alleged refrain, all rhyming in \*antam. There is one exception to the (4 x 4) scansion of the song in couplet (h): *kirati cūrṇam anu pūrṇadanantam*.

(b) The Apabhraṃśa *pāraṇaka* metre, which has fifteen syllabic instants to the line, very strikingly in the pattern 6 + 2.2 + 2 + 3. Song 16 of *Gītag* is of an analogous metre (4 + 4 + 4 + 3). This song also has strophic rhyme scheme.

(i) 1.18v65; 10 couplets of the following character: all lines are composed of fifteen syllabic instants, all separable at eight, but not necessarily at four. The first moric group of six instants is expressed in this song once UUU-U, once as U--U, and once as U-U-. Otherwise, UU UU UU, etc. Thus, e.g.

*giripūjeyam vihitā kena/ araci śakrapadam abhayam yena/*

(c) *Aḍillā*; basically the same, but ends on *uu*. Both these songs contain certain irregularities

(i) *il.36v56*: 8 couplets including alleged refrain. With exception of this first couplet (cadence *uu-*), all lines are consistently *aḍillā*. The distinctive opening verse, which also has a rhyme different from the strophic theme, is a legitimate option of the *Apabhraṃśa* prosody. Again with one other exception (cad. *-uu*), all lines end in *uuuu*. Rhyme throughout *\*ati* or *\*api* (once only).

(ii) *il.5v69* is also in *aḍillā* metre. At the end of the last verse (which consists entirely of repetitions of the word *jaya*) the *viruda* marker *vīra* has been appended. The song does indeed consist of nothing but epithets in the vocative case and should perhaps more correctly have been included under *viruda* metres. The first line of *one* verse is also irregular, opening with the wholly anomalous license of *-u-*, which is also found sporadically in later Hindi songs.

(d) Mixed *pāḍākulaka*. The following four songs are primarily of the above *pāḍākulaka* type (para. a above) with exceptions in certain couplets. These songs are also different from the above in that they have rhyming couplets rather than strophic theme rhyme.

(i) *l.12v19*; 16 couplets. This song has no alleged refrain. Last syllable is exceptionally short in two cases (c,f) = *pāraṇaka*. (4 × 4)

(ii) *l.21v7*; 30 couplets including alleged refrain. Couplets y,z have the characteristics of *aḍillā* (ending in two short syllables), while cc has the characteristics of *pāraṇaka* (ending in a short syllable).

(iii) *l.7v47*; 18 couplets, including alleged refrain. The song is conversational, the first half of each couplet spoken by the accusing *gopīs*, the latter containing *Yasodā*'s defence of her son.

*tava sūnur muhur anayaṃ kurute/*

*akuruta kiṃ vā vyañjitaḥ kurute//*

Last couplet has the exceptional *aḍillā* ending (d). (4 × 4)

(iv) ii.33v29; 6 couplets. Each foot has the same initial word (the *ādiyamaka*), in this instance Kṛṣṇa's name *Mādhava*. This song is introduced as a *maṅgalagīta* to be sung while Kṛṣṇa is bathed on the eve of his wedding to Rādhā. Couplet (c) ends -uu, while (f) ends -u.

#### 4.122 The Apabhraṃśa *dvīpadī* metre

The songs grouped here typically contain couplets of 28 instants to each line. All of these also have a shorter line of sixteen instants as part of the refrain. Though often one finds a clearly defined caesura after sixteen instants, there are numerous exceptions to this apparent rule. The Apabhraṃśa *dvīpadī* is calculated according to *gaṇas* of 6 + 4 + 6, 6 + 6 with caesura (Alsdorf, p.195), while Hemacandra and Prākṛtapaiṅgala suggest 6 + (5 × 4) + a long syllable, without the caesura. This phrasing also appears in Jayadeva (Song 3).

(a) *Dvīpadī*: 7 *gaṇas* with a caesura after 16 instants (4.4.4.4, 4.4.4), with strophic rhyme.

(i) i.17v40; 7 couplets, including refrain. Other than refrain uuuu, all lines end uu--. Strophic rhyme -am.

(ii) i.29v58; 6 couplets including refrain; strophic rhyme \*aṅgam. A weak caesura in (b). Refrain:

*Kṛṣṇavanam sakhi bhāti saraṅgam/*

*bhavatīm iva laghu netum adhīśaṃ sevita madhurasasaṅgham//*

(iii) i.22v21; 6 couplets including refrain; strophic rhyme in \*am (uu--).

(iv) 1.21v65; 8 couplets including refrain. Very weak or irregular cæsura in b,c (14 + 14). Strophic rhyme in -am, with some exceptions.

(b) *Dvipadī* with rhyming couplets. There are nine songs of this type (GC 1.27v31, 30v26, 31v24-6, 31v27-30, 31v38-41, 31v42; ii.33v39, 35v26, 35v40). In two exceptional cases (i.31v42, ii.33v39) the first line of the refrain consists of only 12 moræ (e.g. *RādhāMādhavayugalam*/)

#### 4.123 The Apabhraṃśa *ṣaṭpadī*.

Like the *dvipadī*, verses of this metre have 28 instants to a line, but have an additional cæsura after eight instants accompanied by an internal rhyme scheme *aabccb* (4 + 4/ 4 + 4/ 4 + 4 + 4). The last *gaṇa* may optionally be of 3 instants. Jayadeva uses this metre in GG song 11.

(i) 1.8v2: Seven couplets (including refrain). This song has the further exception of five moræ in the last *gaṇa* of the refrain.

Refrain: *gokulapatikulatilake tvam esīha/*

-uu uuuu uu- uuu (3 x 4) + 5

*kṛtasukṛtavraja-racitasukhavraja nayanānandisamīha//*

uuuu -uu, uuuu -uu, uu- -uu -u (6 x 4) + 3

Verses continue in pattern of latter line. The last syllable of each foot, though short on all but three occasions, is invariable counted long.

(ii) 1.26v22; 16 verses. The first line of the refrain contains only 11 instants (= 4 + 4 + 3) rather than the 16 one finds in the *dvipadī*. Refrain:

*jaya jaya sadguṇasāra/*

*jagati viśiṣṭaṃ kalayitum iṣṭaṃ Gokulalasadavatāra//*

(iii) 1.14v13; 4 verses only including refrain, strophic rhyme in *\*anam*. There is internal rhyme in the last verse only:



*sukṛtījanam prati śayyāsaṃskṛti-  
samanujñām anuśayanam/  
priyasakhasaṅgatim anusevy anugatim  
anu ca mudām aticayanam//*

#### 4.124 Other song metres

(a) 4 + 4 + 3; Last syllable short throughout. Unattested metre containing couplets of 11 instants per line (uu uu uu uu -u). Both examples consist of rhymed couplets dominated by vocatives.

(i) i.9v24; 10 couplets including alleged refrain.

*nandamahīpatijāta/ nanda yaśodāmāta//*

(ii) ii.22v13; 14 couplets, no alleged refrain. This is one of two poems of the Vrajavandins which is in moric metre (See above 4.121,c,ii (GC ii.5v67). As with the previous song, it consists primarily of vocatives, though no *viruda* marker is found.

*Dvividadurantacaritra/ kopin sajjanamitra//*

(b) Like that of Jayadeva's *daśāvatārastotra* (GG, song 1). Contains strophes of 20 moræ (4 + 4 + 2, 4 + 4 + 2) with a clear caesura after 10, and 16 moræ (4 × 4). The refrain, 13 + 10. Jīva slightly obscures the Jayadeva *akṣaracchandāsa* rhythm by permitting a long syllable for 3rd and 4th moræ.

(i) i.24v6: a conversation between Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs.

*Vidhur ayam āgatavān śaradāṃ prati samprati/  
itavān vidhur atha nahi bhavatīḥ prati//  
(ref.) Mādhava! jaya Gokulavīra/  
jaya jaya Kṛṣṇa Hare//*

(ii) i.6v55; 8 verses rhyme scheme throughout 'ārī. The first line of the refrain contains one long syllable less than found in *daśāvatārastotra* and the previous example (11 + 10).

*riṅganakelisukhe, janani sukhakārī/  
vrajaḍṛṣi sukṛtasphuradevatārī//  
(ref.) valayitabālyavilāsa  
jaya balavalita hare//*

(c) As in Gītag, song 2 (*maṅgalagītam*); Strophes of 12, 6 (uu-uu) and 11 instants, with the first two strophes rhyming. The end rhyme is constant throughout. The refrain has ten instants, 4 + 4 + 2 (uuuu -uu -). The refrain is analogous to the above two examples (*jaya jaya Kṛṣṇa Hare* is the same in 1.24v6), thus 11 + 10, even though the eleven syllable line changes after each couplet.

(i) 11.33v13. Jīva has further embellished this particular song by commencing each line with *Rādhā'* and including *Gokula* in the third foot. The end-line rhyme continues throughout the eight lines of the song.

*Rādhārākāśasādhara/ muralīkara/ Gokulapatikulapāla//  
jaya jaya Kṛṣṇa Hare//  
Rādhābādhāmocana/ sukharocana/ vidalitaGokulakāla//  
jaya jaya Kṛṣṇa Hare//*

(d) Couplets of 14 instants (8 + 6), with mostly weak cæsurae (once 6 + 8, in c), with an obligatory final anapest (uu-).

(i) 1.29v55; six strophes, all rhyming in 'are. This has *the* signature familiar to us in the songs of Rūpa Gosvāmī, i.e. the "hidden" name of his guru, Sanātana. This song is said to have been sung to a morning tune:

*jāgaraṇād atha kuñjavare/  
vīkṣitabhāskara-rucinikare//*

(e) Like song 19 of Gītagovinda, contains cretic feet, i.e. *gāṇas* of five instants, 5.5 + 5.5, 5.5.4. Refrain: 5.5 + 5.5.4.

(i) 11.35v75: Jīva uses aabccb rhyme scheme, found in some verses of the Jayadeva song (4,7,8).

(Ref.) *Aho paśya citraṃ gopakularājimāhimānam/  
ya iha sutakarmaṇe/ parinayanaśarmaṇe  
'cinuta kamalāgaṇam amānam//*

(f) A rather special instances of metrical usage which should be subsumed under the category of songs is a series of verses at the beginning of i.25. The song paraphrases, and often incorporates quotations from the BhP chapter x.31, in which the song of the gopīs, known popularly as *gopīgītā*, is sung. As on other occasions where JIva has written songs, the BhP has clearly introduced the chapter with the word *jaguh* ("they sang"). BhP x.31 has nineteen verses in a little used metre called *rājahamṣī* or *vibhūṣaṇā*, which is calculated according to the *varṇavṛtta* scheme as follows: uuu-u-, -u-u-. This adds up to sixteen *mātrās* in the moric method of calculation. The moric origins of this metre are evident in the BhP which has several verses which depart from the *varṇavṛtta* scheme, indicating that the initial two short syllables are optionally long. Hemacandra names a *varṇavṛtta* metre of rhyming six syllable couplets called *vidagdhaka* which matches the first six syllables of *rājahamṣī* and also has the option of a long or two short syllables at the outset of each line. A further striking feature of the prosody of this BhP chapter is that in alternate *pādas*, the second, and sometimes the third and even the fourth syllables are identical. JIva has used the same metre, but has substituted rhyming couplets for the initial rhyme of BhP, though vestiges of the latter appear in many of the verses. He has almost completely abandoned the long initial syllable option, using it on only one occasion (i.25v22). Despite his adherence to the *varṇavṛtta* scheme, JIva clearly

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

sees the section as a song, for he starts with a half verse which appears to be a refrain, though not indicated by the word *dhruvaḥ*. *Vrajaavidho daśāsmākam Ikṣyatām, Vrajaavidho daśāsmākam Ikṣyatām//*

In this section, JIva has followed the BhP closely, even borrowing whole lines, only making adjustments in view of the changed rhyming pattern and a few additions made to accommodate nuances found in VT. There are thus a few more verses (25) in JIva's version of *gopīgītā* than in the original. Though the similarity of the two versions shows the reverence in which the BhP's *gopīgītā* were held, it also makes the section one of the least innovative in GC.

#### 4.13 Virudāvalī

One of the types of metrical style of writing adopted in places by JIva is the *viruda*, which has apparently been adopted by Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava writers more often than others. The *viruda* or *virudāvalī* is an artificial type of laudatory poem which seems to have developed quite late in the history of Sanskrit literature. The Dravidian word *viruda* means "title" or "honourable epithet". Thus, a *virudāvalī* is a string or series of such epithets. The first mention of the *virudāvalī* as a literary genre in Sanskrit works of criticism is apparently in *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (6.337) where Viśvanātha states that the *viruda* is "a panegyric in praise of a king written in mixed prose and verse". He mentions a work, *Virudamaṇimālā*, which is not extant, but unfortunately gives no quotations from that work to illuminate us on its nature.

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In modern critical literature, little has been said about this genre. Aufrecht<sup>23</sup> has made some rather less than glowing remarks about the work of a certain Raghudeva, who wrote in praise of his patron, the king of Mithilā. It would appear that this Raghudeva was a contemporary of Jagannātha Paṇḍita, the author of *Rasagaṅgādhāra*, which would place him in the 17th century, at least a century after the period in which the Gauḍīya writers flourished. It would thus appear that the work of Jīva's teacher Rūpa Gosvāmī, *Sāmānyavirudhavalīlakṣaṇa* (SVL)<sup>24</sup>, is the earliest effort at standardizing the formulæ for this style of writing. Indeed, Rūpa's *Govindavirudhavalī* is the earliest extant work of the genre to my knowledge. Jīva Gosvāmī wrote a work *Gopālavirudhavalī* which follows that of Rūpa in format, but only to a certain point, from which it might be concluded that Jīva never finished the work, unless by chance only partial MSS of it have been found. Later Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava *virudhavalīs* include *ŚrīNikūñjakeli\** by Viśvanātha Cakravartin, *Gaurāṅga\** by Raghunandana Gosvāmin, and *ŚrīKṛṣṇa\** by ŚrīKṛṣṇaśaraṇa Gosvāmin.<sup>25</sup> These works have all been written in strict conformity to Rūpa's outlines. Besides these, Kavi Karpapūra has also written one *viruda* in his AVC. In view of the importance given by these Vaiṣṇavas on the names or epithets of Kṛṣṇa, it is not surprising that this particular medium should find appreciation amongst them.

According to the outline of Rūpa Gosvāmī, the *virudhavalī* is a literary genre made up of individual segments called *kalikās*.<sup>26</sup> These are made up in turn of *kalās*, i.e. epithets in a given prosodic form (*kalā nāma bhavet tālaniyatā padasantatiḥ/ kalābhiḥ kalikā proktā*, SVL 5). These are of six varieties, of which Jīva primarily uses the first, *caṇḍavṛtta*, in GC.<sup>27</sup>

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

The word *tāla*, signifying a regular rhythmic pattern, is significant here, as it indicates a somewhat different view of metre, conforming rather to the European conception of successions of identical segments. Thus, typically, Rūpa gives the example of ---u--- (*mayau*): *Nandapreṣṭha Viṣṇo kandarpeṣṭha jiṣṇo*, etc. In the *caṇḍavṛtta kalikā*, such a pattern is to be repeated between 12 and 64 times, in rhyming couplets. Some of the *caṇḍavṛttas* are defined with more complexity (*śalakṣaṇaṃ caṇḍavṛttam*), having up to thirteen syllables clearly defined in a pattern (e.g. *tilaka, nanasnanaiḥ kṛtair aṃśair navamān madhurojjvalaiḥ/ nibaddhaṃ caṇḍavṛttaṃ tu tilakākhyam athācīre//* SVL 44, i.e. uuuuuuuu-uuuu; e.g.

*vrajavaratānumukhaḥcumbanapaṭutara  
taraṇiduhitṛtaṭamaṇḍanaparikara/  
tilakapadavinitakuṅkumapārimala kacacaladavikalapaṅkajanavadala//*

According to Rūpa's prescription, these metres are in all cases of the *varṇavṛtta* type, though we have noted examples above in which some of Jīva's songs have many of the other characteristics of the *viruda*. The *viruda* metres, or more correctly, rhythms, given the name *kalā* by Rūpa, nearly all have corresponding metres in the orthodox traditions, but have nevertheless been given different names. Jīva appears to diverge from Rūpa's regulations somewhat, for in some cases he does not limit himself to the maximum of 64 *kalās* stated in SKM 12. Thus, in *Gopālacampū*, some of the *kalikās* consist of 100 such *kalās*, i.e. 50 rhyming couplets (See below).

According to Rūpa's outline, the *kalikā* is generally both preceded and followed by verses in standard metres (*kalikādyantayoḥ ślokaḥ saṃuṇṇatkarṣa Iryate*, SVL 97).<sup>28</sup> The *virudāvalī* itself is followed by the words *vīra* or

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

*dhīra*, or on occasion *deva* (*virudaḥ kalikā cānte dhīravīrādīśabdabhāṣk*, SVL 101).<sup>29</sup> In the practice of the Gauḍīya authors (in the works named above), the metre and style of *kalikā* is named at its commencement. Though the greater number of the *kalikās* in *Govindavirudāvalī* are composed entirely of epithets, others may be partially or entirely syntactically more complex, though the prosodical limitations are never transgressed.

Other than the metre, the outstanding feature of the *virudāvalī* is the rhyme which joins each pair of epithets. Other than these, other internal rhymes may appear also, usually in the first syllable of the rhythmic unit. Though Rūpa does give examples of mixed prose and metrical *kalikās* as a possibility (SVL 92-96), nowhere does he himself use such a form in his own *Govindavirudāvalī*. Jīva does introduce a brief prose passage with familiar rhyming features as a *viruda* in GC 1.2.65:

*Jayāśeṣacintāratnanīlaratnākara Vrajadharaṇīdhara!*

*Jaya Dharāṇībhārāvātāravīrṇa-dharāṇīdharaśeṣaparyantāśeṣa-  
sukhasamāja Vrajayuvārāja!*

*Jaya Nijavaṃśāgravrajakīrtidhvaja-samānaśubhradhāma ŚrīBalarāma!  
Jaya jaya!*<sup>30</sup>

By the strict standards of the SVL, and indeed, by comparison to the extant *virudāvalīs* of Jīva, Gopālacampū could only be said to contain a number of separate *kalikās* rather than *virudāvalīs*, which imply a collection of *kalikās*. Of these there are twenty-six in GC, all in the *Uttaracampū*.

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The context of these *kalikās* is, in nearly every case, at the end of the morning session after Nanda and the other cowherds have heard some wondrous exploit carried out by Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā or Dvārakā. After Madhukanṭha or Snigdhanṭha have finished their recital, the *Vrajavandins* or panegyrists of Nanda's court summarize those exploits in a *kalikā*. In the last chapter of the book, when Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā have returned to Goloka, the *Vrajavandīs* recite eight lengthy *kalikās* in glorification of them. Of all the *kalikās* found in GC, only a few are exclusively composed of epithets. For the most part, Jīva keeps to the formal metrical structure enjoined in the *viruda*, but uses syntactically more complex units, which are not however bound in any way by the metrical limits. Thus in ii.37v137m,n,o, one syntactical unit (sentence) spreads across five rhyming couplets, albeit with a flaw in the locative absolute. Note also the passive use of the periphrastic future, *iṣṭā*:

*Pāti ca tāte, vāti suvāte Keśavagandhāveśitasandhā;  
sūcitabhītyā sūcitarītyā tvaṃ tava pitrā svantaravitrā  
jātu suteṣṭā dātum atheṣṭā.*

Even while your father stands guard, you become absorbed in [thoughts of] union with Kṛṣṇa due to receiving his scent in the gentle breeze; revealing his fear your father, the protector of his womenfolk, will at some time desire to give you, his most beloved daughter, [in marriage] according to the most correct ritual.

The *kalikās* have been divided in the following conspectus into two groups: (1) those which are followed by the words *dhīra*, *vīra*, or in the case of Rādhā, *devī*, and thus seem to have been intended as *virudas* by the author, and (2) those which contain the metrical requirements for consideration as *virudas*, but are not followed by the demarcating *vīra*, etc. With the



exception of the *kalikās* of the last chapter, Jīva has varied the *viruda* rhythms used in his *kalikās*. For those rhythms which have been named in SVL references have been given; where they have antecedents in the classical prosody, those metres too have been named.

- (1) (i) ii.18v29: fourteen couplets containing ten syllables, but also strictly speaking conforming to the necessities of the *aḍillā* metre which also requires end rhyme. ---uu ---uu. Here, there are rhymes at the first two syllables and the last three. It ends with the *viruda* marker //vīra//

*śatruśrāvitabhaumātikrama vakrakṣmāpatimāthiprakrama*  
*bhāmālakṣitatarkṣyārohaṇa nāmābhāśakapāpadrohaṇa*, etc.

- (ii) ii.19v28: twelve couplets of the following metre: uu-u-u uu-u-u, which is also comes within the morics of the *paṇḍita* metre. Rhyme appears at the fifth and sixth syllables. //vīra//

*Aniruddhabandhaviṣayānusandha gataBāṇadhāma vitatātmadhāma*  
*Harabaddhayuddha yaśasātisuddha tataśastraajāla-bhavavṛndakāla*

- (iii) ii.37v87,89,91,93 Are all -uu-uu -uu-uu, the first two with *vīra*, the others with *dhīra*. There are altogether 158 rhyming pairs. This is the *viruda* metre known as *utpala* (SVL 34), while according to classical prosody is *bhāminī* (Mandāramarandacampū) or *modaka* (Prākṛtapaiṅgala). Rhyme is very pronounced. The *kalikās* ending with *vīra* are distinguished by the types of qualities which are described, being of a heroic nature, whereas those ending with *dhīra* contain epithets describing qualities conducive to romantic feelings.

v89 (*vīra*): *khaṇḍitacāpaka daṇḍitaśāpaka saṅgaparādima*  
*raṅgapadāgrīma-hastipadāraka hastipamāraka aṃsagadantaka*  
*Kaṃsasadantaka-mallajanaḥkratha tallajamutpratha*  
*māritakaṃsaka tāritasaṃsaka*, etc.

v91 (dhIra): *tundarasālaya-sunderatāmaya nābhīsarovara-  
nābhīmanohara cīnapaṭīvr̥ta-pīnakaṭībhṛta sakthigatākṛama  
śaktiganḍasama jānuyugāśītabhānutayācīta* etc.

These four lengthy *kalikās* are separated by verses in the *pañcācāmara*<sup>31</sup> metre (u-u-u-u-, u-u-u-u-), with rhyme at the end of eight and sixteen syllables.

(iv) ii.37v137,139,141,143) -uu-- -uu-- //devi//. Each of the four *kalikās* contains exactly 50 couplets, though epithets in the vocative case are not as predominant as in the *kalikās* described above. This metre is not described in SVL. It could also be calculated according to the *pādākulaka* scheme of sixteen mātrās, but each couplet has a double rhyme, at the first and second syllables, and again at the fourth and fifth. Thus (v143):

*śandavikāśā mandavilāśā chandanirāśā skandanayāśā  
nandanivāśā nandacidāśā nandajabhāśā kandarevāśā  
kandalahāśā kandasamāśā rājasī Rādhe rājasī Rādhe*//devi//

These *kalikās* are separated by four verses in *mālinī* metre, which are also characterized by rhyme at the cæsure.

*śīśuvayasi ca sarvaṃ śīlarūpād akharvaṃ*, etc.

(v) ii.5v69 is in the 4 x 16 *āḍillā* metre but has *vīra* at its end like a *viruda*. It is also the only poetry of the Vrajavandins which can only be described in morae. The last three syllables of each line rhyme:

*Jaya kṛtamathurāpraveśabhāvuka/  
Māthurajanatāsubhagambhāvuka//  
Nānāvīlasitananditanāgara/  
nagaravadhūjanamohanānāgara//*

(vi) ii.22v28 the only song outside of the Vṛndāvana situation, being sung or recited by the messengers from Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā. This is not a series of vocatives either, so it is quite unusual

that the *viruda* marker *vīra* should be found at its end. This is perhaps an editorial mistake.

- (2) (i) ii.30v45 uu-uu- uu-uu- (Skt. *toṭaka*, cf. Apabhr. *pādākulaka*); rhymes appear at the beginning and end of each *kalā* (i.e. six syllables)

*khalasālvakahṛd-dalanācchubhakṛt pravararṣimukhād avakarṇya  
sukhād/ atha hr̥jjevajīdrathabhāgabhiḥjīdgamaṇaḥ sahasā  
ramayan mahasā*, etc.

- (ii) ii.13v19-23: uu--- uu--- (*pādākulaka*, *kalāgītā* according to *Mandāramarandacampū*; rhyme appears after sixteen mātrās, like the *pādākulaka*.

*duhitṛdvaitād atha jāmātuh samanāṃ śrutvā drutam āyātuh/  
magadhān pātuh kaṭakaṃ prekṣya Harir āhedam Balam  
utprekṣya//*

‡

- (iii) ii.21v23: --u--u --u--u (*kāmāvatāra* or *manthāra* [six-syllables] *sārāṅgarūpa*, [12-syllables] *kāmāvatāra* [12-syllables] *Mandāramārandacampū*, *Jayakīrti*) Single rhyme only after twelve syllables.

- (iv) ii.9v19: u--u-- u--u-- (*bhujaṅgaprayātā*). Most other instances of *bhujaṅgaprayātā* also have the abab rhyme scheme found here:

*sahabhrātr̥varyaṃ guror grāmagāmī  
dhṛtabrahmacaryaṃ nijādhītikāmī*

- (v) ii.28v20 --uu--uu --uu--uu. Couplets of eight syllables.

- (vi) ii.14v46 -uuuuu -uuuuu (*campaka*, SVL 58) This *kalikā* consists entirely of epithets. Couplets of twelve syllables, rhyme at the last three syllables: *Bhīṣmakapurabhāgacalita-rājanivaharājyavalita*, etc.

- (vi) ii.27v26 u-u-u-u- u-u-u-u- (*samagra*, SVL 37; ≡ *pañcācāmarā*) Couplets of eight syllables, rhyme of two syllables at end only.

(vii) ii.17v51 -u-u-u-u -u-u-u-u (*citra, cañcalā, citrasobhā, samānī*).

Couplets of eight syllables, rhyme of two syllables at the end only.

(viii) ii.16v41 uuuuu-u- uuuuu-u- (*camala, PkPg; mahī, Nāṭyaś*)

Single rhyme of three syllables at the end of each couplet of 16-syllables.

(ix) ii.17v10 u-uuu-- u-uuu--; (*kumāralalita* Hc, Jk; *rājaramaṇīya, ratnamañjuṣā*, Hc) couplets of 14 syllables each, single rhyme of two syllables.

#### 4.14 Rhyme as a feature of Jīva's other verse

The extent and importance of rhyme in Jīva's *viruda* metres will be evident from the above outline. This is, of course, a feature not only of the *viruda*, but also of the moric songs. It will also be evident in a study of Jīva's prose just how significant a place rhyme plays for him there. Thus it is not surprising to find that other verses, scattered here and there throughout the work contain rhyme.

In general, verses with a regular *tāla*-type metre are the most likely to have rhyme. Jīva uses the *bhujāṅgaprayātā* metre in a *viruda* sequence in ii.9v19, where regular rhyme naturally features. But Jīva has used this metre elsewhere also, generally putting a rhyme at every cæsure. One remarkable six verse sequence in *tūṇaka* metre (-u- u-u -u- u-u -u-) with the same rhyme used throughout is used to good effect in describing the gopīs on *abhisāra* to meet Kṛṣṇa (i.23v36).

Some other *rhyming verses* are <sup>in</sup> the rarer metres *vidyunmālā* (i.16v19):

Uhe Kṛṣṇaḥ Śrīdāmānaṁ daityaḥ sa ŚrīRāmākhyānam/  
anyo 'nyaṁ sūraṁmanyāḥ sarvaḥ proce dhanyo dhanyaḥ//

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

Or, *kusumavicitrā* (i.2v24). This fulfills requirements for *pāḍākulakā*, two verses of which follow it. *Pāḍākulakā* metre requires rhyme, but after each 16 mātrās, not eight.

*atha tatabhāyām paramasabhāyām pīṭmukhalokān sphuradevalokān/  
sukhayitukāmaḥ sahasakṣīRāmaḥ samadhuraveśaḥ sapadi viveśa//*

All these metres described above can be said to contain *tāla* or a repetitive rhythmic pattern of *varṇas*. On one or two occasions, Jīva's rhyme seems forced „ while syntax also suffers occasionally as the author strives to juxtapose assonant words. Even the most ordinary passages are couched in phraseology which will bring out this alliterative quality. Thus, one must expect Snigdhaṇṭha and Madhukaṇṭha to speak *sotkaṇṭham* or *bāṣpotkaṇṭham*, or Uddhava to be *soddhava* ("festive in spirit"), etc. Jīva feels no qualms in placing side by side words like *sudhākara* used in its conventional sense as a *bahuvrīhi* ("that which possesses rays of nectar", i.e. the moon) with its literal component parts without feeling any sense of redundancy. Thus, *sudhākara-karasudhā-nikara* ("the nectar of the rays of the moon") in GC ii.33.7. In the extreme, this proclivity toward alliteration results in rhyming, which occasionally appears in some of Jīva's prose passages. This rhyme may take the form of customary repetition of a particular gerund or participial affix, or case inflexion. Less frequent, but nevertheless common enough are rhyming couplets. These are most often found in the metaphor-garland to which attention has been called in the chapter on the general characteristics of *campū* literature.

## 4.21 The classical styles of prose

There are three slightly different analyses of classical Sanskrit poetic prose given in Vāmana's *Kāvyaālaṃkārasūtra* (1.3.22-25), Chandomaṣṭjarī (ch. 6) and *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (6.310). The two former works make three divisions of prose types, the latter four. The classifications are fairly loose: the simplest type is *vṛttaka* (ChM) which is said to contain a few short compounds and primarily unvoiced consonants, corresponding to the *vaiderbhī rīti*. Viśvanātha's equivalent is the *cūrṇaka*, the example of which contains a strong metrical element and rhyme, very similar to the *virudas* discussed above: *guṇaratnasāgara jagadekanāgara kāmīnīmadana janarāṣṭjana*. Strangely enough, though Gaṅgādāsa's term *vṛttaka* seems to imply some metrical element, none can be found in the example which he has proffered. The second type, *utkalikāprāya*, is named by all three authors. It is the most complex, corresponding to the *gaudī rīti* with lengthy compounds and (according to ChM) primarily voiced consonants. Once again, Viśvanātha's example contains primarily short syllables and appears far more demanding metrically than those given by either Vāmana or Gaṅgādāsa. The third type, given by both authors, is *vṛttagandhi* for it contains elements of metre within it. Viśvanātha's example includes a fragment of an *anuṣṭubh* verse, Vāmana's a line of *vasantatilaka*, while that of Gaṅgādāsa bears a close resemblance to the *utkalikāprāya* of Viśvanātha. The *muktaka* of Viśvanātha does not allow any compounds whatsoever. Once again, Viśvanātha's example (*gurur vacasī prthur urasī*) has both rhyme and a touch of the metrical about it. Viśvanātha's point of reference seems to have been a style of *gadya* which had some currency in the contemporaneous neighbouring Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal (Andhra). Palkuriki Somanātha, a famous Vīrāṣaiva philosopher and writer wrote

several prose works, Pañcaprakāragadya, Namaskāragadya, Akṣaragadya, etc., and may likely have been the innovator of this particular style of metrical prose. He apparently was the first to use the terms *kalikā* and *utkalikā*.<sup>32</sup> Having dealt with this type of writing in the section on *virudas*, we shall examine the more balanced type of prose described by Gaṅgādāsa.

Though Jīva is not averse to long compounds, and compounds of over twenty words are to be found scattered throughout the work, he shows an overall preference for a middle of the road style. Descriptive passages of the Bāṇa-esque type call for the *gauḍī rīti*, or a touch of the metrical, while simpler narration and conversation are generally in the simpler *vṛttaka* prose.

#### 4.211 *Muktaka*

Prose entirely devoid of compound words is rather rare in Jīva's work. The distinction between *muktaka* and *vṛttaka* is therefore a question of degree rather than substance. In the following passage, which contains only a modicum of simple compounds, Kṛṣṇa speaks to himself about imminent events (ii.2.3).

*Aho svapno 'yam, yatra mañcāt kṛtasaṃsaneḥ Kāṃsaḥ sa mayā samākr̥ṣṭa iva dr̥ṣṭaḥ. Sampraty āśu ca tad eva pratyāsannam, yad adya śvaḥ Keśī madabhiniveśī bhavan Yamasya prativeśī bhavitā. etc.*

#### 4.212 *Vṛttaka*

Jīva has used prose in numerous conversations throughout the work. In some of these conversations, such as that in i.15 or ii.29 are primarily vehicles for theological discussions in order to establish or support the direction of the narrative on the basis of purāṇic evidence. In these

passages, the prose is of the *vṛttaka*-type. Other verbal exchanges between characters are of a more conversational tone. Jīva has thus used prose for the *vidūṣaka* Madhumaṅgala's witticisms. Particularly memorable is the following exchange, full of puns, insults and clever repartees, between the clown and a messenger from the women's team during the Holī sports (1.30.32-42). The following is a portion thereof:

[32] *Atra Madhumaṅgalaḥ sammukhaṃ gatas tad idam āha sma, "Deva, tad idam eva samākarnyatām: jātitaḥ strī cāstrī yo janas, 'tasmin vāmatārāme nāmamātreṇa rāmāpadam āgate, nārjavacaryayā kāryam aryate. Tasmād ārjavavarjanād ūrjasvinas te vayam eva dūtyāya sthāpanīyāḥ prasthāpanīyās ca. Asmāsu cāham eva prahāpanīyaḥ, yataḥ kovidā 'smi."*

[33] *Dūtī sahāsam āha sma, "Lālāṭika, bhavān yadi kovidas, tarhy anyah ko 'vidah?"*

[32] At this Madhumaṅgala came forward and said, Lord, listen to this: "If a person, even one who by sex is a woman, should come bearing weapons, then one should not deal with them with ingenuousness, for due to taking pleasure (*ārāma*) in enmity, they are women (*rāmā*) in name only. Hav<sup>ing</sup> thus given up such an ingenuous attitude, you who are so powerful, should make us your messengers and send us [to the other side]. Amongst us, I should be the one so entrusted for I am particularly clever."

[33] The *dūtī* laughed and said, "Servile one, if you are clever (*kovidā*), then who is ignorant (*ko 'vidah*)?"

This passage cited should perhaps not be called conversational, for the language is difficult due to the many puns which have been used. It does, however, classify as the *vṛttaka* style of prose to the extent that it consists of short compounds. Though the tone throughout the rest of the section remains the same, the prose is even simplified to the extent that it could be called *muktaka*.



[37] *Dūtī sahāsam uvāca, "Nūnam bhavatām dūtaḥ so' yam agrata eva vyagratām avāpa, yan mām atra rundhann eva tatra jigamiṣati. Tasmān na mādṛg iva niḥsaṅkaṁ so 'yam iti bhavatām kalaṅkāya paraṁ pratipatsyate. Yukta eva ca tat tad āvayoḥ. Svāmiguṇā hi pariṇam anuyānti."*

The *dūtī* said with a laugh, "This messenger of yours seems to have/<sup>first</sup> become *anxiety-ridden* ., for he wishes to go while keeping me/<sup>captive</sup> here. Therefore he is not free from anxieties as I am, and will merely increase your difficulties. Well, that is proper on both our parts, for the qualities of a master are transmitted to his retinue."

#### 4.213 *Utkalikāprāya*

Those portions of prose which could be called *utkalikāprāya* are rather tame in comparison to the examples given in *Chandomaṁjārī* (6.4f) or *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. A paragraph near the beginning of the book (1.1.51; See Appendix III) with an extended metaphor describing the hill Govardhana is one which comes close to qualifying as an *utkalikāprāya*. Jīva's prose here, contain long compounds like the *gaudī riti*, though the requirement of primarily voiced consonants has not been followed:

...śyāmākadūrvābja viṣṇukrāntā-paryagākrāntatiryagniryanirjharibhir  
niṣpādyam pādyam, cañcanmṛgacarapa-nyañcadakṣatadarbhānantā-  
ṅkuraiḥ samarghyam arghyam, tīrasanīdajātīlavaṅgakakkolasāṅgata-  
palvalair alamācamanīyam ācamanīyam, navaṇavenavaprasūta-  
gavīnavīnasnutaksīraparīṇatadadhi-tatprasṛtaghṛtaśabalanaś  
tarūpahṛtamadhuparkam madhuparkam, śikharaśekharaśilāsara-  
prakharadhārāpātair anukṛtasnapanaparicaryāprītimajjanam majjanam,  
dukūlavadanukūlasamśleṣa-svarṇavarṇavṛkṣaviśeṣavalkalaiḥ  
kalitasukhavasanaṁ vasaṇam, svabhāvānu-bandhagandhasugandha-  
śilāśataparīṇatahari-candanagauregairikaś carcātīśayam  
carcātīśayam... etc.

On the whole, however, though Jīva can use compound words of up to 27 components, he generally takes a more conservative and realistic attitude toward his writing of prose.

#### 4.214 *Vṛttagandhi*

Some of the formal structures familiar to Sanskrit prose, i.e. the stringing of participial clauses, etc., already have a natural rhythm. It could easily follow that partially metrical passages would be found in a work such as *Gopālacampū* which contains so much prose, and in which the author has shown himself to be so aware of the varieties of rhythmic and metrical possibility. In fact, there is little <sup>prose</sup> that is overtly metrical or partially metrical.

The definition of the *vṛttigandhi* prose, as found in *Chandomaṣṭjarī* and *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, contains elements of a known metre within it. Since metre can be calculated both according to the *mātrā* or the *varṇa* methods, and varieties of both types are very numerous, there are ample opportunities to slip partial verses into prose passages, if an author should so will it. Jīva's proclivity to rhyme in regular couplets gives many passages a distinctive rhythm. Nevertheless, few passages stand up to scansion. The following paragraph (1.4.11) is one exception; it shows a progressively more structured approach leading up to a final fragment of *vidyunmālā* metre at its conclusion:

1a. *Atha Śrīmān Vrajeśaḥ svIkṛtadhārmikaveśas* 12/12/

1b. *tad api bahulam anyad api bahulādikam dānāya sañcak|pe,*

6.12.11/

1c. *yatra sarvaś ca tathābhāṣāya kharvaśaś cak|pe;*

8.8.9/

(4) The use of Metre and Prose

- 2a. *saṃkalpya ca gr̥he gantum kṛta- spr̥he dhṛtaveśe ca,*  
6.3.7.3.8/  
2b. *tattadvṛtaVrajanareśe* 14/  
2c. *ŚrīRāma- prasū- samādeśān mahā- gopuradeśād*  
6.3.7.3.8/  
2d. *duṇḍubhidvandvam unnanāda.* 14/  
  
3a. *Tac ca vādyā- vidyāviduravyaṅgitam vādyam* 5.5.4/5.4/  
3b. *vyaktam evedaṃ muhur vakti sma,* 5.4/5.(4)/  
3c. *prādurbhūto Nandānandaḥ* 4.4/4.4/  
3d. *prādurbhūto Nandānandaḥ* 4.4/4.4/

Though there are difficulties in scanning certain of the above lines. It is improbable that *sma* (3b) and *ca* (2e) can be scanned long, as assumed here according to the rules of Skt-Pkt prosody, since if metre it be it is Apabhraṃśa metre. But the discrepancies arising should not be considered serious, for we are looking at a piece of prose. The rhymes in 2ab and 2cd are prose *anuprāsa* rather than verse end-rhymes.

In the following passage which has paired rhymes (1.31.72), some lines have roughly parallel metrical pattern, in particular lines 2 and 3.

*yā khalu bhavanmaṅgalataḥ sarasībhuṭāyāḥ savayasah sarasībhavitā  
sā punar Amarataṅginīva Kṛṣṇāṅgarāgavilāsinī,  
Amṛtanidhipriyāvalir iva bahulatārāṅgatābhāsinī,  
Sūtrāmagrahanetrīveśopendradevaratāmodātirekinī,  
Sāvitrīmukhavicitraśrutir iva nālikinī,  
Umāmurtir iva girirājād udbhavadhātṛī,  
Māmūrtir iva Harihṛdī vilāsapātṛī,  
Rāmaśaktir iva gāmbhīryataḥ pralambamānamadamajjanī,  
kiṃ bahunā, Rādhēva Rādhānikikapūrṇavidhor vaśatāśajjanī.*

#### 4.22 The influence of Bāṇa

In the discussion of the classical prose style, we have already noted that one of its features was the stringing together of subordinate clauses of gerunds or present participles before completing a sentence with a finite verb. This lends itself easily to rhyme by using gerunds or present participles which have the same endings. Thus, for example, in GC middle voice present participles are found in i.7.64 i.33.31, in the active voice (ii.9.5), perfect participles (ii.20.57-64), gerunds of the -tvā or -ya type (i.2.34), etc. These are usually structured around a series of adjectival clauses containing parallel metaphors or similes, or noun clauses similarly containing related figures.

It would perhaps be a mistake to overemphasize the type of prose construction in Jīva's writing that has been so prevalent in the other Sanskrit prose writers. Once again, Jīva has assimilated the style of the extended formulaic compound figure and used it from time to time at appropriate moments, but it is generally an incidental feature forming a part of his repertoire and does not dominate or become tedious. The complex metaphor, often relying heavily on paronomasia is widely considered to be the bane of Sanskrit literature and makes portions of Bāṇa and other authors largely unattractive. Though Jīva can be difficult and is rarely facile, he nevertheless appears to keep to the narrative, of which GC contains a great deal. Other than the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇic material that has been assimilated, Jīva has included numerous other incidents and conversations which support the one overall connecting feature of the work. The main elements of the plot are never obscured by

endless distracting descriptions (as in *Kādambarī* and even *Harṣacarita*), nor entangled in numerous subplots as in *Dśakumāracarita*.

Jīva has used this complex type of prose passage on numerous occasions, but in proportion to the overall amount of prose that is contained in the book as a whole, its frequency cannot be said to be great. Nevertheless, on those occasions when Jīva deems it fitting to use the form, he does so adeptly, as in the following passage which describes Nārada and Kṛṣṇa's meeting after the death of Keśī (i.33.31-2). Here the rhythmic structure produced by rhymes is shown by segmentation.

[31] *Dṛṣṭvā ca gīrdevatādeham ivākṣararūpatāṃ dharantam/  
Gaṅgāpravāham iva Viṣṇupadād avatarantam//  
Kailāsam iva Vaiṣṇavalakṣmaśivamūrtim/  
nijayaśaḥstomam iva vividhagāṇakṛtakarṇapūrtim//  
kṣīranīranidhim ivāntarvāsitaNārāyaṇādināmānam/  
amandakalāsāndracandramasam ivāntaraṅgatayā dhṛtaKṛṣṇadhāmānam//  
śāradanīradasamudāyam iva śarmanetrāpyadhārāvarṣantam/  
bhaktivīśeṣāktiviyaktanijabhaktaprahāsam iva kṛtaharṣantam//  
parāmamarsa.*

Similarly, in §32 there are 32 similes, and strophic rhyme in -avat. Jīva has, in general, avoided employing exactly the same pattern of expression on each occasion that he uses the "string-simile" (*mālopaṃ*) format. In other words, here he has used the -vat suffix to indicate sameness. Other prose *mālopaṃs* use various syntactical structures based on the use of *iva*, depending on whether the object of comparison is given prominence or the subject. Thus, in the following description of the sea (ii.9.5), the *upamāna* is given expansive treatment, the *upameya* simple:

*asmadevalokanataḥ śarmavān iva ca karmavān avalokyate; yatas  
taraṅgasaṅghariṅgaṇayā samāliṅganāyābhigacchann iva etc.,*

whereas the opposite takes place in this description of the *vraja* as seen by Uddhava (ii.10.23)<sup>33</sup>:

*karmakāṇdam iva Kṛṣṇatatparatāsāravahnyarkātithigo-  
viprapūjāsamgrāhakāgāram.*

Other figures too are used beside the simple *upamā*. The following paragraph illustrates the figure known as *kāraṇamālā*, where the effects of one cause become the cause for the next effect and so on

(ii.19.6):

*sa yadā ca valitas tadā tadīyamahānesādhikārīnyāratināminyā dalitaḥ;  
sa ca yadā dalitas tadā ca bālakas tatra paryākalitaḥ, sa yadā ca  
paryākalitas tadā...*

Similar to this is a paragraph which contains a sequence of sentences formed around subordinate temporal clauses (ii.18.45) e.g.

*yadā ca krodhalabdhodvodhatejasā sarvaṃ rodhaviṣayīcakāra, tadā ca  
kalpāntakalpanāyamithaḥ saṃghrṣṭadhṛṣṭabhānubṛhadbhānuvad bhāti  
sma; yadā ca pañcāpi mukhāni prapañcayāmāsa, tadā servagrasanāya  
samyagrasanā-prasāraṇakṛtkālāgnirudravat upadravāya babhūva; yadā  
ca... tadā (ca)...*

Another paragraph (ii.4.10) in which the newly-arrived Kṛṣṇa's vision of Mathurā is described, contains an instance of the extended *ekāvalī* figure. *Ekāvalī* requires a simile to be supported (or negated) by subsequent similes.

*Yasyāḥ [Mathurāyāḥ] khalu... akṣīṇāni gavākṣalākṣāṇi punar akṣīṇīva,  
tāni ca vilakṣaṇanijekṣaṇatayā kṣaptanīmeṣāṇīva... This pattern is  
repeated eleven times.*

The example given above of *utkalikāprāya* prose (i.1.51) contains the *mālārūpeka* figure in which the various parts of the mountain Govardhana

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are likened to aspects of the worship ritual. In all twenty-two comparisons are used in the paragraph as a whole.

*Virodhābhāsa* is also a common figure used in the type of prose being described: (1.1.6):

*a*  
*Asti kila Vṛndāvananāṁ<sup>a</sup> dheyam bhāgadheyam iva subhagaṁ vanam  
avanīdevyāḥ, yad aho vanam apy avanāya kalpate sakalalokasya,...  
sadā sadāvalīśasya bhaktipradam api kadāpi na dadāti tadbhaktim,  
etc.*

#### 4.23 Embellishment of the commentatorial style

The early portion of Jīva's career was devoted to the writing of commentaries and the systematic arrangement of BhP dogmas and theological positions that is the *Bhāgavatasandarbha*. The express purpose of the *Gopālacampū* was, according to the author, to further the arguments which had already been presented in the *ŚrīKṛṣṇasandarbha*, albeit in a way agreeable to the literati. In view of this background, it is not surprising to find a large portion of GC's prose showing the influence of the commentatorial style, though the thick veneer of Jīva's linguistic "upgrading", primarily through greater care in syntactic structure, the use of increased alliteration and the requisite sophistication of vocabulary, is both unusual and interesting.

From time to time Jīva slips into the terse commentatorial style which he had practised so long. In BhP x.29, the words spoken by the gopīs have been interpreted by the commentators (in particular Sanātana) as *śleṣas*. These double meanings have passed the commentators of other schools entirely by. Jīva, rather than rewriting the verses and making the double

meanings more apparent, footnotes each verse of an original song with a brief note in the familiar style of the commentator (GC 1.23.72):

*Atha dhavasutamukha-gaṇatas tava sukham  
asti satām hṛdi yātam/  
tad api ca na hi bhavad-anusaraṇam bhavad  
icchatī yuvatījātam//61  
Atra sandigdhakākupadam naḥīti padam tadicchānirdhāraṇe; yad vā,  
niṣedhe.*

Though your pleasure is taken to heart by the pious  
more than that of husbands and sons;  
*even so,* *do* we young women not seek your pleasure,  
for we follow you [your instructions to serve our husbands].  
[Comm.] Here the words *na hi* pronounced in a questioning tone are  
spoken to ascertain his desire; otherwise they carry the sense of a  
prohibition.

Again, JIva has commented in a similar manner on some other original  
verses, such as these in 1.29, where he points out their *dhvani* or hidden  
implication.

[6] *Tatra tatpreyasyā vṛddhābhivañcanācañcutā, yathā,  
“Yas tvām rātriṣu vṛddhe mām api devo vibhīṣayate/  
sa tu mantribhir utkalito goṣṭhāt kuñjān vimardayati//7  
[7] Tasmād, “Atrānyathā māvagās, tatra ca mā gāḥ” iti dhvanitam.*

[8] *Atha sakhyāḥ,  
“Satyam jaratī madālyā varayujī gaṇḍe makaravatamsāṅkaḥ/  
na mayā likhitaḥ kutukān na mṛṣāmuṣyāḥ sapatnyā ca//”8  
[9] Atra, “Mama sakhi tvena, tasyāś ca sapatnī tvena,  
virodhalakṣaṇāprāpter mayāiva likhitaḥ” iti tayā dhvanitam. [10]  
Tadanuvādinā kavina tu tasya mṛṣātvam iti.*



#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

In such cases where the author wishes to elicit further implications from his own verses, it may seem to be condescension on his part to spell it out for the reader in this manner. Indeed, S. K. De implies this criticism of Jīva (1942; 477). On the other hand, in modern novels, we expect to get some such commentary from our author. This must be seen as a development of the exegetical tradition and as a welcome help to the reader in deepening his appreciation or amusement at something which may easily have passed him by.

Jīva occasionally quotes the Bhāgavata verse and comments on it directly (i.24.42-4, ii.25.54-5), introducing the commentary with the words *ayam arthaḥ*. In others, Jīva makes a prose comment, only giving the *pratīka* of the *BhP* verse, as though he fully expected one to already be familiar with *it* as he glosses some of *its* words without quoting *it* in its entirety. For example, i.25.3 (words from the BhP verse are in bold type):<sup>34</sup>

[2] *Tad etad udgāya tad apy etad ity āhuḥ: Yat te sujātacaraṇāmbu-ruhaṃ* [x.31.19] *ity ādi.* [3] *Atra cedam gadyam: Yat kila kamalataḥ komalatāyug alaṃ tava caraṇayugalaṃ stanāv anu snehataḥ saṃhananāyehamānās ca vyaṃ tāv atikarkaśāv iti tarkataś ca stambhamānāḥ, śanair eva tayas tad dadhīmahīti vāñchāmaḥ. Tad aho, keṭhinamanastayā duraṭām aṭavīm anughaṭayati tvayi kūrpadibhis tat kiṃ na vyathate? Kintu vyathata eva, yatas tadbhāvanāyujāṃ bhavadekāyujāṃ asmākaṃ manasi tan maṅkaṣu saṅkrāmati. Tasmāt tadaṭanam evāsmākaṃ hr̥tpīḍā, tallālanam eva tacchamanam iti tallālanam eva dehīti bhāvāḥ.*

Having sung aloud their song, the gopīs then spoke the verse which begins “these delicate feet-lotus of yours”. This is expressed in prose: “When out of affection we desire to place these

feet of yours which are softer than the lotus on our breasts, we hesitate because we think that our breasts are too rough and so we desire to place them there very carefully. If this is so, then when you wander through the impenetrable forest with your tough attitude, then will your feet not be caused pain by the gravel, etc.? They most certainly will. [And] because we are always thinking of you and our lives have become one with you, that pain is immediately transferred to our minds. Therefore we conclude: since your wandering in the woods brings suffering to our hearts, the cure for our suffering is to gently massage your feet, so kindly allow us to do so."

In the above example, JIva's language is straightforward: the æsthetic pleasure is to be derived from the elucidation of the BhP meaning itself and not from any new poetic efforts on his part. In other commentaries on BhP verses, JIva expands on a portion of each verse in the form of an aside by Snigdhakaṇṭha. The language varies in complexity; in the following case, there is a continuing rhyme scheme throughout, each clause (glossing a single portion of the original verses) ending with the same participial form (ii.20.57-64):

[58] *Yāś ca "api vā smarate" ity ardhapadyena svakarṭṛkaprāktana-  
tadīyasevāyāś tatkarṭṛkasmarāṇamātreṇa kṛtakṛtyatām vibhāvita-  
vatyaḥ,*

[59] *yāś ca "mātaraṃ pitaraṃ bhrātrṇ" iti padyena samprati  
tadarthaṃ mātṛādikam api tyaktatayā vikhyāpitavatyaḥ, tac ca  
svayaṃ sarvajyāyase tasmā eva tajjyāyase nivedya sveṣām  
tadekāniṣṭhatām pratiṣṭhāpitavatyaḥ, etc.*

In the follow-up to this section, the commentary continues with a new rhyme (*matā, sammatā, abhimatā, adhigatā, etc.*) all the while including several quotations.

#### (4) The use of Metre and Prose

Jīva has taken much of his inspiration from Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇavatopāṇī*. This has rarely taken the form of direct quotation, though Jīva often follows certain of Sanātana's arguments closely. Comparing similar statements in the two works shows us something about Jīva's upgraded prose style. In the passage from VT cited below, Sanātana has set the scene for a BhP verse. Setting the context for philosophical arguments, has of course long been an integral part of Sanskrit exegesis. The Jātakas, for example, were probably composed by providing the setting for a particular piece of wisdom. In this particular instance, Sanātana has developed a narrative interlude and Jīva has naturally snapped up the theme.

The two passages are good material for comparison, as Jīva has clearly taken his inspiration from Sanātana's straightforward paragraph. Jīva has abandoned the commonplace structure of subordinate participial clauses, choosing to divide the paragraph into two sentences. His choice of vocabulary is more sophisticated and the compounds are lengthier, as might have been predicted. The ease and, it must be said, natural manner in which Jīva works alliteration into almost every word of the paragraph is quite remarkable. Even so, this is a sample of Jīva's prose when he is being straightforward. His indulgence in alliteration can be far more excessive as can be seen elsewhere.

VT 35.14-15:

*Tataś ca madhyāhne sakhibhir ānītaiḥ sragavataṃsādivicitraveśair  
vilasan, gavāṃ anurodhena niśchāyeṣv api gireḥ samabhūbhāgeṣu  
bhraṃan, meghacchāyecchayā mallārarāgaṃ gāyan, ŚrīBālādisakhibhiḥ  
pratidhvanibhṛdgirisānubhis tattatpratidhvanibhṛdviśvena ca kṛtānu-*

*gāṇas, tādṛśatadicchayā svalpākarṣaṇaprayogāt tēvanmātrameghā-  
gamanena mandamāstragarjanajanitavādyas tattumulaśabdena svayam  
api hr̥ṣṭo viśvam api harṣayan, ataeva meghācchannadevyādibhiḥ  
kr̥tapuṣpavṛṣṭis tacchāyāyām vikrīḍati sma.*

Then, at noon-time he enjoyed dressing himself in the assorted garlands and (flower) lockets brought to him by his friends, wandering on the shadeless mountain plateaus on account of the cows, singing in the *mallārarāga* out of a wish for the shade of clouds, the refrain being taken up by Baladeva and his cowherd friends, as well as being echoed by the mountain slopes and by the entire universe which reverberated with all these sounds. Due to his desire for a cloud covering, because he only employed a small portion of his attractive power, only a proportional number of clouds came whose mellow thundering caused him to play on his flute; the combined sound not only brought him joy but brought to all around, and therefore, while being rained upon by the gods who were hiding in the clouds, he sported in their shade.

GC 1.31.33-34:

[33] *Tataś ca tatas tataḥ samāgate sāgraje samagre sakhivarge  
tadānīntana- barhiprabarhabarhādī- nānāvanyanepathyaprathyamāna-  
śobhalobhanīyarūpa-varīyastayā praśastasrajīyastayā ca vistrīṣātasya  
tasya gocāraṇacaritaṁ pracāraṇīyam. [34] Tathā hi: Kvacid api  
kṣitibhṛti vṛkṣasūnyakṣitigate-puṇyatṛṇaṁ dhenuṣu carantīṣu  
vahnīyamānamādhyāhnikā-lalāṭāntapatapana-tāpāpanodāya veṇuṁ  
vāditavān, yatra balāhakāś tatpratimallanibhamallārarāgabalād āhṛtās  
teṣāṁ śītalatāvalanāya babhūvuḥ; [35] yac ca vādyam udbhavatpuru-  
gurugarimagiridroṇīḥ pratidhvanayat, tatparamparayā ca sarvam api  
tathā raṇayat, trilokīlokaṁ api tatkautukālokanāyākarṣati sma.*

[33] Next, we shall describe the Kṛṣṇa's cowherding activities which took place after all his friends accompanied by his older brother had arrived from their respective homes, when he had increased his joy by wearing a fine garland and by displaying the finest

desirable beauty by dressing himself with the new forest decorations such as the best seasonal peacock plumes, etc. [34] Once, when the cows had gone to graze on the pleasant grasses of the mountain terrain void of trees, Kṛṣṇa played on his flute in order to dissipate the heat of the sun whose fierce rays beat down on the forehead in the firelike midday; the clouds cooled them down after being dragged there by the force of the *mallārarāga* which acted like a powerful wrestling opponent. [35] The playing of Kṛṣṇa's flute echoing in the caves of the ascending mountains with their heavy heaviness, and after them delighting everything in the same way, and attracted the three worlds to come and see the amusements in which he indulged.

As Sanātana's prose functioned as an introduction to the Bhāgavata verse, similarly Jīva's prose created the setting for a song which paralleled the same verse. Similar mixing of prose and verse, the prose taking its inspiration from Sanātana's commentary, the verse from the original Bhāgavata material comes up repeatedly. The proportion of commentary to verse can vary greatly as can the literary quality of the prose.

The combination of alternating verse and commentary is most fully exploited stylistically in 11.11 where Jīva describes the *bhramara-gītī*, another of BhP's more literary chapters. In this scene, Uddhava comes to the gopīs with a message from Kṛṣṇa. Prior to the official meeting, however, Rādhā takes a bee to be the messenger from Kṛṣṇa and pours out her confused feelings to it, perhaps intending the message for Uddhava. The ten verses of BhP have been elaborately commented upon by Sanātana, and Jīva too takes every single word of the original text and expands upon it with elaborate prose comments, concluding each such sequence with a verse in a *jāti* metre. There are 43 such verses in this section, which

gives some idea, no doubt, of the extent to which the original verses of BhP are found to be resonant with meaning. A sample is given here of first Sanātana and then Jīva's treatment of the first two words of the *bhramaregīta*, *Madhupa kitavabandho*

VT 47.10:

*Māninīmmanyāha, madhupa iti. śleṣeṇa he madyapety arthaḥ. Madyapas tu prāyaḥ paraṁ na vañcayata iti sambodhayati. Kitavaḥ saṭhaḥ ŚrīKṛṣṇaḥ asmatparityāgena "na pārāye 'haṁ niravadya-saṁyujām" ity ādi vacanavyabhicārāt. Tasya bandho tadbandhutvaṁ dūtātvaṁ varṇādisāmyād vā. Kiṁ vā, tvam madhupaḥ so 'pi Madhupatiḥ iti nāmasāmyāt. Madyapakitavayoḥ prāyaḥ sakhyam bhavatīti karmasāmyāc ca. Tatra kitavety āsūyāviṣkṛtā.*

GC ii.11.14ff.:

*"Tat khalu re, khalā, tava nāyuktaṁ, yasmāt madyam pibasīti sphuṭaṁ madhupatayā nigadyase."*

[15] *Punaḥ sahāsam āha sma, "Ahaha, tatpānaṁ tava bhajamānaṁ, yataḥ patiḥ khalu tavādhunā Madhūnāṁ patiḥ."*

[16] *Punaḥ savitarkaṁ karkaṣam uvāca, "Yuvayoḥ svasvāmyam idaṁ nāsāmyam vahati, yataḥ*

*"Madhupatiḥ asakau madhupas*

*tvam asīty uccaiḥ prasiddham evedam/*

*ājīvyājīvakatā-sambandhas tena vām siddhaḥ//"*13

[17] *Punar api doṣāntarāsaṅgaṁ sabhrūbhaṅgaṁ uvāca, "Aho, sakhyaḥ, samakṣaṁ śṛṇuta. Madyapaḥ khalu vikṣiptatayā saralacitta evāvalokyate. Ayaṁ punar mūrdhadhūnanāvyaktadhvanibhyāṁ kitava iva ca lakṣyate. Tad etad atīvāścaryam" iti. "Athavā, nāścaryam" iti taṁ sambodhayann āha, "Are kitavasya tasya bandho! Katham iha svaccha iva svacchandam āgacchann asi? Dūram apasara. Na ca kitavasya bandhur evāsmi, na tu svayam kitavatā mama syād iti chalaḥ samavalambanīyaḥ. Yataḥ*

*Yah kitavānām bandhur dviguṇam kitavatvam asya mṛśyeta/  
chalayann api tāms tair yah svam sāvivyam vidhāpayati//14*

"Therefore, oh rascal, what you say is not logical, for you are called a *madhupa* ("a bee") because you drink liquor (*madyam* = *madhu*)." Then she laughed and said, "Well it is proper that you should drink, for your master has now become the master of the *Madhus* (*Madhupatā*)." Again she became attentive and said brusquely, "This similarity between the two of you does not seem incorrect, for

He is the lord of wine and you are a drinker of wine, this is well known to all; thus your relation of protector and dependant is self-evident."

Then again, she spoke with a wrinkling of her brow, bringing up another fault: "Listen carefully friends, drunks are often so confused that they are taken to be simple-mindedly honest. This bee, however, can be divined to be a cheat by his shaking head and his unclear noises. This seems indeed strange. On the other hand, it is not strange at all." And she addressed the bee, "Oh you friend of a cheat! Why are you freely coming here in the guise of an honest person? Get away! I am no friend of deceivers, nor shall I myself become a cheater; I shall not take to deceptions, for

"He who is a friend of cheats should be considered twice a cheat himself: he deceives even them in order that they should make him their representative."

It is clear from this comparison the extent to which Jīva has expanded, even beyond the comments of Saṅātana. He has, to <sup>some degree</sup> abandoned the purely commentarial style by turning the gloss of words from the BhP into individual speeches in their own right with the accompanying gestures, etc. The passage thus becomes more than commentary and is transformed into dramatic narrative.

## Notes for Chapter Four

1. Ingalls, *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry*, 35f.
2. Metres used infrequently are: *kusumavicitrā*, i.2v24; *pādākulakā* i.2v25, 2v26, 16v7; *vidyunmālā*, i.16v19; 26v9, ii.37v111; *harinī*, i.25v41; ii.24v24; *toṣaka*, i.16v32; *śobhā*, i.18v89; *tūṇaka*, i.23v37; *prabhavatī*, ii.4v24; *pañcācāmarā*, ii.37v88,90,92,94; *samānikā*, ii.37v113; *manthāna*, ii.37v114.
3. De, op.cit. (1942), 470, fn.
4. The rule is pointed out in the commentary of Vīracandra Gosvāmī at the verse where it is said to be from *Prākṛtapaiṅgala*, though this *sūtra* has not been found there. The GC verse is in *rathoddhatā* metre.
5. See above, 3.71.
6. The *Naiṣadhīyacarita* uses *anuṣṭubh* in its 17th *sarga* which contains both polemics and a description of the deities' activities.
7. op. cit. (1942), 483.
8. These disguises include that of (1) a soothsayer, (2) a messenger. (3) a female doctor, (4) a flute player, (5) a wise woman, (6) a painter. (7) a seller of betel, (8) a seller of flowers, (9) a fruit vendor, (10) a tradeswoman, (11) a perfumist, (12) a tailoress, (13) a dyer, (14) a buyer and seller of trinkets, (15) a masseuse, and finally (16) a maker of bangles.
9. Other examples of *anuṣṭubh* verses used in these ways: i.3v29 Purāṇic; ii.10v5 description/narrative; i.3v39-44 narrative; i.4v24-26, 6v59-62, v64-69; exploits of cowherds i.10v5-14; i.13v39-44 (i.13.49) paraphrase and explain the quoted BhP x.16.65-68, x.17.3-4; i.7v41-44; i.8v28-30, Kṛṣṇa's speech to Yaśodā.
10. Some other *anuṣṭubh* verses which belong to category of "grammar" verse: i.22v6; 22v38; 22v44; 30v18-19; i.16v17; i.22v26 (Pāṇ i.1.4.57 Kāś); i.21v60; i.22v22.
11. Interestingly, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja couples verses in a way similar to the way that Jīva does in his *Govindaṭīlāmṛta*. This work, though a *mahākāvya* in spirit, does not follow the discipline of having each *sarga* composed in a single metre, but mixes metres throughout. e.g. GLA 15.53-4, 56-7, 58-9, 65-6, 70-1.



12. Other examples of paired *anuṣṭubh* verses: i.2v32-3, 3v12-3, 14-5, 7v11-2, v20-1, 29-30, 36-7, 8v24-5, 9v17-24, 35-6, 16v4-5, 9-10, 18v13-4, 19v9-10, 25v48-9, 26v6-7, 26v16-7, 28v5-6, 29v3-4 (which also form a *yugmaka*, 34-5, 36-7, 31v54-5; ii.4.3-4, 4v16-7, 21v24-5, 28v13-4, 36v74-5, etc.
13. Other paired verses in *gaṇacchandās* metres. i.1v18-19; i.18v22-23; i.23v75-6; i.26v6-7; ii.11v3-4; ii.22v6-7; ii.24v27-28.
14. See also ii.34v15, 20, 25, 33, 65, 83.
15. Some other verses of this type: i.6v13, etc. Just alliteration, i.6v8, etc.
16. Cf. i.3v10, 22v1, 23v10, 26v10, 26v25, 26v27, 27v50, 29v71, 72; 30v9, 31v5, 31v33, 31v57, 33.321, ii.1v49, 2.3, 15v3; 24v29, 31v46, 37v106, 37v134, 37v146-7, etc. *dhyāna*, i.12v2, etc.
17. Examples can be found in ii.3v8-14, 20-28, 6v9-16, 8v9-10, 9v48, 10v8-18, 12v15-30 (*śikharīṇī*), v31-38, 15v7-8, etc., etc.
18. Other verses of the catalogue type: (purely descriptive) ii.11v54, 36v8, 37v121, 129; A scene *abhiṣeka*, gods drums showering of flowers (i.7v1, ii.32v30); in combination with another ornament) ii.37v127, 131, 134, 145-6, 148. The number of examples of this type of verse in the late chapters of *Uttaracampū* bears testimony to its frequency.
19. ii.17v20, 22, 23, 25, 30 (*śikharīṇī*), 33, etc.
20. Other verses of this type: i.33v129, ii.29v4, 35v87-8, 36v2, 37v145-8, etc. Cataloguing verses can also be combined with the theological: i.1v69; ii.37v148.
21. L. Alsdorf, *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*, (Hamburg, 1936), 190ff.
22. Hemacandra 3.70; Jayadevacchandās 4.29; Jayakīrti 5.31; Prākṛtaparīṅgala 4.47, Rm 3.16; Vṛtta 2.37. Cf. Jayadāman, 259. This includes the *mātrāsamaka* metre, which demands uuuu in the third *gaṇa* and other varieties on the same sixteen morā line.
23. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library*, p.133: MS 244. Aufrecht finds that the work is inferior, in particular finding the domination of metre and alliteration over rational argument to his distaste.
24. Published by Haridas Das, (Nabadwip: Haribol Kutir), 1941.
25. All of these works have been published in *Stavakalpadruma*, ed. Bhaktiśāraṅga Gosvāmī and Puruṣottama Dāsa, (Vrindavan, 1959).

26. This is the *kāntakalikā* of Raghudeva. Cf. *Birudāvalī*, Commentary, p.6: *svecchayā varṇamātrāder nyāsaḥ sādharmaṇaṁ matam*/ The modern author of this commentary, Cakradhara Śarmā, does not tell which work he has referred to for his analysis of the different metres, etc. Though his classifications possess certain similarities to those of Rūpa, they clearly come from a different tradition.
27. The *caṇḍavṛtta* is of two types, general (*sāmānya*) and specific (*śalakṣaṇa*), cf. SKD 7. Jīva primarily follows the general rules, though the occasional specific metre is also identifiable.
28. The *sūtrasloka* of Raghudeva. Cf. *Birudāvalī*, Commentary, p.7: *pratyekakalikānte tu ślokaḥ śauryādisaṁjñakaḥ*/
29. According to the commentary on *Birudāvalī*, p.6, *evaṁ virudesv api vīroktir vīrasasācakatveneti dheyam*. Jīva also adds *śrīśa* to this list in *Gopālavirudāvalī*, 18, and *devi* here in *Gopālacampū*.
30. On the other hand, Raghudeva does mix the metrical and prose forms in his work.
31. This metre is also known as *nārāca* (*Prākṛtapaiṅgala*) when of sixteen syllables, *mahotsava* (*Jayakīrti*) when of eight. Though the alternative names for several of the metres have been identified below, it must be remembered that they are all limited to quatrains verses, whereas the *virudas* have no limit.
32. These works have been published in Telugu characters, *Somanātha kavi laghu kṛtulu*, ed. Bandaru Tammayya, Kakinada, 1962. A description of the metres used there is given in P. Sriramamurti, *Contributions of Andhra to Sanskrit Literature*, (Waltair: Andhra University, 1972), 57-8.
33. Others prose sections containing similes of this type: *ghanam iva ghanarasavarṣaḥṣa-pradaghanam*, etc. (ii.30.24). Another short one, where the objects are strung together, the subject coming at the end: *valakṣapakṣatithiṣu Pūrṇimāpūrtir iva... Hariratijṣṭiṣu mahābhāvasampattir iva camatkārādhāyini babhūva* (ii.36.104); the description of Balarāma at his birth (i.3.86) and that of Kṛṣṇa (i.3.93), the descriptions of Śyāmakunḍa (i.31.66) and Rādhākunḍa (i.31.72). Indra seeing Kṛṣṇa (i.19.10). ii.4 mixed narrative in verse and prose.
34. The verse is *yat te sujātacaraṇāmburuhaṁ standeṣu bhītāḥ śanaiḥ priya dadhīmaḥ karkāṣeṣu/ tenāṭavīm aśasi tad vyathate na kaṁ svit kūrpādibhir bhramati dhīr bhavadāyuṣāṁ naḥ//*

## Chapter V

### Jīva Gosvāmin's language

#### 5.0 Introduction

Amongst Jīva's better known works is the sectarian grammar, *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa* (HNV). The purpose of the work, stated in four introductory verses, as well as at its conclusion, is to grant Vaiṣṇavas access to the Sanskrit literature dealing with Kṛṣṇa without having to endure an arduous journey through the traditional schools of grammatical learning, which Jīva criticizes for being dry like a desert.<sup>1</sup> The means by which Jīva seeks to accomplish this end is not, as one would expect, through changing or simplifying in any way the established systematization of the language, but rather by using the various names of Kṛṣṇa and his devotees in the place of the standard code words for the grammatical functions. Jīva quotes a verse from the BhP (vi.2.14) in support of this tactic, in which the name of Hari is said to destroy all sins even when uttered as a *saṃketa* (i.e. as a name for some other object) or in laughter, whether chanted piously or inattentively.<sup>2</sup>

Jīva thus sets out to replace much of the customary grammatical terminology as well as Pāṇini's ingenious codes by various epithets of Viṣṇu or well-known devotees: the vowel, known as a *svavarṇa* or *ac* becomes a *sarveśvara*, a *visarga* becomes a *viṣṇusarga*, the inflected word or *pada* becomes a *viṣṇupada*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound becomes a *pīṭāmbara*, etc. This exercise has no bearing on the purely grammatical content of the work, and being quite contrary to the abbreviating spirit of the

original codifiers, would no doubt be looked upon as entirely futile by those not sharing his sectarian beliefs. Their objections would have been rebutted from the devotional point of view, and most probably the oft-repeated "argument from pleasure", would have been at their basis. As Jīva himself writes: "May this HNV quickly distribute the joys of Kṛṣṇa-based literature."<sup>3</sup> This literature certainly included GC, which was probably being written around the same time <sup>as HNV</sup> and certainly shows the influence of the deep study of grammar which the production of that work entailed.

Rūpa Gosvāmin calls Kṛṣṇa a *dhīśālita nāyaka*, the expert jokester, a clever lover without a care in the world (*parihāsa-viśārada*).<sup>4</sup> This characteristic of Kṛṣṇa marries well with the a certain lightheartedness found in the Sanskrit poetic tradition which Lee Siegel describes as "heavily laden with lightness, ornately laced with semantic games, linguistic jokes and verbal play. Elaborate alliteration, onomatopoeia, and other such verbal plays and ploys, invest a tone of humour into the poetic diction."<sup>5</sup> Though Jīva is more heavy-handed than Rūpa in his writing, and as we shall discuss in the last chapter of this work, is not entirely true to the portrayal of Kṛṣṇa as a *dhīśālita*, there is little doubt that despite the seriousness of his work, he wished to present all the rasas, which include the humorous, which is again specially related to the amorous, the chief sentiment of the work.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of this, however, Jīva also makes further, serious claims for his work on purely grammatical criteria: that he has left no form unexplained.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, he frequently cites previous authorities, often criticizing their

views. He does not hesitate, however, to lift entire *sūtras* from Pāṇini [or elsewhere] when he considers it appropriate. The end result, in fact, is that one cannot really understand Jīva's grammar without coming to grips with the Pāṇinīyan terminology. This apparent contradiction has been recognized by Jīva in two final prayers <sup>of HNV</sup> to Sarasvatī in the *sragdharā* metre. In the first of these, he denounces as futile the works of other grammarians for not leading to devotion to Govinda, but in the second paraphrases that verse to state that these same grammatical works become interesting and tasteful when they are dovetailed with the name of the deity.<sup>8</sup>

As has already been briefly shown above in the examples of "grammatical" or "vocabulary" verses, Jīva often concentrates a number of words derived from a grammarian's *sūtra* or group of *sūtras* into a single verse or paragraph. Though these can be considered a habitual feature of his language, such displays of learning are not without redeeming literary effect. The question arises whether Jīva's intention in writing *Gopālacampū* <sup>was</sup> to make a deliberate attempt to illustrate points of Pāṇinīyan grammar in the manner of Bhaṭṭi's *Rāvaṇavadha*.<sup>9</sup> It would, however, be futile to think that Jīva, for whom grammar itself had no value when devoid of devotional intent, should use an essentially devotional poem as a mere grammatical tour-de-force. In the following pages we shall look both at examples of the blatant grammatical exhibitionism in which Jīva indulges as well as trying to assess other distinctive features of his language, referring where possible to his own grammar, HNV.

### 5.1 Grammar as alaṃkāra

In view of JIva's grammatical knowledge, it is not at all surprising that he, like many of the other great scholars of the stripe of Bhoja and Hemacandra, shows off his learning even when he sits down to write poetry. This exhibitionism is not always gratuitous, however. Often it is as though his love for the language overflows and the diction of the grammarian bubbles out in a playful way to serve as a literary ornament. For example, in the following verse, JIva uses the vocabulary of the Pāṇini *sūtra* on the instrumental case (*karāṇa*)<sup>9</sup> to make the *arthāntaranyāsa* figure. The word *sādhakatama* means "the efficient cause" which defines the primary use of the instrumental.

*bāhuprasāram akarot parirambhanāya  
bāhū tu tatkarāṇatām ciram Iyatur na/  
yo yasya naiti vaśatām sa katham nu tasya  
prāpnotu sādhakatamasthitim añjasaiva/(i.24v7)*

Kṛṣṇa extended his arms in order to embrace the gopīs,  
but his arms were not long instrumental in this task.  
How can that which is not controlled by someone,  
easily become the most efficient means?

Only a few verses later (i.24v16), JIva plays with the Pāṇinīyan *sūtra* *akathitaṃ ca*<sup>10</sup> which deals with those verbs which take two direct objects. The word *dvikarmakaṃ* is used here to mean "conjugal activities" rather than in any grammatical sense, while the word *smṛti*, often used to refer to Pāṇini's works, here carries the sense of "religious prescription":

*atha yat kathanIyatocitaṃ kathitaṃ tat prathitaṃ ca kificana/  
yad athākathitaṃ dvikarmakaṃ smṛtirItyā tad avehi Pāṇineḥ//*

That which is suitable for description has been described  
and has indeed been embellished somewhat.

That the conjugal activities have not been described  
is due to the rules laid down by Pāṇini.

In another place, the gopīs' commitment to Kṛṣṇa is expressed through the different functions of the adverbial *sāt* (*sātiḥ*). Once again, Jīva uses the words of the *sūtras* themselves.<sup>11</sup>

*deyam adhīnaṃ kārtaṇyenābhivyaptyā ca tatra Kṛṣṇe svam/  
tad rūpaṃ racayitvā sātipratyayapadāni tā dadhire*/(1.33v107)

By making their own bodies offerings to Kṛṣṇa,  
placing them under his control entirely and pervasively,  
the gopīs demonstrated the different uses of the *sāti*-prefix.

In other words, the prefix *sāt* is used to render four possible senses: that of giving (as in *devasātkaroti puṣpaṃ*), of putting under the control of or becoming dependant on someone (as in *Kṛṣṇādhīnaṃ karoti*, *Kṛṣṇasātkaroti*), in the sense of completeness (e.g. *pāpaṃ bhasmasātkaroti bhasmīkaroti Viṣṇubhaktiḥ*) and in the sense of absorption or pervasion (*lavaṇaṃ jalasādbhavatī*).<sup>12</sup> Rādhā and the gopīs offered themselves to Kṛṣṇa as if to illustrate all these uses of the word.

The following verse also contains paronomasia using grammatical language. Superficially it appears to be an approving comment on the grammarians prescription of the transformation of a final (*padāntaga*) *r* (*repha*) into a *visarga* when it comes at the end of a sentence (*avasāne*). The intended meaning, in the context of Kṛṣṇa's chastisement of the serpent Kāliya, is that a wicked person (*repha*) should be set free (*visṛṣṭa*) when at last (*avasāne*) he surrenders himself (*padāntaga*).

*Rephaṃ viṣṛṣṭaṃ nirmāyād avasāne padāntagaṃ/  
iti śāsanavijñānāṃ matam eva matam mama/(1.13v37)*

Another common category of the erudite poetic figure is the fanciful etymology. The following verse comes from the first chapter of GC, where Jīva glosses the word *aṃśa* from the *Brahmasaṃhitā* verses describing Goloka, punning on the grammatical terms *taddhita* and *bahuvrīhi*:

*Aṃśā bhāgā dāyās taddhitayogena dāyavantaś ca  
tat kila jāter bhāgā Bakaḥjiti te santi dāyavantaś ca//  
Tasminn aṃśo yeṣāṃ iti vā gamyo bahuvrīhiḥ/  
vrīhinibhas tatpremā teṣāṃ vṛttau tadāśrayo yuktaḥ/(1.1v18-19)*

*Aṃśa*'s synonyms are *bhāga* and *dāya*, meaning "shares, portions," when a *taddhita* suffix (-a) (the desire for his welfare) is added it becomes the equivalent of *dāyavant*: "an associate or relative". So (as it appears) they take part in Kṛṣṇa's earthly birth, and become the partners of the conqueror of Baka (i.e. his kith and kin).

Or, *tadāṃśāḥ* may be read as "they who have a share in him" when taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound (i.e. comprising a staple. This too is appropriate for, in their every action their love for him is their staple food.<sup>13</sup>

In GC 11.34v40, Jīva actually quotes a Pāṇini *sūtra*, *karmaṇy aṇ* (iii.2.1, HNV 5.141) while giving a fanciful etymology for a word. This is sometimes called a *śāstrīya utprekṣāṣṭaṃkāra*<sup>14</sup>, which might be translated "a fancy involving a pedantic concept".

*yad vaivāhikavastre śāstreṣv ānandapaṭapadaṃ khyātam/  
karmaṇy aṇṇ iti siddhaṃ vistārārthāt paṭes tat kim?//*

The bridal gown is termed "the dress of joy" in texts. Is the word *paṭa* (cloth) derived from the verbal root *√paṭ*



through the application of the *sūtra* which imposes the suffix -a, thus expressing "the expansion of joy"?

One last example of such fanciful derivation is found in the description of the reaction of the Vrajavāsins to the news of Kṛṣṇa's battle with the dangerous serpent Kāliya.

*Kāliyahradam ite Bakasatrau  
Gokulasya rudataḥ pratiśabdāt/  
rodasī ca rudatī svaniruktiṃ  
bāḍham ajṅgapayatām rudasijbhyām/(1.13v18)*

When the enemy of Baka entered the Kāliya's lake,  
the earth and sky (*rodasī*) also cried,  
echoing the crying of Gokula,  
fulfilling the etymology which gave them their names,  
from the roots */rud* and */sic* meaning "to cry".

A rather more simple example of word play is found in this rather typical biting remark of Rādhā as a *khaṇḍitā nāyikā*, expressing her anger by wittily unravelling the excuses of her lover, showing that his words mean something other than that which he apparently intends.

*mām api hitvā krīḍasi, tām api hitveti nānṛtaṃ vacanam/  
ekam tatra jahāter anyad rūpaṃ dadhāter hi/(1.29v32)*

What you say is not untrue,  
you play taking (*hitvā*) both me and her as well;  
for in my case, *hitvā* means "having abandoned" (</hā),  
while in hers, it means "having taken to heart" (</dhā).

## 5.2 The grammar of Jīva's language in the Gopālacampū

In the context of this general analysis of GC, it has not been possible to give an exhaustive survey of Jīva's language. The attempt here is rather

to show both some of the extraordinary or arcane features as well as the more general characteristics of usage that JIva demonstrates. For that purpose, GC has been relied upon almost exclusively, though one or two examples have been taken from other works by our author.

#### 5.21 Pronouns:

(1) On a number of occasions, JIva has taken the option of introducing a *ka* into certain cases of a pronoun to give it a diminutive effect. These forms are permitted according to the commentaries on several different *sūtras* of Pāṇini, though they are not at all commonly used. These diminutive forms appear to have their origin with *yaka*, *yakā* and *asakau* which are attested in the Veda. They then found their way into the grammars, but are only used occasionally in the later literature. *Mayakā* appears to have been a popular usage in the self-effacing statements of the Gauḍīya writers (e.g. Raghunāthadāsa in his *Vilāpakusumāñjali*, 41), but it would appear that JIva's provision to extend the diminutive insertion *ka* to all pronominal forms is innovative. Theoretically, the thus altered pronouns may be declined in all cases,<sup>15</sup> and JIva has conscientiously given most of the forms for the first and second persons in HNV,<sup>16</sup> but in fact they are only attested in the nominative, accusative, genitive and instrumental cases, both in JIva's writing and where found in other literature.

(a) JIva uses the first person singular only in the instrumental, *mayakā*

This form is attested in Pāṇ 1.1.29 Pat and HNV 2.195 as well as Bhadrabāhucaritra,<sup>17</sup> and is used in GC 1.25v45c, where Kṛṣṇa speaks humbly to the gopīs of his inability to repay his debt to their love.

The first and second persons plural are found in the accusative; thus, *asmakān, yuṣmakān* (HNV 2.195). In this verse Yaśodā expresses her gratitude to the Vraja womenfolk after the shock of the death of Pūtanā. The use of the diminutive as the agent of the verb in both cases lends an element of humility to the action.

*putro bhaved evam atisprhā nau  
nāśīd abhūd eṣa tu vaḥ sprhātah/  
pratyarpi so'yaṁ bata yuṣmakābhir  
asmāsu yuṣmāsu tathāsmakābhiḥ* (Xi.5v26)

We had a great desire for a son,  
but had none; he came to us through your desire.  
He was then respectfully given to us by you  
and in the same way, by us to you.

Pāṇ iv.3.2 omits the Vedic forms *yuṣmāka, māmaka, asmāka* and explicitly restricts *-āka* to the singular.<sup>18</sup> The dual form *āvakayoḥ* is found in SKD 2.100.

- (b) Besides the second person plural *yuṣmakān* noted above, JIva adds the diminutive *-ka* with masculine endings to the feminine polite form of address *bhavatī* in SKD 3.16, *bhavatīka* (*saha bhavatīkaṁ mudāśrayisyē*). Such a form or usage is nowhere else attested.
- (c) A number of third person forms are noted, e.g. *yaka*, the diminutive of the relative pronoun *ya* (Pāṇ vii.3.45; HNV 7.1054), which is attested in RV (*rājakaśh... yakā*).<sup>19</sup> In the following instance, Kṛṣṇa uses this form in humble reference to himself and Balarāma in their relation to Nanda and Yaśodā.

*asmārṣṭāṁ bata pitarau sutayor yakayor bhavantau yau/  
asmariṣṭāṁ tadvat tābhyāṁ tau ca Vrajādhīśa* (Xii.14v17)

Just as you our parents certainly remembered your humble sons,  
so too were you remembered by them, oh king of Vraja.

The more common *asakau*, attested in VS (23.22-23, Śis 7.53, Pāṇ vii.2.107 Vārt. and HNV 2.192, is used by the gopīs while speaking disparagingly of Kṛṣṇa's flute (i.18v52). Jīva also employs *amuka* in SKD 3.23.

(ii) In a somewhat different category is *kaska* (HNV 6.335) which heads a *gaṇa* of that name (Pāṇ viii.3.48). It would appear to be identical with the duplicated interrogative pronoun, i.e. *kaḥ kaḥ*, giving a plural or distributive sense "who amongst? who (of many)". The accusative plural *kāṃskān* also appears under Pāṇ viii.3.12. Variants such as *kā kā* and *katamā katamā* (ChU) are attested in the literature.<sup>20</sup> Once again, Jīva finds use for an obscure word for <sup>the sake of</sup> some simple alliteration: *Kaskaḥ svakayaśaskaratām sahāyatayā jighāya?* "Who [amongst the Yādavas] went to to act for his own glory as Kṛṣṇa's helper?" (ii.28.11)

(iii) The use of *asmi* as first person singular pronoun is attested in Kāvyaaprakāśa (*tvām asmi vacmi viduṣāṃ samavāyo 'tra tiṣṭhat*) and Kathāsaritsāgara. Jīva uses *asmi* pronominally twice, in i.21v59 (*vrajata bata nivṛtya drāḡ vrajaṃ nāpratītiṃ kuruta mayi na kiṃ vaḥ prītiṃ apy asmi vedmi*) and ii.4v29 (*asmi vande*). This construction is found in Buddhac. (*avocaṃ asmi*) and MBh (*eḡ 'smi hanmī*). This latter phrase shows the probable aetiology of this usage, "it is I who will..." etc.<sup>21</sup>

(iv) Although Jīva, as most other Sanskrit writers, does not always maintain a distinction between the polite form *bhavat* and the more

familiar *tvaṭ*, he does appear to be looking for a middle way between the two in i.5v7 where Upananda addresses his wife using the plural *yūyaṃ* in a singular sense. This may be derived from the vernacular forms *tum* in Hindi or *tumi* in Bengali, which are historically a plural of *tū* or *tui*, now only used as a diminutive. Elsewhere, Vasudeva addresses Garga, his spiritual master, with the extra polite form *tatrabhavān* (i.6.27).<sup>22</sup>

(v) A little-used possessive adjective formed from a pronominal base is *bhāvatka* (= *bhavadīya*, i.e. yours) is used by JIva at GC i.6v42. It is comparable to the more common *māmaka*, etc., and attested in *Kathāsaritsāgara* and elsewhere (Pāṇ iv.2.15 Sch. HNV 7.442). He also uses *matka* in SKD 3.109. Possessive adjectives formed from *adaḥ*, *adaḥīya* (Naiṣ) and *idamīya* (attested in Jain Skt.) from *idam* are found in JIva's works (i.24.35, SKD 1.270, 2.38).

## 5.22 Verbs:

Though JIva, like most other late Sanskrit writers, used participial phrases, etc., thereby simplifying many of his constructions, with his extensive knowledge of the grammarians he was not afraid to use even rare verbal forms. Many of the usages of rare forms come in the fashion described above, <sup>i.e.</sup> in the "grammatical verse".

### 5.221 Present indicative forms

Even in the present indicative, JIva occasionally comes up with an unusual form, such as the third-person plural of *saṃ/ṛ*, given as *samiyrati* (i.16v31; *ātmano 'py alam amI mama priyā hā davaṃ prati davaṃ samiyrati*), according to the same rule which conjugates */bhṛ* in the third person as

*bibharti, bibhrataḥ, bibhrati*. Historically, however, the generally used 3rd pers. pl. of this root should be *saṁīrati*. This form is given ad HNV 3.350. JIva conjugates as *iyarti, iyrtaḥ, iyrati*. The same verb has other unusual forms in GC such as the aorist plural *aiyaruḥ*.

The negative prefix *a* or *an* can be added to verbs in the present indicative or imperative mood when censuring someone (*ākhyāte tv ākṣepe*, HNV 5.89): *Harim abhajasi ced anedhi cirarātrāya* (1.22.26), "If you do not worship Hari, then you shall not thrive for a long night". The verbs used here are the same as those given under JIva's *sūtra* as examples.

#### 5.222 Aorists

In a verse of relatively simple meaning, JIva uses optionally different forms of the reduplicated aorist for the roots */bhāṣ* and */dīp*, according to the rules of Pāṇ vii.4.3 and HNV 3.434.

*abībhaṣad ayaṁ horīm ababhaṣad iyaṁ tathā/  
adīdīpad asau bhāvam asau ca tam adīdīpat/(1.30v22)*

A similar example can be found in a prose passage (1.4.1), where two alternative forms of the aorist from */kīrt*, *acikīrtat* and *acīkṛtat* (Pāṇ vii.4.7, Kāś; HNV 3.426). In another verse, JIva gives no less than four different optional aorist forms for the root */tṛp*. These four forms are brought together from various grammars in HNV 3.366.

*nātrpat kṛpaṇā dṛṣṭir nātrāpsīt prāpitā śrutiḥ/  
nātrāpsīt prārcchitā nāsā nātarpid arpitam manaḥ/(1.21v60)*

Their miserly eyes were not satisfied,  
their ears, though hearing his voice, were not content;  
their noses, though scenting him, were unfulfilled,

and though surrendered to him,  
their minds remained unsatisfied.

Another of JIva's *anuṣṭubh* grammatical verse pairs contains four aorists of causative verbs. The reduplicated forms lend themselves to alliteration, which JIva has exploited to the fullest in this quite excellent example of this particular trait of his language.

*acīcakāśad vipināny ājīhayad iha priyāḥ/  
rāsāyati sma tā rātrīr atrāmūr ajajāgarat//  
arārambhata rambhorūr lambhaṃ lambhaṃ tato Hariḥ/  
hārān iva vihārāṃs tān kāraṃ kāraṃ dadhe hr̥dī//* (1.29v3-4)

Vṛndā brightened up the woodlands, and brought the dear gopīs there; she caused the *rāsa* dance to take place at night time, keeping them all awake throughout. Again and again, Kṛṣṇa embraced the shapely damsels, performing these wonderful sports again and again, he took them to his heart.

These forms from the causatives of */cakāśa*, *ā/hā*, */jāgr* and *ā/rabh*, are all found in HNV 3.429-30. Only *cīcakāśat* seems to be attested in *Siddhāntakaumudī* to Pāṇ vii.4.81.<sup>23</sup>

The occasional use of aorists in the passive voice is another feature of JIva's language. The following construction using the impersonal passive aorist form of the verb */iṣ* is unattested but regular: *teṣāṃ āntara-vahninaiṣi bahir apy udyātum iti ūhyate* (1.13v12), "It seemed that their inner fire desired to manifest itself externally." Rather more unusual is *agamsātāṃ* (1.16v16) "by whom they were approached" (the form itself is attested in HNV 3.209). In one place (11.14v17, l.c. 5.21.1,c) JIva reverses his own injunction (HNV 3.193-4) where he prescribes *asmārṣṭāṃ* as the

passive and *asmarīṣātām* as the active form of the aorist third person dual of */smṛ*. Similarly, Jīva uses the medio-passive aorist of the verb *ā/kṛṣ*, *ākṛkṣanta* (i.2.112). The form itself is found in HNV 3.174, while Pāṇ iii.1.44, Vārt 7 attests its active usage in the middle voice.

### 5.223 Passives in other tenses

Though permitted by the grammarians, passives of the perfect or periphrastic future are rare. There are a few examples of such usage in Jīva's writing, such as the perfect *anuvavraje* (i.19.55) "he was followed". The following is a good example of the rather extraordinary use of the periphrastic future passive:

*yadi Nārāyaṇena tvaṃ datto 'si kṛpaṇāya me/  
tenaiva sarvaṃ nirvoḍhā soḍhā ca mama durṇayaḥ*/(i.5v35)

If you were given to my wretched self by Nārāyaṇa,  
then all will be taken care of by him,  
and my misdemeanours too will be tolerated by him.

The forms *nirvoḍhā* from *niḥ/vah* and *soḍhā* from */sah* are not unusual in themselves, dating to the Brāhmaṇas, but their passive usage is uncommon. In i.21v70, a similar passive usage is observed from the root */jñā*: *tatra ca bhavati sumukhi sukhena/ kiṃ bhaviteti jñātā kena?* "By whom will it be known, oh beautiful one, how you will be transformed by happiness on that day?"

### 5.224 Desideratives (*sañ*) and intensives (*yañ*)

In general Jīva shows a liking for reduplicated verb forms because of their alliterative affect. The high number of irregular and variant forms



in the desiderative and intensive conjugations also attracts his attention.

Only one or two examples shall be given here:<sup>24</sup>

*Tataś ca sarvaṃ yugapad aririṣatIva cikariṣatIva jigariṣatIva ca  
tasmiṃs, tad asahamānaḥ sahasā siṃhanādaṃ br̥ṃhayān  
siṃhasaṃhananaḥ sa ca Kṛṣṇas tam dhr̥ṣṇajam abhi sāgraham  
abhigraham eva jagrāha. (i.32.21)*

Then, when Keśin appeared simultaneously to wish to approach, throw over and swallow up everything, the mighty Kṛṣṇa unable to tolerate it suddenly gave a lion's roar and eagerly attacked the arrogant demon.

Note that this sentence contains a syntactical fault of the locative absolute construction, the antecedent of *tasmin* of the minor clause being the *tam* of the major. The desiderative forms highlighted are derived from √ṛ, √kṛ and √gṛ.

In one particular sequence of verses (again in *anuṣṭubh*), JIva uses no less than 33 different intensive forms from 25 verb roots (ii.37v108-13). One of these verses has been cited above (p.136). Some intensive forms, such as *ūr̥ṇonūyante* from √ūr̥ṇu ("to weave") attested by Patañjali are from rarely used roots; others of JIva's forms are unattested elsewhere (Cf. *jañjanIti* from √jan, usually *jañjanyate* or *jāñjāyate*, Pāṇ vi.4.43, Vop 20.17).<sup>25</sup>

#### 5.225 Denominative verbs (*kyac*, etc. in Pāṇ, *vibhu* in HNV)

A more characteristic general feature of JIva's language is the liberal use of denominative forms, all the different types of which have been subsumed under the rubric *vibhu*. Though a number of these have been

treated by him in his grammar as special cases, he has been quite free in his creation of verbs out of nouns and adjectives through the standard procedures.

(a) *Kya'* denominatives are divided into *kyac* or *kyañ* depending on whether they take the active or middle terminations. *Kyañ* denominatives are formed by changing the final *-a* of the noun-stems to *-ā* before adding a medial *-ya* and the *ātmanepada* endings.<sup>26</sup> *Kyac* (*kyan* in HNV) change the *-a* to *-ī* before adding *-ya* and the *parasmaipada* endings<sup>27</sup> while nouns ending in *-ī* or *-u* lengthen these vowels before adding *ya*, etc.<sup>28</sup> These types of verbs are specifically mentioned by Mammaṭa in connection with the elliptical simile (*luptopamā*) for they indicate similitude without the use of a preposition ("as, like") or adjective ("similar", etc.). Specifically, the *kyac* verbs make a simile based on the noun (either in the accusative or locative case), while the *kyañ* always refers back to the subject. Jīva even uses the same example (*antaḥpurīyasi*) as Mammaṭa (KāvPr 10, ex.12) and Viśvanātha Kavirāja (SāhD ad 10.25):

*antaḥpurīyasi vaneṣu sakḥīyasi tvam*  
*vanyān mṛgān nijatanūyasi goparāmāḥ*// (1.33v9)

You behave in the forest as though in your personal apartments,  
 you treat the forest animals as your friends  
 and the gopīs as though they were your own body.

Or that of Patañjali (*prāsādiyati*):

*prāsādiyati yaḥ kuṭyāṃ paryāñkīyati mañcake/*  
*tasya santoṣasīlasya kubjikāpy apsarāyate*/(ii.4v47)

He who treats a thatched cottage as a palace,  
 and a wooden plank as a comfortable bed,

is so easily satisfied that will find  
even a hunch-backed woman to be like a heavenly courtesan.

Another example, using the present participles:

*taruvallItatidampatipallI bhavatIm atithIyanti/  
ākārayati calannavapallavapāṇibhir ātmIyanti/(1.27v31a)*

The village of husbands and wives that are the trees and vines  
welcome you like a guest; treating you like a relative  
they invite you with their hands, their swaying new branches.

Jīva has thus not hesitated to create *kyaṇ* denominatives out of compounds such as *pratyakṣapātrāyate* "to become directly perceived" (ii.8.41), *naradevakanyāyate* "to become like an earthly princess", *sarvasukha-sattrāyate*, "to seem the refuge of all happiness" (i.2.2, 15.1), etc.

(b) *Nic* (*ñiḥ*, *paras.* or *ñiḥ*, *ātm.* in HNV) denominatives are formed in a way which resembles more closely the conjugation of the causative or class X verbs: the final *-a* of the noun-stem remains unchanged after which the denominative sign *ya* is added.<sup>29</sup> Thus, *kumārayati* (i.6v7), "to behave like children", i.e. "to play" (Dhātup 35.25). Most of the denominatives in this group have taken on specialized meanings, e.g. *gocaraya* (i.7.64) "to tell" (with loc.) *bhavanmātrcaraṇeṣu gocarayāmaḥ*, "we shall tell your mother".

(c) *Kvip* denominatives (Cf. Pāṇ iii.1.11 Vārtt.) are formed by adding the verbal inflections directly to the noun stem ending in *-a*, or to an added *-a* on consonant-ending stems. These generally carry the intransitive meaning "to behave or be like something". Thus, *premā kāmati tatkriyā*

*kalahati*, etc. (i.1v45), "Their love behaves like lust, its deeds appear to be quarrelling".<sup>30</sup>

*anyatra candrati Hariḥ Śakre tarhi sma sūryati/  
Śakro 'pi sūryati anyasmin khadyotati Harau sma saḥ* (i.19v13)

Elsewhere Hari is (cooling) like the moon,  
but to Indra he was (scorching) like the sun;  
compared to others, Indra was (brilliant) like the sun,  
but before Kṛṣṇa, was like a firefly.

Other intransitive denominatives formed from nouns ending in -u take *guṇa*, thus *indavati* (i.2.117) "to seem like the moon" and *jalasindhavanti* (ii.37v43) "to act like the watery ocean".

(d) Some other interesting formations are found in a single verse of GC:

*vatsīṣu yarhi gavyante goduhanti sma te 'rbhakāḥ/  
teṣāṃ prahāsajā bhāsaḥ payasyante sma tās tadā* (i.7v42)

When they treated calves as though they were cows,  
and themselves acted like cowherd men,  
the effulgence which came from their laughter  
played the role of milk.

A medial -y is introduced between the noun-stem and the verbal endings in some nouns with consonant stems, thus *payasyante* (Pāṇ iii.1.11 Vārtt, HNV 3.531) or *gavyante* from *go* (HNV 3.516). *Goduhanti* is formed from *goduh* (HNV 3.534) and is in fact a *kvīp* denominative, formed by adding -a and the *paras.* terminations to the noun-stem.<sup>31</sup> As is frequently the case with forms which JIva no doubt learned primarily from the grammars, the meanings of words differ from those attestable in (usually) early sources. Thus *gavyati* in the active voice has the sense "seeks cattle, goes a-

raiding; desire for or delight in cows" (*gām icchatī*, Vop 21; found in present participial form in RV). Here the denominative is transitive, it can take either the locative (as in *vatsīṣu gavyante* above) or the accusative according to HNV 3.526.

(e) These denominatives are nearly always given in the present tense, though Jīva does give a number of aorist and perfect, etc. forms of denominatives in HNV. Though forms of denominatives in other than the present indicative are rare, in one exceptional case, Jīva gives aorists of verbs formed from *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa*. These appear to belong to a category all by themselves, for they have the meaning "to utter the name *Rādhā* or *Kṛṣṇa*". Thus,

*ararādhāt vṛthā Kṛṣṇaḥ satṛṣṇaḥ sa pratikṣaṇam/  
acakṛṣṇan muhuḥ sāpi manasā vacasā na tu/(ii.36v83)*

Jīva gives the form *ararādhāt* in HNV 3.560 where he glosses it as *Rādhām ākhyat*, "called out the name *Rādhā*".

The occasional participial form is found, e.g. *uccakitīte* (i.8v23) "acting as if fearful", glossed as "overwhelmed with fear" by the commentators. In the context, that of *Kṛṣṇa* being frightened by his mother, the former meaning seems more likely.<sup>32</sup> Rather unexpected are the formation of denominatives from past participles of other verbs, e.g. *āvṛtīyamāna* (SKD 2.290); *pradhūnayati* (i.21.112), formed from past part. of *pra /dhū* (Pāṇ vii.3.37 Vart 1, Sch), with causative sense "to cause to tremble, shake".

5.226 *Cvi*-form verbs.

Another common feature of JIva's language is the abundant use of *cvi*-form verbs (Pāṇ vi.1.67ff). These are similar to denominatives, and indeed JIva equates them in some places in HNV.<sup>33</sup> Verbs of this sort are liberally sprinkled through GC.<sup>34</sup>

*rahībhhūtaṃ arūbhūtaṃ cakṣūbhūtaṃ manīkṛtaṃ/  
yasya yat tat kathaṃ tena tyajyatām vyajyatām api?/(1.33.101)*

Could someone give up or reveal that which he has taken to a secret place, kept within his heart, under his eye and in his mind?

This verse has been treated by the editor (P) as a quote, but probably is not. All the forms in this verse are treated in Vop 7.84 (where only combined with /kṛ) and HNV 7.1122.

Though *cvi*-forms are generally formed with /bhū or /kṛ, on at least one occasion, JIva compounds with /as, e.g. *taduktir udriktīsyāt* (1.3.101) "his words would be superfluous".

The phenomenon of *cvi*- constructions formed from past participles of other verbs is not infrequent (as in the above example). The meaning derived is often difficult to distinguish from an appropriate form of the original verb. Thus *sāntvitīkṛtya* (1.2.10) cannot really be considered an improvement on *sāntvayitvā*, nor *bhasmitīkṛtya* on *bhasmīkṛtya*.<sup>35</sup>

As with the denominatives, JIva frequently makes *cvi*-verbs out of nouns which are already compounded. Though occurring less often than the simpler verbs, they are nevertheless not infrequent. Some of these

compounds contain several members: *prasaṅgasaṅgIkriyate* (i.15.36); *labdha-vināśIbhavan* (ii.21.22); *vibhuktamuktIkṛtam* (i.24v39); *saṅkucitacitIbhavatā* (ii.5.37); *saphalitakarṇadvandvIbhavan* (ii.2.30); *svamanaḥkaṭhinIkaraṇāya* (ii.20.64), *bodhaviṣayIbhavati* (ii.1.40); *karṇapuṭIviṣayIkriyate* (ii.18.32).

Some traditionally irregular *cvī* forms are found in GC, e.g. *sukhā* /*kṛ* (i.3v2) “make happy, gladden” (Pāṇ v.4.63, HNV 7.1115). The strange form *vadantIbabhūva* appears to be a *cvī* derived from the present participle of /*vac* *tatra ceyam kiṃvadanti* *vadantIbabhūva* (i.15.103).

### 5.23 Verbal derivatives (*kṛdanta*)

#### 5.231 Participles used as finite verbs

Perfect participles in *-vāṃs* ; *ūcivas* from /*vac* (n.a.), *jakṣivas* from /*ghas* (AV, VS, Pāṇ, HNV 2.142) and *jagmivas* (Pāṇ vii.2.68; HNV 2.142). Jīva uses them as finite verbs with a simple past sense.

*Sakhāyas tu “Yājñikeṣu jagmivāṃso jakṣivāṃsāś ca vayam” iti saṃkocena na kaṃcid apy ūcivāṃsāś ca.* (i.22.61)

Thinking, “we went amongst the performers of sacrifice and ate there”, Kṛṣṇa's friends said nothing to anyone out of timidity.

The use of the active and middle-voice present participles with the prohibitive particle *mā* is found with an added sense of disapprobation (*ākrośe*, HNV 5.4). The participles in this case have a subjunctive or optative sense:

*mā jīvan yasya Kṛṣṇāya kramate cakṣurādi na/  
mriyamānāś ca mā yasya tasmai tan na pravartate/(i.22v39)*

The life of one whose senses do not experience Kṛṣṇa, is not worth living; may one not die without having so engaged them.<sup>36</sup>

Four archaic verbal derivatives formed from the intensives of the roots /vah, /sah, /cal and /pat are attested in Pāṇ iii.2.171, Vārtt 4 (HNV 5.355). *Vāvahi* is found once in RV, *sāsahī* (RV), *ś-vicācali* (AV). *Pāpati* only attested in Vārtt.<sup>37</sup> Jīva uses them in what can only be considered a finite sense in GC:

*vāvahiḥ parvataṃ bālaḥ sāsahir na tu cācaliḥ/  
bahir eva yathā vṛṣṭiḥ pāpatir na tadantare/(i.19v1)*

The boy carried the mountain,  
he was patient and did not move at all  
so that the rain which constantly fell without  
did not enter within.

#### 5.232 Periphrastic participial phrases:

One type of construction which has existed in various forms from Vedic days onwards is the periphrastic participial phrase, familiar in English as the complex tenses, i.e. the continuous, perfect and pluperfect tenses. Jīva does not use all the auxiliary verbs found in the earliest literature, such as /i, and only uses /sthā once; he rather favours /as, /ās, /bhū, and /vṛt. In his commentary on UN (1.20), Jīva also uses *vi/rāj* as an auxiliary verb giving a present continuous sense, *ānandaṃ vardhayann eva virājamānaḥ*, where this middle voice present participle acts as a finite verb. This usage is not found anywhere in GC, however. The common modern Indian usage of a gerund with verbs meaning "to move" or "to go" is all but absent (*viśramya vartate*, ii.36.52), so it would not seem as



though we can look for direct antecedents of these usages in the vernaculars with which JIva was familiar.

(a) Past and perfect participles with present tense

Amongst the most common usages is that of the past participle with the present tense of a verb "to be". As with the use of the perfect participle with the present tense of *√as*, this type of participial phrase is not that rare in the classical language.<sup>38</sup> Thus, *pratyāsāditam asti* (i.33.268), *dr̥ṣṭam asti* (i.33.329), etc. Somewhat less frequently we find JIva combining the past participle with the present participle *bhojanāya yācitāḥ santaḥ* "being invited to eat" (i.2.44). In one case, JIva uses two past participles together: *Tarhi kiṃ pitror eva sandeśapraveśāya bhavadāyātam jātam?* "Then have you come in order to bring news of our parents?" (ii.2.35). In this case, JIva has simply given, as is often the case in such constructions, a nominal sense to the past-participle: "Has your arrival come about in order to introduce information about our parents specifically?" A pluperfect tense formed by the use of the perfect participle with the imperfect<sup>39</sup> is fairly common in GC. These forms are met with sufficiently frequently throughout Sanskrit literature that no examples are given here.

(b) Present participles (*śatṛ*, *śānac*) with the present tense

A usage which is marked in GC is that of the present participle with either the present or imperfect of the auxiliary verb, which is most frequently *√as*, a construction similar to the Bengali continuous tense, e.g. *kariteche*. Thus, *kaulīnam udbhāvya sarvaṃ lajjayā kau līnam iva kurvantaḥ*

*santi* "stirring up ugly rumours it is as though they are making everyone invisible with shame" (ii.17.20).

In the following passage, the use of the present imperfective is appropriate to the context, though its primary intent seems to be assonance:

*Hanta, bhadṛāṃ padmāṃ nityam āgacchann api  
bhadṛāṃ Padmāṃ adyāpi nāgacchann asmi.  
Śyāmalābhāmadhuratām aṅcann api  
Śyāmalābhilāṣavidhuratām aṅcann asmi.  
Nakharavijitacandrāvalīkatām āpnuvann api  
Candrāvalīṃ prati labdhatṛṣṇatām āpnuvann asmi.* (i.21.110)

Although meeting regularly with a large number of auspicious things, I am still not going to meet the auspicious Padmā. Though becoming sweet with a blackish hue, I am becoming tormented by a desire for Śyāmalā. Though my fingernails are becoming more beautiful than a row of moons, I am becoming filled with desire for Candrāvalī.

In more than 80% of cases, these continuous tenses are found in prose; nonetheless, they are not totally absent from verse: Kṛṣṇa laments that he sends letters which cause the gopīs pain: *vāṇīṃ vāṇāyamānāṃ hari hari tam imāṃ prāpayann asmi hā dhik* (i.20v32) and then promises that he is about to come: *septāṣṭān avasiṣṭatām iva gatān asmy āvrajan govrajam* (i.20v40). This latter sentence shows that, as in English, the continuous present also conveys a sense of the imminent future. Another instance of such usage is found as Kṛṣṇa is just on the point of entering Vraja: *sadya evāgacchann asmi* (ii.30.9). The emphatic *eva* in this last example clearly emphasizes the imminence of the activity.<sup>40</sup>

The auxiliary verbs /vṛt and /ās indicate a more definite state of continuous activity, probably being preferred to /sthā which would have the same meaning. The particle *eva* appears frequently between the participle and the auxiliary verbs /vṛt and /ās e.g. *atīkrāmad eva vartate* (ii.25.17), *kurvann eva vartate* (i.33.226)<sup>41</sup>, *samyag vindann evāste* (i.33.240), *kurvann evāste* (i.21.144). In some cases, the emphasis is decidedly on the finite verb itself, such as in the following combination of auxiliary /vṛt with present participle of /ās, which would seem more readily translatable with a gerundive sense: *Sa khalu Durgāpatinā prāpitānyathāgatīḥ samprati sarva-manmathagatitāśreyasi nijāṃśiYadupatitejasi labdhasātmyāpattīḥ sann ayam vartate* (ii.19.7) "He who was [burned to ashes] by the husband of Durgā is now here before you, having attained oneness with the effulgence of the lord of the Yadus, his own source, who is the ultimate auspicious goal of all Cupids."

The present continuous formed with /bhū is comparatively infrequent and appears to be formed primarily out of the alliterative imperative, e.g. *tat kiṃ bhavanto 'nubhavanto na bhavanti?* (ii.24.27). However, this could not be the only reason, witness *tadā bhavantaś ca sphuṭam tam anubhavantas tathuḥ* (ii.18.45). This latter is the only incidence of /sthā being used as an auxiliary verb. This sentence has a straightforward past imperfective connotation.

#### (c) Present participles with other moods and tenses

The use of the present participle with the imperfect of /ās is the most frequent; the perfect of /bhū is found in one instance.<sup>42</sup> In the former case, the sense of a past continuous, in the latter, it would seem that the

purpose was once again alliterative rather than semantic: *Bhagavatī ca dṛśā tādṛśatām anukurvati tādṛ sphuṭam aṅgīkurvati babhūva, abhihitavatī ca* (ii.32.51).

Elsewhere, we have the very unusual combination of a present participle with the imperative, *rājāsanaṃ rājayantaḥ sentu bhavantaḥ* (ii.14.24), presumably as an extra polite way of asking someone to do something, in this case to sit or rest. In this particular instance Jīva's selection of wording was again influenced by the desire for alliteration. The question of possible influence of the vernaculars arises, comp. the Hindi *virājīte rahiye*, though the precise construction is not possible in the vernaculars.

The imperative is also used with the present participle in one place as a form of prayer: *Tasmād atīva citrāyamāṇaṃ māṃ kathaṅcit trāyamāṇaḥ sa bhavān bhavatāt* (ii.32.15). Another example of the imperative with a present participle is found in ii.29.14: *Tatas tvam atra kākakāmalāmalakāra-duṣṭārabāṣpānumocanaparalocanāyāṃ mayi locanāyamānā bhava* "So you must act as my eyes, for mine are constantly releasing uncontrollable tears, which give them the *kākakāmalā* disease." It is rather likely that these too were simply cases of the lengthening of expression <sup>customary in</sup> the circumlocutory language of etiquette.

Numerous examples can be found of a past continuous tense formed with the present participle and the imperfect tense of "to be" or "to become". There are no instances of *√vṛt* or *√ās* being used in the past tense as auxiliary verbs in such usage.

Jīva uses the future participle rather infrequently. One instance is found in his *Samkalpakalpadruma*, though none has been noticed in GC. He uses it in a participial phrase with the present tense, in the sense of inevitable future "it is to be" *bhaviṣyad aṣṭi* (SKD 3.6). He has made an attempt at a future perfect construction by using the perfect participle with the future tense, e.g. *prāṇihitavati bhavitā* (i.33.298). In another place he uses an unusual construction combining the reduplicated perfect participle with the present tense of */bhū*, *ājagmivad bhavati* (ii.15.2) "so that one pair will always be in the state of having arrived" *Dūtānām prabhūtayugmatayā kāryā yathā nityanityam ekaṃ yugmam ājagmivad bhavati*.

#### (d) Participles as objects of */kṛ*

Another usage of the participles preferred by Jīva is in the modification of the object of the verb "to do", apparently in order to indicate the continuity of the effects of an action. Thus, *smāyamānam api viśmāyamānam karoṣi* "You are making me forget that which I was remembering." (ii.8.41). On the other hand, such expressions may rather be considered more of Jīva's familiar flourishes of circumlocutory politeness, e.g. *patrīm sakṛdapi karṇayoḥ śacamānām kuru* "bring the letter in contact with our ears just once", i.e. "please read out the letter" (ii.30.20). Of course, similar expressions are more commonly found with the past participle (*kṛta*), e.g., *sāksād āśvāsanam ayitāḥ kṛtāḥ* (ii.21.51) or *sarvaṃ tadduḥkhajātam ācchannatām āpannam eva cakāra* "[Kṛṣṇa] made all the sufferings they had experienced go away (attain covered-ness)" (i.33.335).<sup>43</sup>

#### 5.233 Irregular or unusual participial forms

(a) Jīva has in one place made the remarkable usage of a periphrastic

perfect middle participle of */grah*: *Tad evaṃ samayāntarāṇi gamayāṃcakrāṇeṣu gopagīrvāṇeṣu...* "After the good cowherds had thus waited for some more time..." (ii.19.69).

(b) Two adjectives formed in *-ima* are found, derived from the roots */pac* and */bhid*, *pacelima* and *bhidelima* in a ~~reflexive~~ sense (*karmakartari*, HNV 5.191). Thus *pacelima* "easily cooked" or "readily seething", as confirmed in Pāṇ iii.1.96, Vārtt 1, Pat., Kull. on Mn. 4.172, etc. *Bhidelima* is attested in *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* as meaning "fragile, easily broken".

*kelimātreṇa te daityā yad bhidelimatām gatāḥ/  
pacelimas tena tāpāt Kaṃsaḥ pradhvaṃsam eṣyati//*

Those demons were easily broken by him, who took them as playthings; knowing this Kaṃsa will seeth readily from the heat and will soon meet with destruction.

(c) In one paragraph, Jīva uses a number of the adjectives formed with the *-snu* suffix described in Pāṇ iii.2.136-140 (HNV 5.317-322). Most of the words used here have been attested in the classical literature:

*Pūrvam evāyaṃ ŚrīyutaKṛṣṇaḥ pārāvārabhaviṣṇu-sthāsnu-carīṣṇu-  
duḥkhadānadhrṣṇoḥ Kṛṣṇādhiṣṇasya Kāliyasya nirākarīṣṇutrṣṇo 'pi,  
tatpatnībhyo 'patrapīṣṇutayā cirāya tūṣṇīm babhūva. Samprati tu  
gogopālakāladhermāpātājātāsahīṣṇutayā vardhīṣṇukrodhaḥ suṣṭhu  
jātāḥ.* (i.13.18)

A similar, though slightly shorter, passage is found at i.1.77 and given in the appendix to this thesis. A number of other adjectives with this suffix are formed in combination with derivatives of */bhū* and */kr*, such as *subhagamabhaviṣṇu* (i.19v46). Cf. Pāṇ iii.2.57, HNV 5.267.

(d) Pāṇini (iii.2.166; HNV 5.349–350) prescribes the *-ūka* suffix to form nouns from */jagṛ* and the intensive forms of */vad*, */daṃś*, */yaj* and */jap*: *jāgarūka*, *vāvadūka*, *dandaśūka*, *yāyajūka*, *jañjapūka*. Of these, *dandaśūka* and *jañjapūka* are also covered by the rule (Pāṇ iii.1.24; HNV 3.486) which gives a derogatory nuance to the intensive form of the verb. *Dandaśūka* and *dvijāti* in this passage add a further shade of meaning, for both can have the meaning of “snake”.

*Vāvadūka, vipratayā bhavān eva yāyajūkatāyām jañjapūkatām āśīdan,  
puroḍāśśānām dandaśūkas tadāsvādāya jāgarūkatām āśādayati.  
Asmābhis tu bhavajjāter dvijāteḥ parīkṣaivācaritā” iti.(i.22.59)*

Garrulous one! because you are a brāhmaṇa, you are always chattering about your desire to perform sacrifices [making a great show of piety, but] you are in fact ever snapping at the leavings of the sacrificial offering and watchful to get a taste of them. We have seen your type of brāhmaṇa before.

(e) In i.12.37, Jīva uses three irregular present participial forms which are formed according to the *Uṇādisūtra* (*bāhulyād jñcisibhyād ac gaṇḍimaṇḍinandijanibhyāś ceti do 'ntaḥ*) according to which they take *anta* as their suffix rather than the customary *at* (HNV 5.371). They are <sup>formed from</sup> type X or causative verbs: *maṇḍayanta* from */maṇḍ*, “decorating, adorning” (Pāṇ vi.4.55 Kāś) *nandayanta* from */nand* (“giving joy, making happy”, Vop), and *janayanta* from */jan* (“producing, generating”, Vop).<sup>44</sup>

*... yatra ca sakhiṣu tābhyām saha parasparam maṇḍayanteṣu  
nandayanteṣu krīḍājanayanteṣu ca paramakautukam āvirbhavati sma.*

(f) The three adjectives *sprhayāyya* (Uṇ 3.96, HNV 5.372), *jayāyya* (Vop 26.164), *grhayāyya* (Uṇ 3.96 Sch; HNV 5.372), clearly have an active present participial sense. They have not been attested in this sense outside the

grammarians' works.<sup>45</sup> The following passage (i.16.27) describes the return of the cowherds after the killing of Pralamba.

*...te śṛṅginīvittāḥ...vihāraṇiṣṭhāḥ krīḍāpāṇasya sprhayāyyā jayāyyā  
grhayāyyāḥ... pādabandhanānām anveṣaṇād viśleṣam ājagmuḥ.*

The cowherds, determined to keep on playing, hoping for playthings, returning home in a victorious spirit... were separated due to seeking the cattle.

(g) The exceptional formation of nouns, logical *kṛp* derivatives, from the desiderative forms of /*kr* and /*paṭh* is prescribed by JIva in HNV 2.137 (Vop 3.150). According to the examples given by him there, however, the former (-*cikīṛ*, nominative *cikīṭh*) is only to be found in the compound, *viśvacikīṭh*, "one who desires to create the universe". This word is nowhere else attested.

*viśvacikīṭr api sa vidhiḥ pipāṭhīr yasmād bhavet tasmin/  
ko vā caturamṇyaḥ prathayatu nijacāturīm Kṛṣṇe/(i.16v17)*

Brahmā, even when desirous of creating the universe,  
seeks to learn from Kṛṣṇa;  
who then is so vainglorious  
that he would show off his cleverness to him?

This is followed by the use in the subsequent prose passage (i.16.23) of *śajūḥ* which is found in the same *sūtra* of HNV (Pāṇ viii.2.66; Vop iii.150, 164; Bhaṭṭ).

(h) According to Pāṇini (iii.3.110, HNV 5.455), *kāri* (fem.) "action, work, deed", is only to be used in questions and answers: *kām kārim akāṛṣīt?* - *svabhāvajām kārim eva* (i.5.25-26)



5.234 *Ṇamul* gerunds

The *ṇamul* gerunds are most commonly found repeated to convey repeated or constant action (*abhiḥkṣye ca ṇam*), e.g. *tatrabhavatā Nandavrajabhuvam vrājam vrājam mithaḥ samyutau nijayajamānasutau dvijātijāṭisamucitaprakāreṇa saṃskāreṇa puraskartavyau*. (1.6.27). This is fairly common throughout Sanskrit literature, particularly in *mandākrāntā* and *sragdharā* verses, for in these metres the four long syllables conveniently come at the beginning of the line. (Cf. 1.5v14, 1.6v2, 1.19v2, 11.1v4, 11.10v9, etc: *smāraṃ smāraṃ dalatī balavad yena tasmin na kīrcidd hartuṃ śakyam bhavati nitarāṃ alpakaṃ vā mahad vā* //)

The wider usage of these *ṇamul* gerunds is in the latter half of a compound forming a *avyayībhāvasamāsa*. Thus we have the following:

- (a) *Svādupkāram*, "causing relish, making something tasty" (Pāṇ iii.4.26, HNV 5.99) and *coraṃkāram*, used with *ā/kruś*, "accusing of being a thief" (Pāṇ iii.4.25 com., but not in HNV) are found in a single verse.

*śaṅke svādupkāram itthaṃ sadā tvam  
yajñāṅgiyam lekṣi haiyaṅgavīnam/  
evaṃ coraṃkāram ambā śiśuṃ taṃ  
praty ākrośanty ādracittā babhūva* // (1.8v27)

- (b) The use of the *ṇamul* form of */kṛ* compounded with the interrogative *katham* (Pāṇ iii.4.27) or with the corresponding correlative adverbials *yathā* and *tathā* (Pāṇ iii.4.28, HNV 5.107), the latter said to be used in indignation or cross words (*asūyāpratīvacanē*). Found in (Naiṣ 2.52: Śiś)

*Yathākāram tathākāram vā vadatu, so 'yam kathamkāram yūyam idaṃ vicārayatha, yato viprasyāsyā kṛtaṃ khalu viprakṛtaṃ eva bhānyate, katham iva prakṛtaṃ syāt?* (1.30.54)

(c) The *ṇamul* forms of /*drś* and /*vid* are given the special sense of "all" in Pāṇ iii.4.29 (*sākalye*). In GC 1.3.19, Jīva uses these two suffixes together (*brāhmaṇadarśam pūjayati* and *vaiṣṇavavedam snihyati*). These resemble not only Jīva's own examples given following HNV 5.109 (*vaiṣṇavadarśam praṇamati* and *vaiṣṇavavedam bhojayati*), but also those of the commentary on Pāṇini (*kanyādarśam varayati*, *brāhmaṇavedam bhojayati*).

(d) The *ṇamul* gerund of certain roots is <sup>often</sup> used as the second half of a compound in expressions used adverbially with a finite form of the same verb, e.g. *Pūrvam śuṣkapeṣam piṣṭavān, samprati tu sarpiḥpeṣam pinaṣṭi so 'yam asmān*. (1.5.24). Of these the first is attested in Pāṇ iii.4.35, Bhaṭṭi and HNV (5.113), the second by Pāṇ iii.4.38. More examples of the same principle at work are given in 1.33.204 (*gadācakraghātam ghātayitvā*) and 1.33v66. This last verse gives the same examples found in HNV 5.121-123, even using the same context of Kāṁsa's death for the first: *ajanāśam naṣṭaḥ Kāṁsaḥ* (gloss: *aja iva naṣṭaḥ*, HNV 5.123). Cf. Pāṇ iii.4.45 and Bhaṭṭ. This usage of the *ṇamul* is also listed as one of the types of elliptical simile in KāvPr 10.10, etc.

*ajanāśam asau naṣṭo jīvanāśam nanāśa ca/  
ūrdhvasoṣam sa cāśuśyat Kṛṣṇa yas tvatparāṇmukhaḥ/*

Oh, Kṛṣṇa, those who were inimical to you died like sacrificial goats, even while living they were destroyed and dried from above [like a cadaver?]

Jīva uses a number of other *ṇamu-*formed adverbial compounds, mostly in GC 1.33: *jīvagrāham* "capturing alive" (Pāṇ iii.4.36, elsewhere widely attested, MBh etc.); *samūlaghātam* (Śiś, Sarvaḍ; *akṛtakāram* "in a way never done before" (Pāṇ. These last three are all found in HNV 5.114); *karagrāham* "taken by the hand" (Pāṇ iii.4.39 Kāś, HNV 5.118); *pāṇikarṣam* (HNV 5.126; 1.33v29):

*Yañ khalu mātaripuruṣam puruṣottamas tvam iha jīvagrāham  
grahīṣyasi, samūlaghātam hanīṣyasi, akṛtakāram kariṣyasi,  
karagrāham grhṇaṁś ca viśrāntiparyantam aśrāntivikramatayā  
vikrakṣyasi. (1.33.36)*

- (e) A further example from the same section of HNV, also found in Kāśikā to Pāṇ iii.4.57 (HNV 5.130) *dvyahatarṣam pibanti, tryahātyāsam dvitrigrāsam bhuñjate* (1.22.26) "they drink after having thirsted for two days; they take two or three bites of food every fourth day".

#### 5.24 Other nouns and adjectives

- (i) Pāṇini permits a certain number of imperative forms to be combined with nouns or indeclinables to form adjectives qualifying nouns meaning "activity", i.e. *kriyā* or *karman*. These are found in the *ehīhādigaṇa* under Pāṇ ii.1.272 and HNV 6.99.

*Tavaitad ehīham karma katham iva? (1.21.44)*

"Why are you ordering us to come there?"

*Tad evam ehīsvāgatām kriyām ācārya tatpratyyuttarasamkathane tāsām  
samkocaṁ vicārya punar uvāca, "Āsyatām" iti. (1.22.37)*

"Having thus invited and welcomed them, when he saw they were reluctant to answer and talk with him, he again said, 'Sit down.'"

*āharavasanām āharavanitām yasmāt kriyām sadādhīdhve/  
Kātyāyanīprasādāt tam api vikarṣāma toyāntaḥ*/(i.21v20)

Because you always meditate on the tasks of stealing [women's] clothes and abducting them, by Kātyāyanī's mercy we shall drag even him down into the water."

Similar in form is the word *stuhikṛṣṇaḥ*, created by JIva in HNV 6.101 (*stuhi Kṛṣṇam ity abhikṣṇam āha yaḥ saḥ*) on the model of *jahijoda*, also found in *ehīhagaṇa*. JIva uses the abstract noun *stuhikṛṣṇatā* in i.32.3.

(ii) Found in the same *ehīhādigaṇa* are the compounds *nīscapracā* and *vicapracā* which are glossed by the commentators as "certainty" and "doubt". In HNV (6.99), JIva glosses these words *vikṛtaṃ ca prakṛtaṃ ca yasyāḥ sā* and *nīscitaṃ ca pracitaṃ ca yasyāḥ sā*, where *sā* refers to *kriyā* as above. In this case, however, the word "activity" is understood and the words stand as nouns with feminine endings.

*Paurṇamāsī... amūḥ punar vicapracām āptā nīscapracākṛte tad idam  
ādiṣṭavatī*. "Paurṇamāsī said the following to the gopīs who were confused in order to convince them."(i.17.10)

In fact, the real derivation of the word <sup>from</sup> *is/nīś ca pra ca*, which has the probable meaning "back and forth" and JIva's meaning would appear to come from a fancied link with *nīścaya*. However, *vicapracā* is found elsewhere with the sense of "dishevelment": *sambhramāt pratigatam vicapracām veśam asya mithunasya paśyata* (ii.36v58).

(iii) Verse i.22v37 contains several words formed with the *-īna* suffix dealt with in the *sūtras* Pāṇ v.1.9 and HNV 7.714. The words are not entirely clear in their meaning. *Viśvajanaīna* is first attested in AV with the sense

“ruling the world” (BRD), the alleged sense “contains all people” being negligible. In GC, it is certainly used as an epithet of Kṛṣṇa which reflects his deity. *Bhogīna* is said by Pāṇini to only be found in compounds (such as *pitṛbhogīna*, *mātrbhogīnaḥ*, etc., Pāṇ com.) and is here too compounded with *tat* referring to Kṛṣṇa. Because the word can nowhere be attested its meaning is unknown. Jīva takes the word to *be* derived from *bhogah śarīram* (HNV 7.714), *but* from the context <sup>in GC</sup> it can be taken to mean *bhojya*, i.e. foodstuffs. *Ātmanīna* (Pāṇ v.1.9 & vi.4.169) has various meanings according to the lexicons; “appropriate, good or fit for oneself” is the closest attested meaning (Prabodhacandrodaya, Bhaṭṭ). Hākim translates “*punya ātmāḥ*, pious souls”. Some translation reflecting spiritual achievement seems desirable, to show the contrast with *dīnāḥ*. Thus,

*tasmai viśvajanīnāya yās tadbhogīnam āharan/  
tā evāsann ātmanīnā dīnās tu bata mādrśāḥ*/(i.22v37)

Those women who brought him, the lord of all, food fit for his consumption, certainly became self-fulfilled, while those such as us are most unfortunate.

True to form, Jīva finds another word with the same suffix to use only a few sentences later (i.22.58): *sarvānnīna*, “eating all sorts of foods whether pure or not” (Pāṇ v.2.9; HNV 7.864; L). Elsewhere, Jīva also uses *alamkarmīna* “capable, competent” (Pāṇ v.4.7; HNV 7.1076).

(iv) Several exceptional cases of adjectives with *-in* suffixes are given in HNV 7.927-929 (Pāṇ iv.4.33, iv.2.44) *īṣṭīn* is attested in TS, AV.

*pūrvī Kṛṣṇasya sevāyām īṣṭī vā tatra yaḥ sadā/  
adhītī vā Bhāgavate bhaktapūrvī sa taṁ bhajet*/(i.22v44)

One should devotedly honour him  
 who has previously served Kṛṣṇa,  
 or him who has sacrificed for him always,  
 or the one who is well-read in the Bhāgavata.

#### 5.241 The use of abstract nouns

Jīva is addicted to circumlocutory expressions of various kinds of which the derivative verb forms such as denominatives and *cvi*-forms certainly form a part. Similarly, abstract nouns formed from lengthy compounds and inflected in the accusative case are often combined with various transitive verbs which have the sense of attaining, such as */gam*, */aṅg* "to go"; *ava/āp* "to attain"; */vind* "find", */grh* "take", etc. This constructions can be reduced to the simple sense of becoming. A good example (i.21.110) has already been given above 5.232(b).

Some typical examples of phrases with simple  
*are:*  
 abstract nouns as object/ *dhvanir api karṇādhvani varṇāṅgatām avāpa*  
 (ii.18.5) "the sound took on the form of words in their ears"; *samāptatām*  
*avāptavān* (ii.30.34) "he met his end"; *khaṇḍitatām avāpa* (ii.21.1), the same;  
*prastutalajjatām sajjan* (ii.22.31) "becoming properly shy"; *subhūtitām avāpa*  
 (ii.30.7); *ekākitām pratipadya* (ii.17.110) "becoming alone"; *na tv anyathā-*  
*karmatām dhāsyati* (i.33.229) "she shall not become distracted".

An example of a causative form of this type of construction has already been given above in 5.232(d) (*-tām āpannam eva cakāra*). Others are: *sānugrahatām grāhayāmāsa* (ii.22.31) "they made him become merciful"; *santatanijadhyeyam eva rūpaṃ nidhyeyatām anaiṣīt* (ii.4.30) "he saw (he brought to perception) the form upon which he always meditated"; *Tad idam*

*eva bhavadāśvāsanam teṣāṃ viśvāsasya śāśvāyamānatām ācariṣyati* (i.33.55)

"These comforting words of yours will bring about the permanence of their faith, i.e. will strengthen their belief"; *yadi visayamaye 'py asmādrśi kṛpāviṣayatācāryate* (i.33.237) "If one can behave mercifully to a materialistic person such as myself", etc., etc.

The same sense can be conveyed by compounds ending in words such as *padavī*, "position". Thus, *asmākam ānandakāraṇam tvadavadhāraṇapadavīm vindata eva* (i.33.223) "the cause for our joy has come to your attention".

The abstract noun is occasionally used with other types of nouns to convey a slightly different sense, such as in the description of Madhumaṅgala in which it is said that he "decorates the world of jokesters" *vidūṣakatām vibhūṣayati* (i.2.39), etc.

The wide use of abstract nouns is no doubt a sign of Jīva's long experience as a writer of exegetical Sanskrit. Thus, what would normally be conveyed by a subordinate clause in English is stated in a compound abstract noun, e.g. *viprādisampradānatayā yathāyatham gavādikam sātavan* (ii.2.43) "he properly gave cows, etc. with brāhmaṇas, etc., as recipients".

## 5.25 Indeclinables

(i) Jīva uses with great frequency the *prādi* indeclinables as postpositions following a noun in the accusative case. They usually have a locative or straightforward accusative sense (making them somewhat tautological) or locative sense. In the margin notes of GC, they are invariable glossed *lakṣyīkṛtya*. Thus, typically, *Hariḥ sakhiṇ pari pariveśayan* (i.2v41). Again,

*tadā kadāpy ekā Rādhāṃ anu tam anu ca snigdhābhāṅvā vidagdāṅvā utsukyāṃ  
taddvayam anu niśi śrāvayanti* etc. (i.20v17).

A few postpositions governing other cases are met with, such as *prati* +  
abl. (*asmattaḥ prati*, i.14.12; *Kṛṣṇāt prati* i.22.31) in the sense of  
“representing” (Pāṇ 1.4.92, ii.3.11; HNV 7.1103: *pratidinidhau pañcamyāḥ*, e.g.  
*Pradyumnaḥ Kṛṣṇataḥ prati*), though *prati* with the accusative in the sense  
of “towards, against” is of course met with frequently.

(ii) The prefixing of the *upasarga* to a personal pronoun to form  
*avyayībhāva* compounds is prescribed in HNV 6.154, e.g. the adverb  
*upabhavat* “by your side” (ii.10v56). *Adhihari* “in relation to Hari” (HNV  
6.153, i.1v13), *adhividhu*, where *adhi* has a locative sense (i.2v4), etc.

*in HNV*

A series of *sūtras* governs the compounding of different prefixes to  
form *avyayībhāva* compounds with adverbial sense: *upa* to mean nearby  
(6.155), *ati* to mean transcending (6.157), *duḥ* to mean “distant from” (6.159).

*Sūtra*

A fourth gives the meaning of possession as one of the senses of the  
prefix *sa*. The example given there is *saśarmaṇ*. Thus, in GC:

*upaKṛṣṇaṃ Kṛṣṇaghoṣaṃ sugogopaṃ tadāpsyati/  
atiduhkhaṃ duḥpratīpaṃ tad Golokaṃ saśarmaṇ ca* (i.33v88)

Then the cowherd settlement of Kṛṣṇa will ascend to Goloka,  
which is near Kṛṣṇa, transcendental to all misery,  
distant from all enemies and possessing joy.

The prefix *duḥ* in the above sense can also be prefixed to verbs: *durbhūya*  
“being distant from” (i.18v94).



(iii) A number of indeclinables are prefixed to verbs. These are mostly found in the *uryādigāṇa* (Pāṇ, HNV 5.87). Jīva uses *urī/kr* and *urarī/kr* in the sense of acceptance frequently, with infinitives as well as nouns (*āgantum urarīkarīṣyati*, i.33.200).

Other such indeclinables with */kr* under the same HNV *sūtra* found in GC are: *upaniṣatkṛtya*, *jīvikākṛtya* (i.33.100) (Vop vii.84); *prādhvaṃkṛtya* (i.33v13); *kaṇe/han* (i.31.21) in the sense of satisfaction (Pāṇ i.4.66); *nivacane/kr* (i.18.22) "making speechless" (Pāṇ ); *pāṇaukṛtya* (i.33.146); *śrauṣaṭ/kr* (ii.16.16) "to sacrifice" (*yadavadhi... aśrauṣam, tadavadhi manas taccintāyāṃ śrauṣaṭkṛtam*); *alam/kr* (ii.5.2) "make ready, prepare (to be done to the very last detail", etc.

## Notes for chapter five

1. HNV, verse 3; *vyākaraṇe maruṇīvr̥tī jīvanalubdhāḥ sadāghasamvighnāḥ/ Harināmāmṛtam etat pibantu śatadhāvagāhantām//*
2. BhP vi.2.14, HNV, verse 4; *sāṅketyaṁ parihāsyam vā stomaṁ helanam eva vā/ Vaikuṇṭhanāmagrahaṇam aśeṣāghaharam viduḥ//*
3. Verse 1; *Kṛṣṇam upāsītum asya srajam iva nāmāvaliṁ tanavai/ tvaritam vitared eṣa tatsāhityādi jāmmodam//*
4. BRS ii.1.123; *vidagdho navatārūṇyaḥ parihāsa viśāradaḥ/ taruṇo dhīralalitaḥ syāt prāyaḥ preyaśīvaśaḥ//*
5. Siegel, Lee, *Laughing Matters*, (London, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 198. One could not fail to see the humorous results arising from a grammar composed on the above-outlined basis, which produces *sūtras* like (1.30): *Viṣṇudāsa-Harigotrāṇi Vaiṣṇavāḥ* (The consonants excluding the nasals and the semivowels are *Viṣṇudāsas*, the sibilants and aspirant *ha* are the *Harigotras*. Together, they make up the consonants known as the *Vaiṣṇavas*). No theological interpretation can be brought to bear on the results of this exercise, indeed, the humour inherent in the work is partly a result of the theological anarchy which results from the use of Kṛṣṇa's names in entirely non-theological circumstances, e.g. *narāder arāmasya trivikramaḥ*, "Where *a* is the first letter of a root which is to be reduplicated, it is lengthened" or "Trivikrama belongs to those men and other beings who are not Rāma." (3.110) As a work intended purely for the *Vaiṣṇavas*, it is doubtful that the humour would have been accessible to the non-*Vaiṣṇava*. ————— ✓
6. *sarvam rasavalanam astīti likhatā mayā (1.23v1); mayā svīye kāvyē nikhīlāresayogaṁ jñāpayatā kṛtam dhārṣṭyaṁ (ii,37v154).*
7. HNV 1.43; *asiddharūpaṁ na tyājyaṁ, pratijñeyaṁ kṛdantikā.*
8. HNV 8.3-4; *hānīyaṁ Pāṇinīyaṁ Rasavad arasavat kākalāpaḥ Kalāpaḥ sārapratyāgi Sārasvatam apahatagīrvistaro Vistaro 'pi/ Cāndraṁ duḥkhena sāndraṁ sakalam avikalam śāstram anyan na dhanyaṁ Govindaṁ vindamānām bhagavati bhavatīm vāṇi no ced bravāṇi// pānīyaṁ Pāṇinīyaṁ rasamṛdu Rasavan mutkalāpaḥ Kalāpaḥ sāraḥ śrīśāri Sārasvatam adhimadhugīrvistaro Vistaro 'pi/ Cāndraṁ saukhyena sāndraṁ*

*sakalam avikalam śāstram anyat prasastam Govindam vindatīm tvām yadi  
bhagavati gīrvāṇi vāṇi bravāṇi//*

9. Pāṇ i.4.42
10. Pāṇ i.4.51; quoted and discussed after HNV 4.28. Tying Pāṇini's name into a verse with no grammatical purport is found elsewhere also, cf. Naiṣ 17.70, Sūktimañjarī 61.12-3, KāvPr 10, etc.
11. Pāṇ v.4.52-55; HNV 7.1123-1126: *sātir vā vi-viṣaye kārtsnye/ abhividhau vi-viṣaye samprad-bhv-asti-yoge sātir vā/ tadadhīnavacane kṛ-bhv-asti-sampad-yoge sātir vā/ deye 'dhīne sātis trā ca//*
12. See L. Renou, "Adverbes sanskrits en -sāt et base radicale sā-", BSOS 9, 43, for a definitive study.
13. Cf. KṛṣṇaS 106, p.50; *tadaṁśānām tasminn aṁśo dāyo vidyate yesāṁ teṣāṁ sajātīyānām dhāmety arthaḥ.*
14. Hākīm, vol.2, p.743. This probably has its origins in the Vīracandra commentary or elsewhere. —
15. In fact only forms in the nominative (*ahakam*, KāvPr ad 3.3, *tvakam*, *take*, Bhadrabāhucaritra), instrumental (*mayakā*, *tvayakā*, *takaiḥ*, *ibid.*) are attested.
16. ad HNV 2.195; *tvakam*, *yuvakām*, *yūyakam*; *yuvakābhyām*, *yuṣmakābhiḥ*, *yuṣmabhyam*; *yuṣmakākam*, *yuṣmakāsu*; *ahakam*, *āvakām*, *vayakam*, *makām*, *asmakān*, *mayakā*, *āvakābhyām*, *asmakābhiḥ*, *mahyakam*, *asmakabhyam*, *asmakat*, *mamaka*, *āvakayoḥ*, *asmakākam*, *mayaki*, *asmakāsu*. But, 7.76ad only gives the forms *yakā*, *sakā*, *asakau*, *yakābhyām*, *takābhyām*, *amukābhyām*. 7.1054ad indicates that the *ka* suffixed to pronouns should be declined like *kim*. After 2.188 Jīva says that the *idakam* should be declined like *sarva*: *Saṁsārāt pūrvam akpratyaye idakam-śabdo bhavati; ayakam, imakau, imake, sarvavat.*
17. Cf. Wackernagel, Altindischer Grammatik (AiGr) iii.446.
18. AiGr iii.462. Presumably these forms result from RV *māmakasya*, *māmakāya*, diminutive forms of *mama* and *mahyam*, but taken by Śāyana as *māmakā* (Cf. Geldner ad RV i.31.11) independent of Pāṇini.
19. AiGr ii.2.516.
20. *ibid.* iii.440, 567.
21. *ibid.* iii.457. Cf. also KāvPr ad. 3.3, *atrāsmi karomi*.
22. Jīva compares the sound of Kṛṣṇa's flute to the Vrajabhāṣā *tū*

(i.19v53): *tūkāraḥ khalu Māthureṣu paritas tvaṃkārabhāṣā matā so 'yaṃ vaiṇavagānataḥ pratipadaṃ prāyaḥ parāmrśyate/*.

23. Some other causative aorists found in GC: *avāstastambhat* (i.2.117; HNV 3.586; MW gives no ref. for *astastambhat*); *anvajīgamat* (i.15.179), reduplicated aor. of *anu/gam*, not attested in MW, apparently made on the model of *ajīgaṇat*, *ajīghaṭat* from */gaṇ* and */ghaṭ* (HNV 3.426, 431); *atarīṣṭām* (i.13.67) from */tṛ* (HNV 3.214). The unusual aorist form *āsīṣat* (i.6.35) has the clear meaning of "give blessings": so *'yaṃ uccakair āsīṣac ca*, etc. JIva gives the form *āsīṣaṣat* in HNV 3.433 as the aorist of the desid. of */śā*.
24. Other desideratives: *ardidhiṣati* (i.20.15) from */ṛddh*; *ardidiṣati* (i.20.15) from */ard*; *cucumbiṣate* (i.19.55) from */cumb*; *bibhrakṣan* (i.16.34) from */bhraj*; *śīśrīṣan* (i.16.20) from */śri*; *siṣṣanti* (i.19.41) from */sā* or */sān* ("the wish to procure or bestow", AV, RV).
25. Other intensives: *acalīkīpyata* (i.18v37) from */kīp* (HNV 3.496); *aṭṭīyante* (ii.37v110), from */aṭ* (HNV 3.483); *atarīṭṛnyata* (i.18v37) from */ṭṛ* (HNV 3.495); *arāryante* (ii.37v108) from */ṛ* (Pāṇ vii.4.30, Pat, Kāś; Bhaṭṭ; HNV 3.484); *aryarīti* (ii.37v108) from */ṛ* (HNV 3.506); *asāsyante* (ii.37v108) from */as* (Pāṇ iii.1.22 Pat; HNV 3.480); *ūrṇonūyante* (ii.37v110) from */ūrṇu* (Pāṇ vii.2.49 Pat); *kokūyante* (ii.37v111) from */kū* (Pāṇ vii.4.63; HNV 3.487; Nir. LalM 9.31); *caṃkramyante* (ii.37v112) from */kram*; *cañcārīti* (ii.37v113), *cañcūryante* (ii.37v111) (HNV 3.496), *cañcūrīti* (ii.37v114) from */car* (Pāṇ vii.4.87), Pāṇ iii.1.24, "walk about coquettishly", *cañcūrīti* (HNV 3.501); *carkartī* (ii.37v114 (n.a.); *cekrīyante* (ii.37v110) (HNV 3.495) from */kr* (Pāṇ vii.4.92, Kāś; Vop); *cākarīti* (ii.37v113) from */kr* (HNV 3.506); *jaṃhanīti* (ii.37v113) from */han* (HNV 3.498), *jaṃhanti* (ii.37v114) also from */han* (HNV 3.498); *jañghanyamānaḥ* (i.31.7) from */jaṃh* "to move, sprawl, kick (HNV 3.493); *jañjanīti* (i.1v26; (n.a.) rather *jañjanyate*; *jāhasīti* (i.1v72) unattested; *jegīyante* (ii.37v109) from */gr* (Pāṇ vi.4.66); *jeghnīyamānaḥ* (i.31.7) from */han* (Pāṇ vii.4.31; HNV 3.493); *jeghrīyante* (ii.37v111) from */ghrā* (Pāṇ vii.4.31); *jejīyante* (ii.37v109) from */ji* (Pāṇ vii.3.57 Kāś); *titāṃsatī* (i.11.14) from */tan* (HNV 3.462); *dandaśīti* (ii.37v113) from */daṃś* (Pāṇ vii.4.86; Pāṇ iii.1.24; HNV 3.504); *dedīvīti* (ii.37v113; HNV 3.502); *dedetī* (ii.37v114) from */div* (Vop 20.17; HNV 3.503); *dodhūyante* (ii.37v109) from */dhū* (MBh); *pepīyante* (ii.37v109) from */pā* (Up, HV); *pranarīṇṛtyante* (ii.37v112)

from /nṛt, *prapenīdya* (ii.37v112) from /pad (Kāv); *bambhaṇyante* (ii.37v108) from /bhan (n.a.); *bebhidyante* (ii.37v108) from /bhid (HNV 3.482); *bobhūjyante* (ii.37v110) from /bhuj (HNV 3.482; *bobhūjita*; VarBrS); *rorūyante* (ii.37v112) from /rū (Gr); *lolūpyante* (ii.37v111) from /lubh (Pāṇ iii.1.24; HNV 3.486); *varīvartī* (i.21.11) from /vṛt which (HNV 3.507); *vititāṃsantī*: (ii.36.106 (HNV 3.462); *śāśayyamānatā* (i.11.14) from /śayy; *saṃceṣṭīyamāna* (i.18.1) from *saṃ* /kṛ (HNV 3.486); *śāsadyante* (ii.37v111; Pāṇ iii.1.24, Bhaṭṭ "to sit down in an indecent posture"; HNV 3.486); *soṣūpyante* (ii.37v111) from /svap (HNV 3.496); *soṣoptī* (ii.37v114) from /svap (HNV 3.504; Gr). Though many of these forms are covered in the sūtra, *lup-sada-cara-japa-jabha-daha-daṃśa-gṛbhyo bhāva garhāyām eva yañ* (Pāṇ iii.1.24; HNV 3.486), it does not appear that they have been used in this sense in the verses in question (ii.37.108-13).

26. *samarīya* (ii.26.46) paras., "wish to fight with" (+ loc.) *sarvatra lambhitadare tadīyasahodare vṛkodare tu darevādareṇa mama manaḥ samarīyati*; *sarvaṃsahāyīya* (i.21v6) paras., intrans.; *Nityaṃ tāvad analparāgamahimā sarvaṃsahāyīyati*. Some ātmanepada forms are also found: *citrīya* (i.10v2, 15.2) (ātm., intrans.) "to be surprised" (Pāṇ iii.1.19, HNV 3.545, in wide usage); *cintāmanīyamāna* (ii.1.4), ātm., *sakalacintāmanīyamānacintāleśaḥ Keśavaḥ*; *tarīya* (i.13.67) ātm., intrans., "to be like a boat;
27. Other such *kyac* and *kyañ* forms in GC: *agryāya* (ātm): i.14.13; to take the lead, to come forth as the leader; *aśanāyante* (i.22.11) "to desire food" (Pāṇ vii.4.34, ŚBr, ChUp) [the noun *aśanāyā* "hunger" (i.22.58)]; *girīya* (paras.) i.18v124; (trans.) to consider like a mountain; *kāmaśāya* (ātm): i.24.63; taking on the appearance of material lust, said of Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa; *citrāya* (ātm): i.15.2, 15v23; to become still, like a picture (NID); *parikhāya* (ātm) i.1.38; *paryavasāya* (ātm): i.1.38; *raṃhasāya* (ātm): i.4.9; to be lively; *vāṇāya*: (ātm): ii.20v32; *vidyutpātāya* (ātm): i.13.31; *vidyutpātāyamānadurnimitta-jīvanasandehāḥ*; *saṃucitāya* (ātm.): i.15.153; (+ dat) to be accustomed to, to be considered fit or proper for. *Aparicitā na svayaṃ milanāya saṃucitāyate*; *sevānidhāyante* (ātm) ii.37.93; (intrans.) to become the fount of service; *sthaḡitāyate* (ātm): ii.8.41; (intrans.) to stand still, to become immobile; [sthaḡita, "stopped, interrupted" (BhP)].

28. *subhamyūya* (i.21.36) ātm., "becoming auspicious". In this case *subhamyūyamānānām āsām ahamyutā bhavati* nām...;
29. Other *nic* denominatives in GC: *atihastaya* (ii.18.51) paras., "to overtake with elephants" (Vop 21.17; HNV 3.557); *anyathaya* (i.18.22, ii.5.67) paras., "to alter, change" (SāhD); *abhiṣeṇaya* (ii.18.51) paras., "marching against with an army" (Pāṇ viii.3.63, Venṭa, etc.; HNV 3.556, 586); *uṭṭaṅkaya* (i.8.46) paras.; *upaślokeyati* (i.1v23) paras., "to praise in verses"; *kuṇṭhayati* (i.33.112) paras.; *kumārāya* (i.6v7) paras., "behaving like children", i.e. playing (Dhātup 35.25); *gṛhaya* (ii.1.56) ātm., "to treat like a home"; *citrāya* (i.15.2) ātm., "to regard as a wonder" (Dhātup 35.63, Vop); *drṣṭāntaya* (i.15.85) paras., "to give as an example"; *drutaya* (ii.37v132) paras., "to hurry"; *nityayati* (i.10v3); *vipāśaya* (i.8.53) paras., "untie one's bonds" (HNV 3.555); *svacchaya* (ii.37.8) paras., "to make clear, to reveal". Also i.24v13, *saṃhastayate* "to stay with the hands" (HNV 3.552) and "to cover oneself" *saṃvastrayati* (HNV 3.554).
30. Some other examples of *kvip* denominatives: *kalāpati* (i.17v22); *candratī* (i.19v13, ii.4v41); *rājanyati* i.19.53; "to treat like a kṣatriya" (HNV 3.527); *vibhākarati* (ii.37v43) "to be like the sun".
31. More common formation of denominatives from consonant stems, is done by dropping the consonant: *śaśvāyamānatā* (i.33.55); to become eternal (HNV 3.536); *tad idam eva bhavadāśvāsanaṃ teṣāṃ viśvāsasya śaśvāyamānatām ācarisyati*.
32. *itthaṃ nijajahau nijaputre kamalākṣe uccakitite sati Vrajarājñī tām yaṣṭim jahau*.
33. HNV 3.537.
34. Some other *cvi*-forms: *ajñībhavanti* (ii.2.57); *aṣṭī /kr* (ii.13.9); *Tadā gatamātrayos tayoh saṃkalitānekarājakaṣakaprabandhena Jarāsandhena Mathurā dhāṣṭībhīr vighaṭitāṣṭīkr̥teti jhaṭity āgamaṇaṃ na babhūva; advandvī /bhū* (i.2.30); *adhikaraṇīkr̥tya* (ii.26.54); *anuvartībhavann asemi* (ii.2.58); *antīkr̥ti* (f) (i.7.60) "exhaustion, extinction", *tadantīkr̥tiṃ nāśasāda; anvakṣī /kr* (ii.14.58) *seyam ca yena jñātvā kila pratyakṣīkr̥tya sampraty anvakṣīkr̥tā tasya kathyatām anyāpi Dāmodarasya rahasyacaturī-surītitā; abhyarṇīkr̥iyate* (ii.1.30); *yac cānyad ito 'py atitarāṃ varṇayitum abhyarṇīkr̥iyate...*; *upakaṇṭhīkr̥tam* (ii.29.106); *macchrotrayor upakaṇṭhī-kr̥tam Bādarāyaṇādibhiḥ uṣṇībhūya* (ii.1.25); *karpāṣī /bhū* (ii.14.51) "turned to rags" (*karpāṣa*, Pañc.

- Kathās; *kalkIkṛta* (i.16.20); *kuṭṭIbhūta* (i.1.50); *citrIbhavitṛ* (i.2.44) "surprised, thrilled" (= *citrIyate*); *dāruṇIkṛtya* (ii.20v33); *dinIkṛta* (ii.32.19) "to tear into pieces"; *durbhūya* (i.18v94) "to be distanced"; *niṣkulIkṛta* (i.15.119); *pūrṇIkṛtāsmi* (ii.29.125); *prkṛIkṛta* (i.11.47); *pradakṣiṇIkṛtya* (i.18v54); *bhittI /kr* (ii.1); *vaḍṛIbhūya* (i.5.71); *valkIkṛta* (i.16.20) "the state of having dirt made into a covering"; *vyarthIbhūya* (ii.21v16); *śaktI /kr* (ii.30v49) make capable, empower; *sadāyatIbhāva* (ii.30.29).
35. *niṣṭaṅkitIkṛta* (i.2.51); *parivrḍḍhI /bhū* (ii.12.37); *prasaktIbhavati* (ii.1.25) *tad idaṃ muktakaṇṭhaṃ punar anuvaditum śaktir na prasaktIbhavati*.
36. The Pañcatantra has the same usage: *mā jIvan yo duḥkhaḍagdho jIvati*.
37. AiGr ii.2,292.
38. *prārthitavān asti* (ii.30.18); *sandiṣṭavān asti* (ii.2.44); *paryalocitavantaḥ santi* (ii.2.31); *kopavantaḥ santi* (ii.19.36); *rakṣitavatyāḥ santi* (ii.32.29).
39. *calita evāsīt* (i.21.154); *anusamhitavān āsīt* (i.33.240); *gatavantāḥ āstām* (ii.17.161).
40. Other examples of a present continuous tense formed with /as in GC: *bhavaddrṣṭipathānuvartIbhavann asmi* (ii.2.58); *vidaty asmi* (i.33.237); *kurvann asmi* (ii.11.9); *sahamānāḥ smaḥ* (ii.17.21); *vadantaḥ santi*, *kurvantaḥ santi* (ii.17.20); *saphalitakarnādvandvIbhavann asmi* (ii.2.30); *pratIcchann asmi* (ii.20.7); *prāpayann asmi* (ii.20v32); *vibhāvayan nātiyatnam kurvann asmi* (ii.19.36); *kurvann ihāsmi* (ii.19v26); *vidann asti* (ii.32.16); *anuserann asti* (ii.17.136); *sāṅkucann asti* (i.22v25); *nānubhavanta iva santi* (i.33.237); *nandayantaḥ santi sma* (i.19.9).
41. Others with /vṛt *vivarṇayan vartante* (i.21.80); *kurvatI vartate* (i.5.46); *atīkrāmad eva vartate* (ii.22.30). With /ās, *kurvann āste* (ii.17.8).
42. Other instances of past continuous tense with /as *varṣann āsīt* (i.33.350); *āvrajann āsīt* (ii.10.4); *paśyann āsīt* (i.6); *samyag āgrhṇan āsīt* (i.20.3); *kurvad āsīt* (ii.2.49); *sevamānāv āstām* (ii.37.90) *sphurann āsīt* (ii.2.31); *gr̥hyamānam āsīt* (passive) (i.10.9); *āñcad āsīt* (i.15.96).
43. *pratyāsannās cakruḥ* "called them to her" (ii.23.12); *sr̥ṣṭān karoti* (ii.17.16); *anubhūtāni karavai* (ii.37v120); *tatpadam anviṣṭam karavāma* (ii.17.26); (ii.18.36) *gocaryamānam cakāra*, *karakalitam karavāni* (ii.18.37); *katham antaritam karavāni* (ii.20.7); *sandiṣṭam viniviṣṭam*

*kriyatām* (ii.21.8); *tadvadenviṣṭam vidhāya* (ii.20.36); *śamupaveśam ānināya* (ii.23.38).

44. Unattested accusative, AiGr ii,2,211.
45. *ibid.* ii,2,286. *Gṛhayāyya* "householder". This word would appear to be derived from a denominative verb meaning "to go home", also used by Jīva in ii.1.56, *gṛhaṃ gṛhayāṃcakraṭe*.



## Chapter VI

### A summary of the contents of the Gopālacampū (with a concordance of its contents to its sources).

#### 6.0 Introduction

Gopālacampū is composed of six campūs - three each for both its divisions of pūrva and uttara. These six divisions are as follows:

##### GC i. Pūrvacampū:

- (1) Golokavilāsa\* GCP, chapters 1-2 (2 chapters)
- (2) Bālyavilāsa\* GCP 3-13 (11 chapters)
- (3) Kaiśoravilāsa\* GCP 14-33 (20 chapters)

##### GC ii. Uttaracampū:

- (1) Uddhavapūrṇavraja\* 1-12 (12 chapters)
- (2) Balarāmapūrṇavraja\* 13-22 (10 chapters)
- (3) Kṛṣṇapūrṇavraja\* 23-37 (15 chapters).

Though JIva states that his aim in GC is to express the same ideas as are contained in KṛṣṇaS, both these works owe a great deal to Sanātana's elaborate commentary (*ṭippaṇḍ*) on BhP, VaiṣṇavatoṣaṇI. Since GC is in effect a rewriting of BhP, the VT's influence is here even more clearly discernible. Indeed, it may safely be said that there is nothing from KṛṣṇaS found in GC which is not originally in VT. Sanātana's innovative interpretation of the events described in BhP must have led JIva to feel the necessity for a retelling of the tale of Kṛṣṇa's life.

Primary amongst the elements from Sanātana's commentary adopted by JIva is the somewhat rudimentary effort at a historically critical reading of the

BhP in relation to the other Purāṇic accounts. This accounts for numerous changes in sequence, many of which are nevertheless quite rational. For example, the killing of Vyomāsura is recounted by Jīva in GC i.10. This story is unique to the BhP in the Purāṇas, but is found rather out of place at the end of Kṛṣṇa's Vṛndāvana adventures, after the killing of Keśī (x.37). Sanātana argues that this event took place in Kṛṣṇa's early childhood; Jīva therefore collates the story with other similar adventures in a chapter of the *bālyavilāsa*, following Sanātana's sequence. Similarly, in GC ii.23, the important events of Kṛṣṇa's meeting with the gopīs and the other residents of Vṛndāvana are described at Kurukṣetra. These events come toward the end of the tenth book of the BhP, i.e. toward the end of the account of Kṛṣṇa's life (x.82-84). Sanātana argues in VT that this event must have taken place prior to the battle of Kurukṣetra and the war of the Mahābhārata due to the presence there of numerous personalities who were slain in that great battle. From this basis, he calculates exactly in which year of Kṛṣṇa's life these events must have taken place, concluding that it was prior to the killing of Jarāsandha. Jīva places the story in its proper chronological sequence. Śuka's infallibility is not called into question; rather, it is explained that his narrative was guided by emotional promptings rather than strictly chronological thinking.

On numerous other occasions Jīva follows Sanātana's imaginative interpretations of the individual events. Notably: the GC presentation of the *yugalagīta* (i.31 < BhP x.35) is an interesting exercise in rewriting the commentary and the *mūla* to make a single coherent recital of the events.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it might be seen that the *campū* form became attractive

to JIva on account of the elaborate settings which Sanātana's commentary gave to some of the events. In almost every case where JIva has quoted Viṣṇupurāṇa or Harivaṃśa, or even more obscure sources in the Skandapurāṇa or Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, the same citations are to be found in the corresponding portions of VT.

JIva's main concern is with the events of Kṛṣṇa's life and the emotional response of the residents of Vraja as well as Kṛṣṇa himself to those events. Numerous portions of the BhP have been abandoned as irrelevant, such as the many lengthy prayers which are found scattered through the purāṇa. The demigods' prayers in BhP x.2, Nalakūvara and Maṇigrīva's prayers in x.9, Brahmā's in x.14, Indra's in x.27, Akrūra's in x.37 and 40, Mucukunda's in x.50, etc. have all either been dropped in their entirety or reduced to a single representative verse. JIva has not replaced these prayers with others of his own; indeed the BhP's particular style of philosophically based panegyric is absent from the work. It is true that throughout the GC there are occasional indications of Kṛṣṇa's majesty, his deity, etc., but these are nowhere allowed to dominate the narrative in the way that they do in BhP.

As far as the events of Kṛṣṇa's life are concerned, JIva has not only faithfully repeated all those found in BhP, but has also added some from other Purāṇas that are not found there. However, events from Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā-based activities reported in the MBh, such as the speaking of the Bhagavadgītā and the Kurukṣetra battle are conspicuously absent, since they take place after the Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇa has returned home. Other incidents such as Kṛṣṇa's presence at Draupadī's *svayaṃvara* are mentioned, however.<sup>2</sup>

The underlying theological presumption operative in this selectiveness is one which conceives of the cowherd Kṛṣṇa as having ontological superiority over other forms of not only Viṣṇu, but also Kṛṣṇa, including that manifestation which appears as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī. This deliberate reversal of the evolutionary forces which are held to have forged the union of the Vāsudeva deity with the rustic cowherd deity of Kṛṣṇa is characteristic of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism and reaches its summit in GC. This is the point of departure for the KṛṣṇaŚ and the underlying assumption on which GC is based.

The theological scope of VT is somewhat greater than that of GC. Whereas Sanātana has commented upon the prayers, etc. found in BhP x, Jīva's polemics are restricted to the issues which he has repeatedly attacked in a number of his other commentaries and Kṛṣṇasāndarbha. These can be reduced to the following:

- (1) the existence and nature of Kṛṣṇa's paradise, Goloka. (1.1)
- (2) the gopīs and Rādhā's eternal relationship with Kṛṣṇa in that abode as consorts or, more precisely, married wives. (1.15, 11.32).
- (3) Kṛṣṇa's return to Vṛndāvana to fulfil the promises made to Rādhā and the gopīs. (1.33, 11.29).

Occasionally, other, minor theological points are made. Indeed, almost every story has *a* message about some aspect of Kṛṣṇa's character, about the depth of the love and devotion felt by the devotees for him, or about the nature of devotional relations.<sup>3</sup>

It should not be thought, however, that Jīva's finished product is merely a mechanical rehashing of the BhP tenth book, a criticism which could more

easily be levelled at works lacking theological depth, like Campūbhāgavata. In certain stories where Jīva possibly had less interest, such as those of demon-killing, it is true that a certain amount of mechanicalness of rendition can be found. After all, how often can one expect Kṛṣṇa's ritual slaughter of demons barely distinguishable one from another to merit individual creative attention? On the other hand, the work abounds with original additions like the description of Horī, the excavation of Rādhākuṇḍa, Kṛṣṇa's return to Vṛndāvana and his marriage there to the gopīs, etc. These latter events are entirely the creations of Jīva's own imagination and are told with enthusiasm. The familiar BhP stories are also imaginatively and refreshingly retold. At times one thinks that Jīva might have gone further, but in the context of Sanskrit literary history, his work can claim much that is original, not only stylistically, but also in his treatment of his sources and subject matter.

In this chapter, an attempt is made to present the skeleton of Jīva's narrative, pointing out as much as possible its relation to its sources and to demonstrate how Jīva has added to or glossed *over them*. This will set the context for a detailed discussion of the theological imperatives which dictated Jīva's attempt at enhancing BhP. Though a complete summary of GCP has been made for this purpose, much of GCU has been omitted in the interest of saving space since it is arguably expendable in the present context where particular attention has been given to the Vṛndāvana *līlā* and the Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇa. Thus only the climax and denouement of events in GCU have been recounted in any detail.

### 6.1 Summary of Gopālapūrvacampū

The first division of the Pūrvacampū is called "Pastimes in Goloka" and covers chapters 1-2.

#### 6.11 Chapter 1: A description of Goloka

The first chapter of Gopālacampū contains the *maṅgalācaranā* in one verse, which is repeated again at the beginning of each of the six sub-campūs. Jīva immediately introduces the reader to his idiosyncratic style with several paragraphs of commentary on the ostensibly simple *anuṣṭubh* verse. It is evidently far from being a condescension to less intelligent readers<sup>4</sup> as Jīva sets the tone for the entire work by writing the exegesis of his own verse in a sophisticated prose, replete with rhymes and punning.

The author gives a brief statement of intent and then begins the work proper. He introduces the terrestrial Vṛndāvana, the locus of the activities of the GC with the traditional formula *asti kila...* The chapter is in effect both a description of this Vṛndāvana and the supramundane Goloka and their relation to one another. Numerous citations are made, amongst which those from BrS are particularly important because it is according to the authority of that book that Jīva makes distinctions between Goloka, Śvātadvīpa, Gokula and Vṛndāvana. Two verses (BrS 67-8, cited at GC 1.1.19) are particularly important for in them Kṛṣṇa is described as Goloka's lone lover, the gopī goddesses of fortune as his beloved, its elements as having a spiritual nature; it is filled with wish-fulfilling trees and water like ambrosia, cows which give a great abundance of milk, and there time does not exist. Gokula, the cowherd settlement (= *vraja*) is described in topological detail as a city in the shape of a

e/

thousand-petalled lotus, the different parts of which are apportioned as residences to the various associates of Kṛṣṇa. The area surrounding the lotus is Vṛndāvana and includes within it the hill Govardhana, the Mānasagaṅgā river to the southwest, while Yamunā, the banyan tree (Bhāṇḍīra) and Rāmaghāṭ all lie to the northeast. This vision is roughly based on the actual geographical plan of the terrestrial Braj, an interest in which is evident from time to time throughout the work.

#### 6.12 Chapter 2: Illumination of the activities in Goloka.

The second chapter contains the description of a typical day in Goloka. In it we are also introduced to the two young bards, Snigdhaṅṭha and Madhukaṅṭha who will in turn recite the remainder of the Gopālacampū.

Everyone is awakened by the sound of the music of Kṛṣṇa's glories being sung. The activities of the gopīs (now Kṛṣṇa's lawfully wedded wives) from their waking to their arrival in Yaśodā's kitchen to prepare Kṛṣṇa's breakfast. Kṛṣṇa goes through his morning activities, with the special performance of a monthly ritual *abhiṣeka* performed customarily on his birthday (*janmanakṣatra*). Yogamāyā, appearing in another form as a woman ascetic Paurṇamāsī (see note 72), and the *vidūṣaka* Madhumaṅgala are introduced. Kṛṣṇa's meal is described with Madhumaṅgala's witticisms playing an important part. Kṛṣṇa asks permission from Yaśodā to go herding, reassuring her that dangers from demons no longer lurk. First, he goes into his father's assembly where Madhukaṅṭha and Snigdhaṅṭha, disciples of Nārada, are introduced. Upon hearing of their omniscience and poetic talent, Kṛṣṇa invites the two to entertain everyone on the following day. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma then leave to pasture the cows with the *vidūṣaka*

once again distinguishing himself. After Kṛṣṇa returns to the cowherd settlement and performs his evening duties, an evening assembly is held where the twin bards are entertained by the local talent, all of which enhances their own desire to perform. Afterward Kṛṣṇa takes the two boys with him to the inner quarters where he introduces them to Rādhā. He then sends them to their own quarters, after which he goes to bed with Rādhā who is described rather like a *mugdhā nāyikā*.

The main elements of this chapter, Kṛṣṇa's bath, the morning meal, the cowherding activities, etc., all form important parts of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's description of a day in Kṛṣṇa's eternal life, Govindallāṁṛta. Jīva's alternative vision of this eternal life, where Kṛṣṇa is married, is described in much the same terms <sup>as in GC</sup> in Saṁkalpakalpadruma.

## 6.2 Bālyavilāsa

The second *campū* (*pūraṇas* 3-14) contains the description of Kṛṣṇa's birth and boyhood.

6.201 Chapter 3: Kṛṣṇa's birth, the fortune which fulfilled the desire of people of Vraja.

In this chapter, the two brothers begin their narration of Kṛṣṇa's life. In this chapter Madhukaṇṭha takes the main role of speaking while Snigdha-kaṇṭha asks questions and provides asides and footnotes to his speech. Taking up a Vraja-centred approach which places the Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇa in a position of ontological superiority over the Kṛṣṇa of Mathurā, Jīva does not follow the familiar narrative sequence found in the purāṇas, <sup>but</sup> rather tells the story of Nanda and Yaśodā's family background, their desire for



a son and the fulfilment of that desire. The chapter contains a number of scholastic arguments<sup>5</sup> to support this contravention of the traditional view.

First Jīva describes the assembly hall and the seating arrangements. When everyone is in place, Nanda asks the two young bards to begin. Madhu<sup>\*</sup> and Snigdha<sup>\*</sup> make their introductory prayers (the *nāndī*) which include an obeisance to the tradition of BhP reciters.

The victorious husband of the goddess of fortune,  
Nārāyaṇa, is the original supreme lord.  
He, Brahmā, the sage amongst the gods, Nārada,  
the great Vyāsa, his son Śuka,  
as well as Parīkṣit, Ugrasravas and Śaunaka,  
are the ones who established the traditions  
of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa.  
To these persons who have saved the universe  
we offer our obeisances [for the sake of this blessing]:  
[that we may] establish the supreme majesty  
of the glorious cowherd settlement.<sup>6</sup>

The narrative then begins with an account of Nanda's family tree, explaining the relation which exists between it and Vasudeva's family in Mathurā. Nanda's father, Parjanya, retires and leaves Nanda's eldest brother Upananda<sup>in</sup>/charge of the community. Upananda then abdicates in favour of Nanda, citing their names as an indication of his own subservience to him (*upa* signifying "below").

Nanda and Yaśodā discuss their desire for a son and perform austerities to that end. At the end of one year's rigorous following of the *dvādaśī* rules, Nārāyaṇa comes in a dream and tells them that the beautiful child upon whom they meditated was indeed devoted to them and would soon be

born to them. Paurṇamāsī, a woman ascetic and disciple of Nārada, arrives in Vraja with Madhumaṅgala in expectation of Kṛṣṇa's birth. Rohiṇī is sent to Vraja by Vasudeva. Balarāma is transferred by Yogamāyā into Rohiṇī's womb and is then born.

The beauty of Kṛṣṇa's mother in pregnancy and the auspicious signs prevalent at the time of his birth are described. Vasudeva and Devakī have a four-armed son, in accordance with the object of their meditations. Before recounting this part of the story, however, Madhu\* remembers his guru Nārada's warning not to reveal to the Vrajavāsins that Kṛṣṇa is God, but rather to tell them that whatever glories he possesses are due to Nanda's devotion to Nārāyaṇa and the resultant blessing of the god. As a result of these blessings, the child is always accompanied by Yogamāyā, Nārāyaṇa's personal energy, and this accounts for Kṛṣṇa's miraculous abilities. Madhu\* allows that these things can be said because the residents of Vraja already know them through Garga (BhP x.8, below, 1.6). The story of the exchange of children takes on a different form from that found in BhP:

When out of fear of the wicked Kaṁsa, Devakī's desire arose that Kṛṣṇa should manifest a two-armed form and conceal the four-armed form in which he had been conceived, then that new two-armed form which had previously entered into Yaśodā along with Māyā came to Mathurā and materialized, assimilating the four-armed form. Māyā had been situated in a particular body (that of a little girl) within the womb of Yaśodā, but in a formless form she acted as his conveyor, carrying him bodily through the air just like the winds which carry odours move the petals of a blue lotus. Without being noticed, she first brought him there by boldly seizing him and then gave the mother Yaśodā herself the semblance of physical distress.

Next Māyā gave Yaśodā the illusion that the physical shape (i.e. Kṛṣṇa's form) in her womb had been born to her, and then removing herself out of the womb appeared [as a baby girl] lying down on the maternity bed. In other words, she did what she had done in transferring Saṁkarṣaṇa from Devakī's womb to that of Rohiṇī.<sup>7</sup>

After this, Vasudeva exchanges the combined Kṛṣṇa (i.e. his own son and that of Nanda) for Yogamāyā according to the familiar narrative found in the HV, etc.

#### 6.202 Chapter 4: Celebrating Nanda's having a son.

Here Snigdhaikaṇṭha takes up the narrative according to the orthodox pattern set in the purāṇas. The Nandotsava (BhP x.5) is a new creation of the Bhāgavata, nothing of the sort being present in the ViP, HV. The spreading of the news of Kṛṣṇa's birth, Nanda's joy on hearing the news, the arrival of panegyrists, etc. are described. These are followed by a detailed account of the performance of the *jātakarma* rites after which Nanda bathes with the other cowherds and visits Paurṇamāsī, who is feeling satisfied at the achievement of her desires.<sup>8</sup>

#### 6.203 Chapter 5: Learning about the killing of Pūtana

Elements of BhP x.4, 5 and 6 are combined in this chapter. Madhukaṇṭha recites. A messenger comes from Vasudeva to Nanda telling him of Kāṁsa's dealings with him. Nanda is also told of the need to pay the annual tax and decides to make for Mathurā. Nanda meets Vasudeva, "his brother"<sup>9</sup>, who tells him to hurry home, warning of possible dangers.

In the meantime Pūtanā comes in the disguise of a beautiful woman and attempts to poison Kṛṣṇa, but is herself killed. Yaśodā finds Kṛṣṇa on the corpse's belly. Nanda returns and sees Pūtanā's corpse. Nanda and the cowherds think that Vasudeva has become a ṛṣi or a yogī that he has correctly foretold disturbances. Jīva drops the description of Pūtanā's body given in BhP x.6.15-16 and the sermon on the divine effects of association with Kṛṣṇa which is the punch-line of the BhP version (x.6.36-43).

#### 6.204 Chapter 6: The toppling of the great cart and other childhood acts

The main feature of this chapter, which follows ViP v.6 and BhP x.7-8, is the name-giving ceremony performed by Vasudeva's priest Garga at which he also reads the horoscopes of the two boys. The events described in this chapter take place when Kṛṣṇa is three months old when he turns over onto his belly. On the festival marking this occasion, Kṛṣṇa topples a cart under which he has been placed (ViP v.6.1-2, BhP x.7.5-6b). Jīva drops the extensive eulogizing of brāhmaṇas in BhP and the rest of BhP x.7, and goes on to x.8. Vasudeva sends Garga to perform Kṛṣṇa's name giving ceremony. Garga makes predictions about the two boys' futures, revealing their greatness. The chapter concludes with rather charming descriptions of the toddlers Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma learning to walk and talk, and as they grow up becoming more and more naughty.

#### 6.205 Chapter 7: Kṛṣṇa's audacious childhood thievery

This chapter is based on four different stories, all original to the BhP, found in three different chapters, x.7.18-37, x.8.32-44. x.11.10-1. The first of these is the killing of Tṛṇāvarta, a demon who comes in the form

of a whirlwind. Yaśodā's two visions of the universe in Kṛṣṇa's mouth, once after Kṛṣṇa is accused of eating mud. The praises of Yaśodā found in BhP (x.8.45) and the questions by Parīkṣit (46-7) and the explanation of Yaśodā and Nanda's previous birth, etc. are all dropped from Jīva's version of the story. Kṛṣṇa exchanges jewels for the fruit of a kind vendor. The two boys play with calves and cause numerous difficulties for their mothers. The gopīs accuse Kṛṣṇa of thievery and other audacious acts in their homes, all of which Yaśodā contests in an amusing song.

#### 6.206 Chapter 8: Pacifying the child whose waist was bound

This chapter covers the contents of HV ii.7.13-30; ViP v.6.13-21; BhP x.9.1-x.11.9. The BhP has departed greatly from the earlier versions, adding primarily the following features:

- (a) the entire account of Kṛṣṇa's stealing and mischief
- (b) the story of the two sons of Kuvera, their cursing and their salvation at the hands of Kṛṣṇa.

The bulk of BhP x.10 deals with the story of Nārada's curse of the two sons of Kuvera to take birth as the *arjuna* trees and the prayers that they recited after liberation. This is not repeated by Jīva.

Yaśodā churns curd while everyone else has gone to the Indrayajña. Rohiṇī's absence at this time is a typical instance of a narrative detail Jīva has taken from Sanātana's VT (9.17). Yaśodā's song, mentioned in BhP is supplied by Jīva. The story of Kṛṣṇa's breaking pots and stealing yoghurt, being chased and caught by Yaśodā, tied to a mortar and Kṛṣṇa's pulling the mortar between two trees and pulling them down are all told in the traditional way. The conclusion is described with originality: Nanda

hears the sound and comes to Kṛṣṇa, who runs to his father, crying. Kṛṣṇa tells his father what his mother had done which leads to some bad feeling between the parents. Kṛṣṇa spends the rest of the day with his father until finally his guilt-ridden mother is forgiven in a great burst of tears.

#### 6.207 Chapter 9: Entering the Vṛndāvana forest

Nanda suspects that our two bards are none other than the cursed sons of Kuvera, Nalakūvara and Maṇigrīva themselves. Snigdha<sup>9</sup> confirms this before Madhu<sup>9</sup> begins narrating more of Kṛṣṇa's childhood pranks. This takes the form of an anecdote of Yaśodā and Rohiṇī retrieving Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma from the Yamunā banks where they are absorbed in play (BhP x.11.12-20). Many of the BhP verses, the speeches of the mothers and children, are quoted, interspersed with prose. Kṛṣṇa's uncle Upananda hears about this and thinks that since Bṛhadvana is proving to be a dangerous place, with all the calamities that have befallen the cowherds there up to the falling of the *arjuna* trees and with the boys becoming harder and harder to control, that they should all leave for Vṛndāvana. Upananda gives arguments before Nanda and the other elders and the decision is taken to pack up and move. The description of this great move is original and entertaining. Yaśodā and Rohiṇī answer their children's questions as they spot strange animals, etc., on the way. They draw close to Vṛndāvana and cross the Yamunā on rafts and there set up a new encampment <sup>at</sup> a Chaṭṭikara. This chapter is based to a great extent on HV 52-3, adopting some of the folk character of that work.<sup>10</sup>

**6.208 Chapter 10: Killing the calf-demon and others**

In this chapter we have Kṛṣṇa's initiation into taking care of the calves, we also get three demon-killings: those of Vatsāsura, Bakāsura and Vyomāsura. These are described in the BhP alone, and are not found in any other puranic account. The sources are BhP x.11.37-59 for the first two demons and x.37.27-34 for Vyomāsura. This rearrangement of the order of events in Kṛṣṇa's life is based on VT 11.37. The early portion of the chapter is somewhat original with amusing descriptions of the young boys imitating the adults while taking care of the calves:

When the two brothers saw that all the calves had been satisfied with grass and had been given water to drink, Kṛṣṇa took one of the calves aside and scratching its cheeks, covered its neck with his arm. He then put his cheek against its and spoke into its ear, saying meaningless things like, "Do you want to see your mother? I will bring you to her." In this way he enjoyed himself by tending to the calf.<sup>11</sup>

The latter portion of the chapter is less interesting with the formulaic accounts of Kāṁsa despatching demons to be killed by Kṛṣṇa. Jīva makes the killing of the calf-demon somewhat more pleasurable by adding a learned discussion between the two toddlers as they observe the demon in calf-disguise about the possible sinfulness of killing such a creature (§§32-43).

**6.209 Chapter 11: The deliverance of Agha and Brahmā**

This chapter covers BhP x.12-14 in its entirety. It is thus the first chapter in which we have more condensation than elaboration.<sup>12</sup>

The boys are brought together in the morning before going out on their daily activity of calf-herding by the call of Kṛṣṇa's buffalo-horn call. The cowherd boys play together, following closely x.12.5-14. Jīva drops BhP x.12.35-44, 13.1-4 which contains questions by Parīkṣit about why no one noticed the death of Agha for a year, which introduces the incident of Brahmā stealing the boys and cows (BhP x.13-14). Surprisingly, the story about the cows running away to join the calves who are also expansions of Kṛṣṇa (BhP x.13) is missing from Jīva's version.

While Kṛṣṇa is picnicking with the boys, Brahmā comes to test Kṛṣṇa by stealing the calves and his friends. Kṛṣṇa, knowing the culprit, decides to teach him a lesson by transforming himself into identical forms of the calves and cowherds. When Brahmā turns back to see what he has done, he sees that the calves and cowherds are still there. Kṛṣṇa then turns them all into Nārāyaṇa-style four-armed forms which completely shatters Brahmā's *amour propre*. He offers prayers, only one verse of which is quoted here, though they are amongst the longest and elsewhere most cited in the BhP (x.14.1-40). Jīva is here more preoccupied by Kṛṣṇa's studied indifference to Brahmā's panegyrics. The fanciful description of the humbled Brahmā is entertaining:

Bowing one face after the other  
the four-faced Brahmā paid homage;  
each time, however, one face remained looking upward  
so he felt no satisfaction.

Even though Brahmā did not feel pleasure in bowing  
due to the failure of one face to look downward,  
nevertheless, because his vision of Kṛṣṇa's face was uninterrupted,  
he gained another kind of pleasure.<sup>13</sup>



Brahmā returns the calves and cowherd boys and Kṛṣṇa is reunited with them. They have not, however, noticed their <sup>own</sup> absence at all and they resume their picnic as though nothing has happened.

6.210 Chapter 12: Kṛṣṇa goes pasturing the cows

The theme of this chapter, inspired by BhP x.15.1-18, is the playing of the cowherd boys as Kṛṣṇa graduates to taking care of the cows. Kṛṣṇa enters the *pauganda* age and is considered sufficiently old to take care of the cows. He is initiated into that activity after <sup>his</sup> uncles suggest it to his father. This occasions a great festival as Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma go off to the pastures for the first time. Jīva shows that he has read the thesaurus of bovine husbandry in the course of his descriptions of their cowherding activities.

6.211 Chapter 13: Punishing Kāliya's fire-like fierceness

The contents of this chapter cover BhP x.15.42 through to the end of x.17. The story is one of the best known in the Kṛṣṇa tradition, and already developed at length in the HV 55-6 and ViP v.7.1-80. On that particular day, Kṛṣṇa again goes to the forest without Balarāma, for the latter is being feted. The cows and cowherd boys fall unconscious after drinking the water of Kāliya's lake. Kṛṣṇa climbs the *kadamba* tree and jumps into Kāliya's lake. Jīva's version has no mention of the theme of Kṛṣṇa having descended for the purpose of destroying the wicked, *one* which is especially developed in ViP, HV. Everyone is anxious for Kṛṣṇa; Balarāma arrives on the scene and citing Garga's predictions says that no harm can befall him. Balarāma's exhortations in ViP (v.7.27-34) contain much greater praise, while in BhP (x.16.16) he says nothing. Kṛṣṇa finally demonstrates

his prowess by dancing on the serpent's heads leading to his surrender, is supplicated by Kāliya's wives and finally accepts a number of gifts from them. That night some of Kāṁsa's spies set fire to the reeds near the river where the fatigued Vrajavāsins are staying and Kṛṣṇa blows the fire out, or alternatively swallows it. The latter interpretation is stated by Jīva to be a fancy of the poets.

### 6.3 Kaiśoravilāsa: Kṛṣṇa's youth

This is the third division of the Pūrvacampū, dealing primarily with Kṛṣṇa's adolescence and amorous activities. With 20 chapters, this is the longest of the six secondary *campū* divisions. At the end of the first chapter of this division, a new format of evening and morning sessions for the bards' recital is introduced, the agreement being that the evening sessions will be for the recital of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's love stories to a more restricted audience of intimates, while the morning sessions <sup>will</sup>/take place before a wider public.

#### 6.301 Chapter 14: The killing of the donkey demon

This chapter is one of the shortest (only two are shorter) in GC i. Kṛṣṇa's increasing beauty as he reaches adolescence is described. The cowherds express a desire for the *tāla* fruit guarded by Dhenuka. When Kṛṣṇa leads the boys to the *tāla* orchard, Dhenuka, the donkey-shaped demon attacks with his cohorts. He is soon killed by the two brothers. When the brothers enter the encampment at the end of the day, the gopīs manifest their attraction for Kṛṣṇa. The Dhenuka story is found in HV ii.13, ViP v.8 and BhP x.15.20-36.

6.302 Chapter 15: The awakening of incomparable first signs of love

This session takes place on that very evening. This is the beginning of a new parallel recital and has an independent *maṅgalācaranā* of three verses.

First the verse outlining the subject of their recital (*vastunirdeśa*):  
Wise persons have determined that though these two are of a black and white hue, internally they are the opposite, for they wear clothes which are opposite in colour. This is some pure unblemished love which has become incarnate taking on these forms, which are both separate and non-separate, due to the external manifestation of their internal desires.<sup>14</sup>

The verse of salutation (*namaskāra*):

Uddhava glorified the gopīs saying that Lakṣmī could never ever be their equal. [Even though] he is considered by Hari to be his own equal, he made his obeisance to the dust of their feet. Amongst these gopīs, I worship Rādhikā who is most glorious of them all, whose body is like the moon of love for Kṛṣṇa transforming him into a *cakora* bird which drinks its rays.<sup>15</sup>

The verse of benediction (*śīrṣāda*):

This love which inundates the pair of lovers Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and the girlfriends with its own bliss is known to engulf the entire universe for all time. May that love inflame our intelligence.<sup>16</sup>

The chapter describes the birth and childhood of Rādhā and the other gopīs. Their parents seek to arrange their marriage to Kṛṣṇa, but Vasudeva, thinking Kṛṣṇa is his own son, a *kṣatriya*, sends Garga to Vraja to thwart any such plans. Garga warns Nanda that if Kṛṣṇa marries then his wives will be separated from him. Nanda tells the girls' parents of Garga's warning and all agree to arrange marriages for their daughters elsewhere and start the search for other husbands. Vṛndā hears about this

and approaches Paurṇamāsī with her doubts; Paurṇamāsī answers with a lengthy discourse to allay her fears about any such marriage.

The gopīs themselves begin to fall in love with Kṛṣṇa. When they hear of the arrangements being made for their marriages elsewhere, they all head simultaneously for Kālīya's lake to drown themselves. As Rādhā says:

If my body has been given over to someone else by my parents,  
then it is as if it were already possessed by a ghost;  
it would therefore be more ignominious for it to remain living.  
Fie on my body which is capable of tolerating  
the misery of association with another person;  
it is rather my duty forcefully to sacrifice it to that holy site  
for the sake of Balarāma's younger brother.<sup>17</sup>

The mantra which they utter before committing themselves to the waters is evidence of their single-minded desire:

Oh daughter of the sun-god, we pray  
that the king and queen of the cowherd settlement  
should become our parents-in-law;  
the brother of Balarāma our husband  
and that Vṛndāvana always be our play-garden.  
May all these girls who are immersed in your waters,  
whose hands are bound in each other's out of mutual affection,  
always be my friends.  
To this end have we taken shelter of you.<sup>18</sup>

They are stopped by a heavenly voice and placed on shore by the river goddess, Kālindī. Paurṇamāsī arrives and explains to them all that they need not fear, ~~that~~ and all will be well, recalling Garga's words (x.8.18):

No enemies will overcome those greatly fortunate men who feel  
affection for this son of yours, just as the  
demons never defeat those who are protected by Viṣṇu.<sup>19</sup>

Afterwards, Paurṇamāsī introduces Madhumaṅgala and Vṛndā to Kṛṣṇa. Through Madhumaṅgala Kṛṣṇa learns about the gopīs' attempted suicide and the prayer they had made. And so, aware of their feelings, the mutual love of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs grows even more strong.

Since Rādhā's health had been impaired in various ways,  
she took to mantras and prayers to attain tranquillity of mind,  
but even so, she remained greatly disturbed.  
Alas, her dear girlfriends also being influenced by her condition  
quickly fell into the same highly pitiful state,  
thinking, "Oh dear, who will save her?"<sup>20</sup>

**6.303 Chapter 16: The killing of Pralamba and extinguishing the forest fire**

This chapter contains a morning session. It follows BhP x.18-19, containing a description of the summer and a great deal more of Kṛṣṇa's games while herding the cows. Kṛṣṇa and the cowherds perform for each other, singing, dancing, wrestling, and playing other games. Kāṁsa sends Pralamba to Vraja disguised as a cowherd, but ultimately he too is killed by Balarāma. Kāṁsa's agents again cause a forest fire which Kṛṣṇa swallows.

**6.304 Chapter 17: Learning the flute as a means to coax the beloved**

This chapter develops out of BhP x.20-21, primarily the latter, which is the *veṇugīta*, where the gopīs describe Kṛṣṇa as he plays the flute, enchanting the various flora and fauna of Vṛndāvana. The chapter is an evening session.

There are, of course, further descriptions of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's increasing emotion. The gopīs go to their so-called husbands' houses and must be pacified by Paurṇamāsī again. She instructs them: "Whenever you feel that

your virtue is being lost, then you should run away somewhere. Furthermore, everything will be taken care of by some special mystical power of mine and you will at once find a place to hide, even in the very place you happen to be standing."<sup>21</sup>

The seasons pass and their effects on the gopīs are described through summer, the rains and autumn. Seeing that the gopīs were determined to have him by any means (*adharmenāpi taṁ bhajānī*), Kṛṣṇa sought a means to bring them under his control. Though he tried to ward them off by glances and throwing his herdsman's staff, he finally decided that the best means was through the flute. The rest of the chapter describes Kṛṣṇa's progressive mastery of the instrument through its effects on the flora and fauna of Vṛndāvana. Jīva interprets this in an original way, showing that Kṛṣṇa is learning to play the flute and gradually progressing up the evolutionary ladder, so to speak, seeking ultimately to enchant the gopīs. This theme is picked up again in GC 1.23, the *abhisāra* for the *rāsa* dance. Much of this chapter is derived from VT commentaries of the verses of *veṇugīta*.

6.305 Chapter 18: Shattering the pride of Indra, the mountain-breaker and increasing the prestige of the mountain Govardhana

This chapter covers BhP x.24-25; HV 59-62; ViP v.10-11. There are both morning and evening sessions. Jīva has changed the sequence of events, placing the two original BhP chapters 22-23 directly before the *rāsa*/Tīṭh. This is to account for the year which passes between the autumn of the Govardhanapūjā and the full-moon of the *śarad* season when the *rāsa* takes place.

Though JIva follows the BhP material closely, there are still several original elements such as the description of the sacrifice itself, Govardhana's manifestation, Indra's reactions, and the verses describing the gopīs' moods and activities during the events of the lifting of Govardhana.

Kṛṣṇa comes back one day from grazing the cows and sees preparations being made for the Indra sacrifice. He inquires into their purpose and upon learning, argues against continuing with a sacrifice to Indra and in favour of making it for Govardhana. This is accepted and arrangements for Govardhanapūjā begin according to Kṛṣṇa's directions. The pūjā begins and soon the personified mountain appears to accept oblations. Afterwards, there is a Gopālapūjā, worshipping of the cows and a circumambulation of the mountain, which is described with some gusto. The following day *bhrātṛdvitīyā* is observed.

Indra takes offence at the cowherds' behaviour, though much of his speech described in other versions of the story (BhP x.25.3-7, etc.) has been dropped. The rains begin and Kṛṣṇa lifts Govardhana. Indra reacts to Kṛṣṇa's feat in a conversation with Śaṅkhācūḍa. Finally, Indra stops the rains and all exit from the shelter under Govardhana.

The evening session contains a long series of verses describing the gopīs' reactions to the various events enumerated in the morning session.

6.306 Chapter 19: Kṛṣṇa puts an end to Indra's lordship and becomes the lord of the cows

This chapter is based on BhP x.26-27. The other cowherds bring gifts and have a festival in honour of Kṛṣṇa. In the aftermath of the rainfall, the cowherds discuss Kṛṣṇa's feats. Once again, Garga's words are the key to their understanding of them. Meanwhile, Indra, conscious of his offence, is counselled by Bṛhaspati and then Brahmā to ask Surabhī, the divine mother of all cows, to intercede for him with Kṛṣṇa. Indra's prayers, etc., follow. The two come together with the gods to perform an *abhiṣeka* and to name Kṛṣṇa the king of the cows. The gods bestow the name Govinda on Kṛṣṇa. The cowherd boys witness all these events which they see as something of a joke. They tell what they have seen to the other Vrajavāsīs.

In the evening session, the gopīs react to the above-mentioned festival, which reminded them of a wedding in which they wished to participate with Kṛṣṇa. That night Kṛṣṇa continues to practice at playing the flute.

6.307 Chapter 20: A vision of Goloka which outshone the wonders of Varuṇa's abode

This chapter covers material original to BhP (x.28), though probably inspired by HV 62 in which Indra describes the Goloka world as being even beyond Brahmāloka. BhP x.28.11-18 are much quoted throughout the works of Jīva Gosvāmī, but are only paraphrased here from §§34-46. The chapter itself follows the narrative framework of the BhP, though it expands on it considerably.



Nanda bathes in the Yamunā and is kidnapped by Varuṇa's servants. Kṛṣṇa calms the panicking citizens and dives into the river, going to Varuṇa's abode where he is greeted by an obsequious Varuṇa. Varuṇa releases Nanda who returns with Kṛṣṇa to Vraja. Kṛṣṇa blesses the Vrajavāsīs with a vision of their "ultimate destination", Goloka, to prove that this is superior to the glories of even Varuṇa's abode.

In the evening we hear how the gopīs reacted to Kṛṣṇa's rescue mission. Paurṇamāsī is said to relay descriptions of the lovesick gopīs to Kṛṣṇa and vice-versa.

6.308 Chapter 21: Stealing the clothes of the virgins and wholly captivating the fair gopīs

The first part of this chapter is based on the BhP x.22, whose subject matter is original to the Purāṇas: Kṛṣṇa's stealing of the gopīs' clothes. The second portion of their chapter is entirely original, though based on hints found VT, describing the important event of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā's first face to face meeting. This chapter is an evening session only.

Some young gopīs, different from those encountered in chapter 15, seek the means to make Kṛṣṇa their husband. Vṛndā advises them on a vrata which will be effective. On their way to their daily bath in the Yamunā, they sing a song, a fantasy about their wedding with Kṛṣṇa. On the last day of the vrata, Kṛṣṇa comes to their bathing spot with a number of small boys. Kṛṣṇa takes clothes and climbs tree. The little boys, Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs engage in a lengthy bit of amusing banter, some original, some based on a single verse from BhP. The girls finally come out of the

water and are given Kṛṣṇa's blessing. Thus they remain permanently pre-pubescent and are never offered elsewhere in marriage.

Two indications from BhP (x.21.17, 29.36) are turned into an entire episode giving the story of Kṛṣṇa's first direct meetings with the gopīs and Rādhā. It begins with an account of the heights that their *pūrvarāga* achieves. Kṛṣṇa complains,

If it did not seem that the spring, the bearer of Cupid's arrows  
was to be the one who will unite me with the cowherd beauties,  
then who could tolerate his unjust behaviour?<sup>22</sup>

Rādhā too writes a verse on a creeper which Vṛndā conveys to Kṛṣṇa:

You are a *tamāla* tree in Vṛndāvana, and I a *campaka* creeper;  
we are both non-moving creatures, and our union can only take  
place through Vṛndā.<sup>23</sup>

It is a full moon of spring (*Caitra*) and Kṛṣṇa decides that now he is ready to exercise his flute playing ability, which has reached maturity, to call Rādhā. However, all the gopīs but Rādhā are attracted, for she has fainted upon hearing it. Kṛṣṇa, interested only in Rādhā, tries to send them all back and the unsatisfied but helpless girls obey. Meanwhile Rādhā is still in a faint. Vṛndā, Madhumāṅgalā and Paurṇamāsī intercede on her behalf saying that Rādhā's faint can only be broken by his touch. Though Kṛṣṇa feels reluctant on account of social reasons, he finally goes to Paurṇamāsī's cottage and places his foot on the unconscious Rādhā's breast when Vṛndā falls at his feet begging him. Rādhā awakens and sees Kṛṣṇa, who stumbles, embarrassed, out of the cottage.

## 6.309 Chapter 22: Receiving the pure service of the wives of the sacrifice

This chapter follows faithfully the BhP (x.22-23), where the story originates. This account is described at a morning session. More cowherding activities are described, including the fanciful glorifying of Vṛndāvana's trees. Kṛṣṇa and the cowherds arrive at the banks of the Yamunā in Kāmyavana when Kṛṣṇa's friends say that they are hungry. Kṛṣṇa sends them to beg for food from some sacrificial brāhmaṇas in his name. They go, but return empty-handed. Kṛṣṇa then considers the brāhmaṇas' wives and tells the boys to beg food from them. The brāhmaṇa women are already prepared and come with a great feast for him. Though they are enchanted by his beauty and want to remain with him, Kṛṣṇa turns the brāhmaṇa women back. When they arrive at home, their bowls and houses are filled with precious stones, a miracle not found in BhP, invented by Jīva to explain why the brāhmaṇas so readily understand their own fault and accept their wives. In BhP, the brāhmaṇas' self-flagellation continues for a somewhat lengthier period than here; Jīva has only three verses. The cowherds eat the food given to them by the women and Madhumāṅga, the *vidūṣaka*, gets to play his role of glutton to the full.

## 6.310 Chapter 23: The joy of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs' first embrace, their bantering songs

The *rāsasūtā* is considered by most commentators on BhP starting with Śrīdhara to be the most important recital therein. Sanātana Gosvāmī calls the five chapters to be as dear as the five senses (VT 29.1). Jīva has described the events in five chapters as well (23-27). The subject matter here is distributed in a slightly different manner from the way it is in BhP, which will be taken up in each individual chapter. Jīva deems that

the five chapters were recited in a session which took the whole night (*jāgeraṇa*), with Snigdha\* and Madhu\* taking turns. It is still the practice of many Bengali Vaiṣṇaves to sing the *kīrtanas* commemorating this *ITĪ* while staying up all night.

Jīva states that he is revealing the most secret of all the pastimes of Kṛṣṇa and warns that non-devotees should not be allowed to listen.

I have written that my poem contains all the sentiments,  
and because of this audacious claim  
I now seek to reveal the most secret (of Kṛṣṇa's pastimes).  
Therefore, those who follow the secret mistresses  
of Govinda in Vraja,  
should only allow this account to enter the ears of the worthy  
and not recite it publicly.<sup>24</sup>

Kṛṣṇa hears celestial voices describing Rādhā's passion; he then finds a verse written in saffron on a *faṁḍā* tree which reveals the extent to which Rādhā's *pūrvavāṅga* has awakened.

Disturbed by the fires of love,  
my mind permeated by thoughts of your great beauty,  
carrying the burden of the sweet fragrance of the flute's song  
seeing a black effulgence in every direction,  
I have become black (*kṛṣṇa*) myself,  
but Kṛṣṇa, you are still not about.<sup>25</sup>

The autumn moon rises and an extended account of the effect of the moon on Kṛṣṇa in arousing his passions is given. Deciding that the time is now right, Kṛṣṇa leaves the company of all but the four cowherds Sudāmā etc., and seeks a place to which he can call the gopīs with his flute, Rādhā first. Meanwhile, <sup>the</sup>gopīs also feel effects of the moon. Finally Kṛṣṇa blows

his flute to devastating effect. In an extended theological aside, Snigdhaṅṭha considers the identities of the different types of gopīs present in the rush to come to Kṛṣṇa, clarifying the question of why some gopīs, obstructed by their husbands, had to give up their material bodies (*guṇamayadeha*) in order to join Kṛṣṇa. There too, Jīva refutes the obvious meaning of *jārabuddhyāpi saṅgatāḥ* which militates against his conception of the gopīs (at least those who are *nityasiddha*) eternally identifying themselves as Kṛṣṇa's wives. The *abhisāra* is described in a series of rhyming verses in *tūṇaka* metre which compare the gopīs to rivers rushing toward the sea. Upon their arrival near him, Kṛṣṇa has eyes only for Rādhā. Greeting the gopīs, Kṛṣṇa makes clever statements which carry a double meaning. Superficially, he appears to be sending them away, but each statement can be read as an invitation to stay. Within this monologue, Kṛṣṇa mentions the gopīs' children, which the speaker explains as the children of the gopīs' brothers-in-law, etc. Jīva shortens the instructions given by Kṛṣṇa, dropping three verses which press home the point about service to husband and family.

The gopīs react to Kṛṣṇa's equivocal words with distress and then answer him with a song, refusing to accept his terms, saying that he is their real husband. Finally, Kṛṣṇa drops the masquerade, accepts and embraces them.

#### 6.311 Chapter 24: The joy of hearing about Rādhā's good fortune

Having met in the Vṛndāvana forest, Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs are now prepared to commence the *rāsa* dance. Their preliminary dalliances come to an abrupt end when Kṛṣṇa leaves the scene to be alone with Rādhā.

*This chapter  
covers*

x.29.43-48 (end) and x.30 in its entirety. This segment of the *rāsa/līlā* is first found in the ViP and not in HV.

Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs begin their amusements together. Prose and verse  
(x.29.43-4)  
commentary on these two verses of BhP, the first of the verses inspiring  
a series of  
the prose, the latter / ten verses in various metres (vv7-16). Kṛṣṇa  
elaborates on the reasons for his enigmatic disappearance from the scene;  
he wishes to demonstrate the superiority of Rādhā over the others gopīs.  
The effects that separation from Kṛṣṇa has on them is shown, particularly  
in their questioning of trees and animals. Jīva drops BhP x.30.14-23,  
subsequent  
where the gopīs imitate their beloved. The /section on the discovery of  
the footprints of Kṛṣṇa and another gopī is also found in ViP v.13.31-41.

The gopīs speculate about their special sister whom Kṛṣṇa has spirited away. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa enter the *kufja* which is described in several verses. Here we have an original addition, the description of the bower where the two have been hiding, what Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā were doing at this time and their narrow escape from the intruding gopīs. A theological aside at this point distinguishes Kṛṣṇa's loves from those of ordinary mortal lovers. The point is to justify Kṛṣṇa's departure from Rādhā rather than the erotic activities themselves. Thus *māna*, which carried a negative sense in BhP x.29.48, causing Kṛṣṇa's disappearance, and thus here as well, is transformed by Jīva into a particular *sthāyī* of love with <sup>bhāva</sup> positive implications. Both Kṛṣṇa's and the gopīs' love being placed beyond reproach, Jīva is ready to resume the story which once again follows closely the lines of BhP. With the theological foundation established, Kṛṣṇa's desertion of even Rādhā can now be tabled. When Kṛṣṇa goes to

hide, the gopīs find the unfortunate Rādhā and ask her why she has been abandoned. Her answer is that this is due to her own faults and not to any wickedness on Kṛṣṇa's part. Then, all joining together, the gopīs wander for some time, and when they decide that Kṛṣṇa must be feeling some shame for his behaviour towards them, they go to the banks of the Yamunā where he should easily be able to find them.

6.312 Chapter 25: Kṛṣṇa returns and puts an end to their feelings of separation

This chapter covers BhP x.31-32 in which the song of the gopīs, known popularly as *gopīgītā* is sung. In all, it seems as though Jīva has not felt it necessary or even possible to improve on the BhP in these two chapters and there is less innovation here than elsewhere.

First, Jīva expands the 19 verses of the gopīs' song in BhP x.31. Kṛṣṇa is attracted by the songs of the gopīs and comes to them as the bewilderer of even Cupid himself. The gopīs react to his arrival by serving him in various ways. These acts of service are related to individual gopīs, whose names we learn. They then all go to the banks of the Yamunā where they sit together in resplendent beauty on the sands. As the gopīs surround Kṛṣṇa, serving and flattering him in various ways, they ask him a riddle half-seriously, half in anger about the characters of lovers and the ways in which they respond to the love of others. Kṛṣṇa enunciates and glorifies his special feeling for the gopīs and the impossibility of his ever repaying their love. The chapter concludes with comments by the demigoddess observers.

6.313 Chapter 26: Expanding the pleasures of the *rāsa* dance

This chapter covers the first portion of that which is the last chapter in BhP's version of the *rāsa/līlā*. It deals with the dance itself. Jīva gives special importance to Rādhā's exalted status amongst the gopīs, rather than following Sanātana's rather more equal treatment given in his comments on the corresponding chapter of BhP. Vṛndā and the other sylphs come to serve the fatigued gopīs and Kṛṣṇa.

6.314 Chapter 27: The completion of the *rāsa/līlā*

This chapter contains primarily original material expanding on the last four verses which carry the action of the *rāsa/līlā*, i.e. x.33.23-26. The two major themes of the chapter are the *jalavihāra* or water-sports, and *vanabhramaṇa* or forest wanderings. The first of these is entirely in verse (27 of them) in various metres, describing Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs going into the water, splashing each other, hiding amongst the lotuses, etc. Kṛṣṇa repeats his trick of stealing the gopīs' clothes. Finally dressed, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa look to the gods like a bride and groom. The *vanabhramaṇa* includes a promenade through the forest, playing hide and seek, observing different creatures and trees, etc. Finally dawn arrives; Kṛṣṇa wipes the gopīs' tears, but they must depart from the forest and slowly, reluctantly they return to their homes.

## 6.315 Chapter 28: Going to the Ambikā forest

This chapter is one of the shortest in GC 1. It contains a story recounted in BhP x.34.1-21, where it is original (not found in HV or ViP). Described elaborately in this chapter are the arrangements for a pilgrimage to the Śivaliṅga at Ambikāvana, the reactions of the other pilgrims there on



seeing Kṛṣṇa, the rituals Nanda and the other cowherds perform. While sleeping, Nanda is attacked by a python and calls out to Kṛṣṇa to rescue him. Others make the attempt, but only the touch of Kṛṣṇa's foot has the desired effect. Condensed or eliminated here are BhP x.34.10-18, the past life of the Vidyādhara (who had been cursed to become the snake). Everyone congratulates Kṛṣṇa and they return to the settlement.

#### 6.316 Chapter 29: Secret activities adding zest to their loves

In relation to BhP, this chapter is one of the most original in the Pūrvacampū, depending more on the *rasaśāstra* for its inspiration. Indeed, rather than presenting a narrative as such, this chapter has much of the nature of a *kośakāvya*, where the author presents various scenarios, in particular the eight *nāyikā avasthās*. The only connection to the BhP is made late in the chapter when we hear the state of the gopīs when Kṛṣṇa goes to Ambikāvana, etc. This session takes place on the evening of the same day as chapter 28.

First described in this chapter are Vṛndā's service in the forest and the deception of the elders in the morning. Jīva places *proṣitabhartṛkā* at the beginning of his description of the eight types of *nāyikā*s, explaining that separation in Vṛndāvana carries with it the nature of long separations elsewhere. This is followed by *utkaṇṭhitā*, *abhisārikā*, *vipralabdhitā*, *khaṇḍitā*, *kalahāntarītā* and *svādhīnabhartṛkā*. All these have the nature of a loose narrative sequence, comparable to Gītagovinda. After this cycle, the early morning scenario (*kufījabhaṅga*) is celebrated. First Lalitā awakens the couple with a song; this is followed by the *sakhīs*' entry into the *kufīja*, placing the flute into Kṛṣṇa's hand, etc. This scene includes

one verse in which Rādhā appears to suspect a friend of hers of misusing the trust placed in her to consort with Kṛṣṇa.

Next, the beginning of the spring festival which ends with Holī (found in the next chapter) is described. At this point, the gopīs' elders, their in-laws, become distrustful and keep them confined and away from their meetings with Kṛṣṇa. At this point Kṛṣṇa goes on the pilgrimage described in the previous chapter. Before his official return Kṛṣṇa comes back in various female disguises to meet with Rādhā clandestinely.

#### 6.317 Chapter 30: Unabashedly playing the sports of Holī

This chapter is for the most part original and entertaining. The first part, recited at the morning assembly, is based on x.34.25-33, i.e. the killing of Śaṅkhācūḍa. This story differs from that found in BhP (and that in LalM) in that Kṛṣṇa does not take the jewel from the demon's head, saying that it would be improper. The second session contains a lengthy narration of the Holī sports themselves: the gathering of forces, banter between Rādhā's *dūtī* and the *vidūṣaka* Madhumaṅgala, who is really the star of this chapter. The *dūtī* is held hostage while Madhumaṅgala is sent to the other side with a message from Kṛṣṇa's group. Madhumaṅgala proposes a truce based on a marriage between Rādhā's sister (?) and any member of Kṛṣṇa's group. He praises Kṛṣṇa which causes Rādhā to be temporarily disabused. Lalitā then counsels that as their *dūtī* is being held, they should dress Madhumaṅgala as a woman and let him be the one given in marriage. On the other side, the *dūtī* is herself being dressed as a man to become the groom. The marriage takes place but not to Rādhā and her friends' satisfaction and war is declared. The Holī war, in which Balarāma

and his girlfriends also take part, concludes with Rādhā stealing Kṛṣṇa's flute and taking him captive. The stealing of Kṛṣṇa's flute also features in Kavi Karṇapūra's description of Holī in Ānandavṛndāvanacampū (ch. 23).

6.318 Chapter 31: A picture of the diverse expression of their different loving feelings

This chapter follows three main themes. In the morning recital, Kāṁsa commissions both Ariṣṭa and Keśī, the last demons to be killed by Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana. Of these Ariṣṭa, in the terrible form of a giant bull, goes first, does battle with Kṛṣṇa and meets his death.

The rest of the chapter is recited at the evening session. The second theme is devoted to the gopīs' feelings of separation from Kṛṣṇa during his days away from them while he tended the herds of cows. It contains some of the songs of the gopīs found in BhP x.35.2-15 interspersed with prose commentary which follows VT closely. Some of Kṛṣṇa's other activities with the gopīs are mentioned peripherally, such as *dāna/īlā*, where the gopīs go flower-picking, etc. and are obstructed by Kṛṣṇa, <sup>and</sup> *naukāvihāra*, where Kṛṣṇa ferries them across the river, etc.

The third theme, ostensibly based on the Varāha- and Viṣṇupurāṇas<sup>26</sup>, is the creation of Śyāmakuṇḍa and Rādhākuṇḍa. This takes place subsequent to the killing of Ariṣṭa. Kṛṣṇa purifies the location where Ariṣṭa was killed by kicking the ground with his heel to release an underground spring. In conformity with Sanātana's comments on BhP, Kṛṣṇa then returns home. That night, Kṛṣṇa meets with the gopīs again. When Kṛṣṇa boasts about this deed, Rādhā and her associates belittle the work by

emphasizing Kṛṣṇa's sin in killing a sacred animal. Kṛṣṇa in turn tells them that by showing favour to a demon they have become subject to sin and must perform an atonement. The result is Rādhākuṇḍa (details of its construction are not given). Then further descriptions of their beauty, their good fortune, etc. The rest of the chapter is consecrated to further descriptions of the *rāsa/līlā* performed during the spring.

#### 6.319 Chapter 32: Telling the story of Keśī's destruction

This chapter covers BhP x.36.16-20a (Nārada's visit to Kāṁsa) and x.37.1-9 (the story of the killing of Keśī). Both of these themes have previously been dealt with in HV (67.1-49) and ViP (v.16.1-18) in somewhat greater detail than BhP. Jīva drops most of the story of Nārada's meeting with Kāṁsa. In HV there is a lengthy interlude from 64-66 which includes Nārada's visit, Kāṁsa's speech in response to the information he receives from him as well as the advice proffered by Akrūra. These same topics are covered rather more briefly in ViP v.15.1-24, and BhP x.36.16-40. Jīva devotes rather more attention to Keśī, with a few good descriptions. The chapter is one of the shortest in GC i and contains only a morning session. Jīva specifies that Kṛṣṇa bathes in Keśīrtha after the battle with Keśī and before entering Vraja.

#### 6.320 Chapter 33: The fulfilment of all desires

This chapter takes its inspiration from the BhP x.37.10-24 in which Nārada comes to Kṛṣṇa after the killing of Keśī and gives him a brief account of the future events which will take place after he leaves Vraja. Jīva here summarizes the contents of the entire Uttarecampū, including the ending, which has been an open secret all along anyway. The morning and

evening assemblies are reversed in this chapter. The narrative starts at the evening assembly with Madhukaṇṭha where Kṛṣṇa's feelings for the gopīs are discussed; the remainder of the chapter is concerned with other sentiments including the eventual marriage of Kṛṣṇa to the gopīs which are considered suitable for the general audience.

After killing Keśī, Kṛṣṇa considers the progression of events. He regrets that things are not going as smoothly as he had hoped and that it would perhaps have been better if he were to leave Vraja for some time to allow the bad reputation which his affairs with the gopīs had brought upon him to be regulated by the force of time.

Verily such a separation will bring about purification in the future for those who suffer it, because it is said that "In time, debts, wounds and dishonour all disappear", because [in my absence] they will [more] perfectly fix their minds on me, and because in their remorse they will be receptive to good instructions [to forgive me, etc.].<sup>27</sup>

As <sup>Kṛṣṇa</sup> considers his imminent departure and the effects it will have on his family, Nārada Muni comes on the scene and the visions they each have of the other are described with copious metaphor. After Nārada's short, puranic style *stuti*, he begins to tell Kṛṣṇa about future events starting with his departure for Mathurā and the killing of Kāṁsa, for

Love brings everything under control,  
it seems to me that this proverb is not false,  
for even you Kṛṣṇa, do not dispose the order of events.<sup>28</sup>

Kṛṣṇa listens interestedly, asking questions and making apostrophic comments, in particular showing anxiety as Nārada tells him of increasingly

lengthy adventures in Mathurā and then Dvārakā, wondering exactly when he will return to Vraja. Nārada describes to Kṛṣṇa the continuing sentimental attachment he will have for Vraja.

Whenever you will blow your conchshell,  
your eyes will seem to become moist,  
for filled with compassion you will remember  
the happiness you had from suckling the breast of Yaśodā.<sup>29</sup>

Hearing about the Syamantaka episode leads Kṛṣṇa to make a critical aside comparing the Yādavas to the Vrajavāsins:

Such is the association of the residents of the *vraja*  
whose entire lives are devoted uniquely to me;  
how can it be compared to that of the Yādavas  
characterized by Satrājit, Śatadhanvan and the such.<sup>30</sup>

#### 6.4 Summary of the Uttaracampū

Uddhavapūrṇavrajavilāsa: Activities ending with Uddhava's visiting Vraja  
(Chapters 1-12)

##### 6.41 Chapter 1: A description of Vraja's ocean of affection

The introductory chapter to the Uttaracampū begins with a brief summary of the contents of the Pūrvacampū. The morning recital commences with a *maṅgalācaraṇa* to the BhP, by whose *rasa* and *siddhānta*, this new work of poetry becomes authoritative.<sup>31</sup> The review of GC i is fundamentally a glorification of the Vrajavāsins' love for Kṛṣṇa. In the evening session, Snigdha\* continues with the themes begun in GC i.33. First there is a description of the development of the mutual love of the gopīs and Kṛṣṇa. He then prepares us for the mood of separation which will dominate GC ii:

Thus far, whatever sadness we have somehow or other managed to describe, and that even greater distress which it is now almost

time to relate, is all to bring closer the supreme joy which will come in the very end, like the fortress which in order to arrive at some wetlands is to be overcome by dwellers in a well-less desert.<sup>32</sup>

Kṛṣṇa's *kaiśora* age, i.e. his adolescence comes to an end just as he and his beloved gopīs arrive at the stage of *mahābhāva*.<sup>33</sup> The people of Vraja started to become aware of this great love and remembered Garga's warning which had been given in order to prevent their marriage taking place (GC 1.6.81):

If these girls have intercourse with Kṛṣṇa then the entire cowherd settlement will soon be plunged into separation from him.<sup>34</sup>

In fear of this possibility, the elders who have started to suspect their romance, confine the gopīs to their homes. Kṛṣṇa joins his intimate friend Madhumaṅgala to discuss why the gopīs no longer seem able to meet him. To the question how they were found out, Madhumaṅgala says,

For a woman who knows neither subjective nor objective reality  
due to the mental transformations [of love],  
there is nothing which is not revealed,  
what to speak of such women as the gopīs.<sup>35</sup>

The situation has become even worse, he says, quoting the guardians of the harems as they chastise their wards, and then the gopīs' sisters-in-law, charged with the supervision of these guardians, who report to their mothers as follows:

The guardians of the harem have been engaged by me  
to impede [Rādhā's] vision [by standing in front of her],  
her ears by conversation,  
and her nostrils by burning sweet-smelling incense.  
But what means can we employ

to cover the Kṛṣṇa-imbued state of her mind?

Mother, why then are you needlessly angry with me?<sup>36</sup>

Kṛṣṇa realizes that no doubt his own parents are also being put into distress by the rumours which have spread. Due to shame and fear, Kṛṣṇa feels unable to approach them, even though they are so dear to him. Thus he decides that the only solution is to distance himself from Vraja.

#### 6.42 Chapter 2: The cruelty of Akrūra

This chapter corresponds to BhP x.38.24-x.39.17, from Akrūra's arrival in Vraja until the morning of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma's departure with him. The bulk of x.38 (1-23), containing Akrūra's trip to Vṛndāvana and his expectations upon meeting Kṛṣṇa, has been dropped.

Kṛṣṇa continues to contemplate his imminent departure on the day of killing Keśī and meeting Nārada (GC 1.33). Then Akrūra arrives; he discusses with Kṛṣṇa the condition of the Yādavas under Kāṁsa and tells him of his responsibility to Vasudeva as well as revealing to him that he is his real father. Though Kṛṣṇa knows the details of his birth as discussed in GC 1.3, he concludes that he has a responsibility toward Vasudeva, both as father and as uncle.<sup>37</sup> We then hear for the first time in GC of Kāṁsa's cruelties toward Vasudeva and his wife (BhP x.1-3). Akrūra is, however, Kāṁsa's envoy and he conveys his invitation to Kṛṣṇa to come to Mathurā for a wrestling match. The matter is discussed in an assembly of cowherdṣ where Upananda approves Kṛṣṇa's departure. Paurṇamāsī also contributes to the general approval by telling them.

Your son's departure for Mathurā will result in everyone's happiness. Kāṁsa and the other cruel persons will meet with



destruction. I do foresee, however, that his return to Vraja will be delayed. Thus you should act accordingly.<sup>38</sup>

Nanda announces that all the gopas are to go to Mathurā as well. Madhu<sup>39</sup> ends here, but the assembly becomes emotional as they remember the sad occasion of Kṛṣṇa's departure. Kṛṣṇa calms his parents by reminding them that he has long since returned to Vraja. In the evening session Madhu<sup>40</sup> describes the anxieties of the gopīs on the eve of Kṛṣṇa's departure.

#### 6.43 Chapters 3-12

The remainder of this division of GC is taken up with the events described in BhP x.39-47. These are Kṛṣṇa's departure from Vraja, his arrival in Mathurā where he kills Kāṁsa, etc. Important original aspects of Jīva's account are in the aftermath of this event. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma wish to return to Vraja, but are prevented from doing so by their Mathurā family. The two brothers are given the sacred thread and go to Avantī to study with Sāndīpaṇi for two months, after which they miraculously return his son from the world of the dead. Upon their return to Mathurā, Kṛṣṇa appoints Uddhava his messenger to assuage the residents of Vraja and assure them of his eventual return. Uddhava is privileged amongst the Mathurā associates of Kṛṣṇa to witness the depth of the Vrajavāsins' love for Kṛṣṇa, including Rādhā's *mahābhāva*, and remains for several months to imbibe the atmosphere before returning to Mathurā.

6.5 Rāmapūrṇavrajavilāsa: Activities ending with Balarāma's visit to Vraja  
(Chapters 13-21)

This portion of GC deals with the events covered in BhP x.50-66, with some minor changes of order and some additional material from HV incorporated in chapter 14. 8

Upon his return to Dvārakā, Uddhava makes arrangements for messengers to make regular trips back and forth from Vraja to Mathurā for the sake of carrying news. Thus from chapters 13-28, wherever the activity does not concern the Vrajavāsins directly (i.e. 20, where Balarāma visits Vraja and 23-4, where Nanda, etc. meet Kṛṣṇa at Kurukṣetra), Snigdha\* and Madhu\* simply repeat the descriptions of Kṛṣṇa's exploits as they had been transmitted by these messengers to Nanda et al.

The morning sessions of this division of the Uttaracampū are dominant, containing the messengers' accounts of Kṛṣṇa's defeats of Jarāsandha (whose massive armies also bring disruption to the not distant Vṛndāvana), and victory over Kālayavana (13-14), Balarāma's marriage to Revatī (15), Kṛṣṇa's abduction of Rukmiṇī (16) and marriages to the other chief queens (17), the defeat of Naraka and marriage to 16,000 princesses (19) and finally the defeat of Bāṇa (by which time Kṛṣṇa already has grandchildren, i.e. Aniruddha, of marriageable age, ch.19). The shorter evening sessions contain the emotional exchange of letters describing the gopīs and especially Rādhā's sufferings in separation and Kṛṣṇa's assurances of his approaching return and undying love for them. Typically, at the end of chapter 15, Kṛṣṇa writes:

There are *vāsantikā* creepers, watered by me,  
which have accumulated in their thousands to make a bower.  
May my desire be fulfilled by you, my dear ones,  
become my wives according to religious principles.<sup>39</sup>

The gopīs respond:

We wished to water the *mādhavī* creepers  
which you gathered together to make a bower  
but alas, once they have been moistened with cool waters  
they wither on account of our hot tears.<sup>40</sup>

After Kṛṣṇa carries Rukmiṇī off to Dvārakā, he hesitates before marrying her. Vasudeva, understanding the reasons for Kṛṣṇa's recalcitrance, asks Nanda to bless the union. This is discussed in Vraja amongst the elders of the cowherd community and finally it is decided that such permission should be given, for even though Kṛṣṇa has promised to return, his demon-killing activity has kept him longer than expected and its completion *does* not seem imminent. He was past the marriageable age and his older brother Rāma has already married, thus his remaining a bachelor was not proper.<sup>41</sup> Nanda thus writes to Kṛṣṇa:

Son, you know my mind:  
I do not consider myself to be distinct from the son of Śūra;  
thus if you do his will, you should know it to be mine also.  
Were it to be otherwise, how could I long tolerate this poverty  
of deprivation of your beautiful lotus face?  
I could not do it, alas, I could not.<sup>42</sup>

In the evening session it is described how the gopīs also received a letter through Uddhava in which Kṛṣṇa says that though he had vowed not to marry, he felt obliged to save Rukmiṇī's life. The gopīs, showing the generosity of the great, approve that he should have so done rather than be

responsible for the death of a woman and the harm to his reputation that would have resulted.<sup>43</sup>

Kṛṣṇa continues to be reluctant about marriage in the case of Satyabhāmā and Jāmbavatī despite Vasudeva and Devakī's eagerness, but Nanda gives a letter of permission for as many marriages as Kṛṣṇa should wish because of the devotedness of his prospective queens.<sup>44</sup> Jīva states that the queens have similar qualities to the gopīs and this similarity brings K. a certain happiness. The marriages brought a kind of pleasure to the gopīs also, for the queens are ontologically related to them. Just as massaging the feet is beneficial to the eyes, so too the queens' enjoyment of a relation with Kṛṣṇa brought some satisfaction to the gopīs.<sup>45</sup>

Nevertheless, such satisfaction was not complete of itself, and as the feelings of separation increased further, Kṛṣṇa felt it necessary to send Balarāma, a more reliable representative than even Uddhava to confirm his promises of return, reminding the gopīs that only seven or eight enemies remain to be disposed of. In the evening session we are told that the gopīs gave Balarāma a pair of talking parrots (*śuka-śārī*), who carry a message for Kṛṣṇa. These parrots repeat verses taught them by the gopīs. The male parrot (*śuka*) says,

Until I return, dear ones, keep yourselves alive;  
the *cātakī* birds survive  
until the rainy season arrives.<sup>46</sup>

To this the *śārīkā* responds,

True, the lives of the *cātakī* await the coming of the rains;

but if the rainy season too should be without clouds,  
would the poor things still survive?<sup>47</sup>

**6.6 Kṛṣṇapūrṇavrajavilāsa: Activities ending in Kṛṣṇa's own return to Vraja  
(Chapters 22-37)**

**6.61 Chapters 22-24**

These chapters continue in the same vein as those of the previous division, describing Balarāma's disposal of Dvivida and chastisement of the Kauravas at Hastināpura (x.67-8). The most innovative portion is the displacement of the Kurukṣetra meeting which comes at the end of BhP x (82-4) to GC ii.23-4. This story of the reunion of the Vrajavāsins with Kṛṣṇa after their long years of separation is original to BhP and Jīva has exploited the possibilities of the situation by expanding greatly on its emotional aspects. Jīva follows VT in explaining the reasons for the change in order, primarily because the presence of Duryodhana, Bhīṣma, etc. in the company of the Pāṇḍavas indicates that this event took place prior to the 13 years of the Pāṇḍavas' exile. Yudhiṣṭhira is said to have taken the throne at the age of 60, Kṛṣṇa is three years his junior. Kṛṣṇa would thus have been 44 years old at the time of this meeting, i.e. 33 years after his departure from Vraja.

The account begins when a messenger tells Nanda *et al* of Kṛṣṇa's decision to go to Kurukṣetra for the solar eclipse. Nanda makes a similar decision in the hope of seeing Kṛṣṇa. A letter comes from Kṛṣṇa revealing his enthusiasm for seeing the Vrajavāsins there.

In an evening session, Kṛṣṇa sends a letter to the gopīs asking them to also come to meet him at Kurukṣetra. The gopīs' husbands give their permission to their wives for the trip, while they themselves stay behind to care for the cattle. In the years since Kṛṣṇa's departure, though their wives' feelings for Kṛṣṇa had long since come out into the open, their <sup>own</sup> freedom from envy of him had remained unchanged.

At the next morning session, Madhu\* describes how Nanda, etc., make their way to Kurukṣetra. After their arrival, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma enter Yaśodā's tent and have an emotional reunion. Yaśodā compares notes with Rohiṇī and Devakī. The simple-minded Devakī says to Yaśodā things which indicate that Yaśodā is not Kṛṣṇa's real mother, but this latter does not react because of her ecstasy in seeing Kṛṣṇa again.

In the next evening session, Kṛṣṇa meets the gopīs at night when everyone else is asleep. The ecstatic encounter is described. The significant words of Kṛṣṇa's speech from BhP are commented upon as is the gopīs' response. Further conversation and further nights of joyous union at Kurukṣetra follow. Kṛṣṇa's queens praise the gopīs' love, in particular, that of Rādhā.

#### 6.62 Chapters 25-28

These four chapters contain the chain of events which result in Kṛṣṇa's return to Vraja. Chapter 25 starts with a portion of x.85, Kṛṣṇa's returning the dead sons of Devakī to her (x.85). The rest of these chapters covers BhP x.70-77.

The simultaneous arrival of an invitation from Yudhiṣṭhira to attend the Rājasūya sacrifice in Indraprastha and the appeal from certain kings held captive by Jarāsandha, the king of Mithilā, result in Kṛṣṇa's making a trip east from Dvārakā. After Bhīma splits Jarāsandha in two (26) and Kṛṣṇa kills Śiśupālā at the Rājasūya sacrifice (27), Kṛṣṇa is obliged to hurry back to Dvārakā to deal with the attack of Sālva, whom he kills after bringing down his flying fortress (28).

#### 6.63 Chapter 29: Evidence for the narrations to come

This chapter is unlike any other in GC, with the exception of the first two chapters of Pūrvacampū, in that Madhu\* and Snigdha\* are not said to recite it. It is said that when Kṛṣṇa's battle with Sālva had started and the entire Vraja was paralyzed with fear and grief, Vṛndādevī approached Paurṇamāsī to inquire about future events. Paurṇamāsī asks Vṛndā to read the scriptural portents found in a book of prophecy which Paurṇamāsī likens in appearance to the form of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>48</sup> This book, which consists exclusively of quotations from BhP, etc., is read aloud by Vṛndā and commented on and explained by Paurṇamāsī. The most important of its citations are those taken from PadP which state explicitly that which BhP never does, viz. that Kṛṣṇa returns to Vraja after his long sojourn in Dvārakā.<sup>48a</sup> The direct inspiration for the chapter comes, however, from VT 78.13, i.e. Sanātana's discussion of x.77.37, 78.1-13, all of which are quoted here (ii.29.19). These verses narrate the killing of Dantavakra and Vidūratha.

The conclusions of this chapter are expressed in three of the only five original verses interspersed as summarizations of Paurṇamāsī's lengthy commentary:

The impression that the gopīs,  
whose lips were tasted by Lord Kṛṣṇa,  
and who defeat the glories of Śrī,  
could have been enjoyed by others  
in the course of marriage or otherwise,  
is caused by the power of illusion.  
Fie on those who, devoid of devotion for both Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs  
take this misfortune to be true;  
could those who are steadily fixed on them  
desire for or listen to such a thing?<sup>49</sup>

If Kṛṣṇa did not return from Dvārakā  
to remain again in the cowherd settlement,  
then everything would be devoid of taste;  
the joys that came with his birth,  
each moment of his growth, his accumulating beauty,  
the increasing affection of the Vrajavāsins for him,  
the fulfilment of his līlās (i.e. rāsa dance)  
and the numerous assurances that he gave during their separation,  
all would become completely valueless.<sup>50</sup>

Kṛṣṇa's absence is a kind of pleasure in itself, though secondary,  
by its nature it promotes the joy which comes when he reappears.  
If the sentiments were completed in Vraja alone,  
then this joy would never be experienced.<sup>51</sup>

#### 6.64 Chapter 30: The description of Keśava's return to the land of Vraja

This is the last chapter to use BhP material as a source, retelling the story of the killing of Dantavakra with the adjustments made from the PadP account of the same event. These are the elements of BhP x.78 that



have been subjected to lengthy exegesis in the previous chapter. After this, Jīva begins to expand from the passages of PadP mentioned above and which form the scriptural basis for the remaining seven chapters of Gopālacampū.

Dantavakra and Vidūratha attack Kṛṣṇa and meet their end, their souls merging into Kṛṣṇa's effulgence. Kṛṣṇa goes to Viśrāmaghāṭ in Mathurā where he lays down his arms for good and bathes, gives in charity to the brāhmaṇas and then inquires as to the present location of his goṣṭha.

Meanwhile, the Vrajavāsins are worried due to having received only partial information about Kṛṣṇa since the battle with Sālva. Then they receive Kṛṣṇa's last letter in which he states that his arrival is imminent. Just then he crosses the Yamunā, blows his conchshell and all the Vrajavāsins run toward him. Paurṇamāsī, Vṛndā and Madhumaṅgala come on the scene, being seen by them for the first time since Kṛṣṇa's departure so many years before. Paurṇamāsī tells Kṛṣṇa to rest in the shade of a tree and everyone else to bring him food, for he has not eaten since leaving Indraprastha. Kṛṣṇa would then enter the settlement in the evening. Kṛṣṇa explains that he wishes to wait until Balarāma comes so that he might do so in his company. Paurṇamāsī counters by saying that he should give pleasure to everyone on that very day. Kṛṣṇa is distressed to see the bedraggled condition of the Vrajavāsins who have sacrificed all their possessions for religious acts dedicated to his protection and safe return. He gives them gifts of jewels and clothes and receives in turn similar gifts of clothing from them. Kṛṣṇa thus gives up the kṣatriya clothing and dons the apparel suitable for a cowherd. After eating, he

gets on his chariot, and surrounded by bullock carts, amidst music and showers of flowers, enters the *goṣṭha* and finally his own parents' house where he spends the evening gossiping with his friends until going to sleep. One outstanding feature of the Vraja he remarks is that physically no one has changed at all from the way they were when he left them so long before:

Kṛṣṇa saw everyone in the *goṣṭha* looking just as they had  
on the day he left to go to kill Kāṁsa,  
the same size and age, even after all that time.  
How could a nonentity like time forcibly change them,  
even if given *æons* to do so,  
when they are the objects of his constant meditation?<sup>52</sup>

The evening session conducted by Madhu\* focuses on the *gopīs*' emotional reactions at each step of Kṛṣṇa's entry into Vraja. It ends with the verse,

When he entered the cowherd settlement  
after having lifted the excessive burden from the world,  
he was soon seen by all, including Rādhā.  
Though her vision was interrupted  
by the flickering of her eyelids, tears and trembling,  
she still looked at him again,  
and then passed a night without repose.<sup>53</sup>

To this Madhu\* comments,

Previously you considered separation from Kṛṣṇa to be union,  
and now you take union to be its opposite;  
it is thus better for us to keep silent  
[about things we do not understand].<sup>54</sup>

#### 6.65 Chapter 31: Resolving the doubts of Rādhā and the other *gopīs*

This chapter and the next could be considered among the most important of

GC in that the obstacles to the betrothal and marriage of the gopīs to Kṛṣṇa are therein removed. They shall therefore be discussed in slightly more detail than others have been so far in this summary.

This chapter contains a short morning session and a rather longer evening one. On the morning after Kṛṣṇa's arrival, he follows a schedule not unlike that described in GC 1.2. He first sees his mother who showers him with love and then goes to his father's assembly, after which he then spends the rest of the day with the cows and cowherds. Upon his return in the evening, he is invited for days ahead to take his daily repast by Upananda, Abhinanda and the other residents of Vraja. Dāruka, Kṛṣṇa's charioteer who is witness to all this, thinks,

Kṛṣṇa, the killer of demons, lived in Dvārakā as a king,  
but here he is subject to the residents of Vraja,  
like a debtor who owes more than he possesses.<sup>55</sup>

In the evening session, Kṛṣṇa feels cautious about publicly declaring his feelings for Rādhā and the gopīs.

Previously I felt much embarrassed before the people  
and so I left on the excuse of killing Kāṁsa.  
I have returned specifically to bring back the gopīs to life,  
but still the deep sense of embarrassment has not deserted me.<sup>56</sup>

That meeting previously arranged by me on the field of Kurukṣetra  
was like a drop of water on a heated frying pan -  
nothing at all to those who searched for it.  
But in Vraja, it should be the opposite of that.<sup>57</sup>

Though Kṛṣṇa decides to wait in silent indifference for some time, after a moment he reconsiders, thinking that there is nothing to be gained by

such indifference. After all, after his departure from Vraja, the gopīs had ceased making any pretence about the nature of their relation with him. Rādhā had even declared that she and the other gopīs no longer had any home at all. For this very reason, however, Kṛṣṇa felt even more shame, a shame which could be dispelled only if the gopīs' marriages to other men could somehow be annulled. Their validity had previously been negated by Śukadeva but by reference to Kṛṣṇa's divine status, which was altogether inappropriate in the present circumstances. In Gokula, the only solution could be through marriage with the gopīs according to the local customs.<sup>58</sup> The distress of the gopīs would increase in the waiting, which in turn *would* cause further misery for Kṛṣṇa, but still he could not see a way out *of the quandary*.

At this juncture, Paurṇamāsī again appears with Vṛndā and Madhumāṅgalā. She berates Kṛṣṇa somewhat for being distressed. Why, she asks, do you not accept Rādhā the way you did Rukmiṇī? After all, scripture says, *Rukmiṇī Dvāravatyāṁ tu Rādhā Vṛndāvane vane*.<sup>59</sup> Kṛṣṇa responds that the Vrajavāsins do not see things that way. Paurṇamāsī then confesses,

This is not the fault of the people of Gokula, but of myself who am tormented by fate. When Rādhā and the gopīs' fathers searched for a suitable match for their daughters, they intended only you. The instructions of Garga, given on Vasudeva's order, turned them from this purpose. Then, for the purpose of passing the time until they could eventually be given to you, by my magical powers I created the illusion throughout Vraja that they had been married elsewhere, through a dream which was taken for wakefulness. Thus they came to see those men as their sons-in-law, though it was a matter of regret.<sup>60</sup>

Kṛṣṇa responds, even if it is a matter of regret, they are nevertheless convinced of the relation and thus the fault still remains. Paurṇamāsī argues that since the relation arises out of a dream-like illusion, and since, unlike Rukmiṇī's father Bhīṣmaka, Rādhā's father had never sought to contract any other marriage, there could be no fault. Kṛṣṇa continues to be unconvinced, "The fault lies in that the gopīs too consider these men to be their husbands and that they slept with them."<sup>61</sup> Paurṇamāsī again denies both premises and launches again into a litany of BhP quotations in which she shows that the gopīs considered Kṛṣṇa alone to be their husband and that they had known no physical intimacy with their so-called spouses. The means by which this was done was through Yogamāyā's creation of Doppelgänger of the gopīs who replaced them for all such unsavoury functions. Paurṇamāsī promised to reveal this to all of Vraja in order to remove the trance and the fake gopīs.

She concludes by appealing to Kṛṣṇa for sympathy for Rādhā's condition,

Fire is everywhere famed  
for consuming that which gives it shelter,  
if the same reputation is attained by love for you,  
you will be criticised as a result.<sup>62</sup>

Paurṇamāsī then goes to cheer the gopīs up. They have written a letter in which they state their decision to commit suicide, much in the way that Rukmiṇī did in her letter to Kṛṣṇa:

If he is apprehensive, or if his father or family are ashamed,  
then we shall quickly enter fire to realize our desires.  
This is the promise of us young girls, whose tears are flowing.  
Without him we will not be consoled,  
nor shall we maintain our lives.<sup>63</sup>

Paurṇamāsī tests the gopīs by acting the devil's advocate and arguing in favour of the *parakīyā* status quo, stating that the fear and shame which restrain one alone give love for Kṛṣṇa the edge by which the ultimate good is attained. By seeking to be married, the gopīs would subvert such an attainment. Their answer:

Let those women alone take this restraint as a means to a higher state, others [like us] will not. We others would consider ourselves unfortunate to have such an awareness. The only thing which can 'restrain' one from obtaining him is the absence of any love for him. Those such as we seek the higher awareness [as found in the queens of Dvārakā when it was said about them] 'Even though he was by their side in complete privacy, they still found his lotus feet to be ever new'.<sup>64</sup>

After the gopīs finish saying this and are crying without being able to utter a further word, Paurṇamāsī thinks,

Those who do not know that  
these women of Vraja are Kṛṣṇa's eternal spouses,  
are of the opinion that they achieved the supreme reward  
when they attained him as their paramour.  
But those who understand that they are his eternal wives  
take such an opinion to be an insult to them;  
how could such an insult bring happiness to any devotee?<sup>65</sup>

Paurṇamāsī thus gives up her pretence and reveals Kṛṣṇa's real feelings for them, saying that his intentions toward them are honest. The gopīs are pleased by this and say in response:

Just as Sītādevī had to suffer through  
the calamity created by Rāvaṇa,  
and just as Rukmiṇī suffered the calamity  
of having a wedding arranged to take place with Śiśupāla,  
so too, Rādhā and the other gopīs suffered the calamity  
of going to reside in the houses of other men,

but how could their well-wishers consider this  
to be their eternal situation? 66

Paurṇamāsī quietly agrees, saying to herself,

The shadow of Rāhu falls over the moon,  
but not forever, it is just a bit of playfulness -  
a stain which remains forever is displeasing to all minds.<sup>67</sup>

The gopīs then make a speech (in fact a repetition of GC 1.33.268) in which they describe their sufferings and condemn anyone who could think that the plight of the *parakīyā nāyikā* could lead to *rasa*.

#### 6.66 Chapter 32: The celebration of the resolution of everyone's doubts

This chapter continues the setting of the scene for the wedding of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs. To the verbal explanations advanced in the previous chapter, Jīva adds a concrete, miraculous element as Paurṇamāsī makes good her word to expose the reality to all the Vrajavāsins. The essential dramatic events of this chapter have been found in GC 1.33, some details differing slightly. Since the events described here were witnessed by everyone in Vraja, the recital of this chapter is assisted at by all the residents at the morning session.

The happiness of the Vraja increases day by day after Kṛṣṇa's return, but Nanda and Yaśodā express reservations about Kṛṣṇa's chariot, fearing that he may still leave again. Despite Kṛṣṇa's reassurances that he has no such intention, they will only be assured, they say, if Kṛṣṇa does as he did in Dvārakā and sets up house.<sup>68</sup> Balarāma, Rohiṇī and Uddhava are brought back to Vraja by Dēruka, Kṛṣṇa's charioteer. Balarāma brings with him the

parrots the gopīs had previously sent to Kṛṣṇa. Snigdha' comments wryly about Balarāma's return,

Observe: Vasudeva stole by deception  
both Nanda's daughter and son for himself.  
Now Kṛṣṇa has been doubled  
by Vasudeva's own son Balarāma,  
thus fulfilling his father, Nanda.<sup>69</sup>

A few days after Rāma's return, Kṛṣṇa's parents go to see Paurṇamāsī and tell of their desire to see Kṛṣṇa married. She asks which cowherd girls they had in mind, and they answer, Dhanyā and the other girls who performed the Kātyāyanī vrata, for as explained, these girls have remained virgins and dedicated to Kṛṣṇa. Paurṇamāsī asks why they have not considered Rādhā and the other special gopīs. Kṛṣṇa's parents reply ingenuously, "If you think well of these girls, then they must be very qualified; how then could we not accept them. But who are they?"

Paurṇamāsī tells them that they too are still virgins and explains once again that which she had told Kṛṣṇa. Unquestioningly accepting Paurṇamāsī's words, Kṛṣṇa's parents inquire about the gopīs themselves as well as their parents. Paurṇamāsī assures them that everyone is favourable to the new arrangement, for they think,

If our daughters, the essence of whose lives is Kṛṣṇa,  
are saved like deer from the deep mouth of a tiger,  
then they can join with the youthful stag, Kṛṣṇa.<sup>70</sup>

Nanda is still worried about Garga's warning that if the gopīs were to marry Kṛṣṇa Gokula would again be plunged into the darkness of separation. Paurṇamāsī assures them that Garga had seen the future and



had attributed the association with the gopīs as the cause, but in fact that was only his opinion. In reality, union with the gopīs was an auspicious act and could not be the cause of any separation.<sup>71</sup>

When asked by Nanda and Yaśodā about public opinion, especially that of the gopīs' so-called in-laws, Paurṇamāsī says she will take care of that and tells them to call a public assembly of all the residents of the community on the next day.

The following morning, when everyone including Rādhā, etc., has gathered, Paurṇamāsī tells some women to go to every house for not absolutely everyone has arrived. These women return with the amazing news that they have seen Rādhā and her friends still sitting in the houses of their in-laws. As soon as these, the Doppelgänger, are also brought to the gathering, Paurṇamāsī sits down to meditate on Viṣṇumāyā<sup>72</sup>, who manifests herself to everyone's amazement in an eight-armed form. The goddess, coming near to all, says,

Never have any doubts about this,  
oh father, mother, oh relatives;  
in order to obstruct the plans of Garga.  
I created clones of some of the original gopīs  
so that these would not be taken to the conjugal beds  
of their so-called husbands.

How can I avoid protecting from contamination  
those whom I know my own brother will accept as wives  
when I am powerful in all things?<sup>73</sup>

She says that previously she had similarly created *māyā* bodies for Sītā, Saṃjñā and Rati.<sup>74</sup>

Then, in front of the shocked audience, she demonstrates the truth of her statements and the imitation gopīs are brought before them, exactly the same in every way as the originals. The goddess says,

Whenever the appropriate situation arose  
I would either hide or manifest  
one or the other of these two groups of gopīs,  
thus the secret was never brought out into the open.<sup>75</sup>

She then challenges the audience to tell the difference between the two groups. Nanda and Yaśodā say to one another,

When glass and jewels appear the same to the eye,  
then they are given for examination to a jeweller,  
who is himself tested by his analysis.  
Similarly, we have been ordered to distinguish  
Rādhā and her friends from the imitations,  
by which we are also being put to the test.<sup>76</sup>

The goddess orders the two groups to be placed side by side, at which everyone triumphantly states,

The moon shines bright in the absence of the sun,  
but when placed near <sup>to it</sup>, it is made to appear lustreless.<sup>78</sup>

When Nanda asks what is to follow, the goddess tells him that the original Rādhā, etc. should return to their parental home, while the others should go and rejoin their husbands. <sup>this,</sup> After the goddess returns to her own abode [According to GC 1.33.303, she goes to stay in a building near the Yamunā banks, making her identification with Paurṇamāsī overt]. When

Vṛṣabhānu and the other parents wanted to take the original gopīs home with them, however, they were not ready to accept the proposal. They said as follows,

Even though Devī has shown how things are, we nevertheless think that other than fire, nothing else can eradicate the ill-repute that has accrued to us. We do not think therefore that it is proper that we return to our fathers' homes at present, but rather our bodies should be placed in fire to prove our purity. We have indeed previously written an affidavit (*pratijñāpatra*) to this effect.

And the following letter was shown to everyone.

In word, thought, deed, in wakefulness and in dream,  
if we have fallen away from the son of the cowherd king,  
then let our bodies be turned to ash  
in a trial by fire in the assembly of the king.<sup>79</sup>

Just at that moment the famous fiery-tempered ascetic Durvāsas, dressed in clothes of bark, comes on the scene of confused Vrajavāsins. He, in the land of Kṛṣṇa devotion, is in a better temper than usual. He confirms again, quoting his own words in Gopālatāpanī Upaniṣad, *sa vo hī svāmī bhavati* ("He is your very own husband"). The Vrajavāsins answer that it is not they, but rather the gopīs who are feeling uncomfortable with the present circumstances and were seeking to undergo trial by fire.

Though the sage laughs openly and states the lack of necessity for such an ordeal, he agrees to produce the fire of his austerities for that purpose.

If these girls are not pure,  
then Kṛṣṇa has no compassion for them,  
and if <sup>they be</sup> enflamed by this compassion,  
then what can insignificant fire achieve?  
Whether it be ordinary fire, the undersea volcano,

the sun, or even Rudra with his flames at the end of time  
[are all helpless].<sup>80</sup>

When, in order to manifest  
the single-minded devotion they had for Kṛṣṇa,  
those gopīs walked into the muni's fire,  
holding fast to the truth,  
and then walked out again,  
not a single corner of their clothing was singed;  
on the other hand, they took on the beauty of young virgins.<sup>81</sup>

Durvāsas then leaves. The gopīs are praised by even their former in-laws,  
while they themselves continue to show them the customary respect. They  
then go home with their own parents.

This is followed a few days later by the official agreement on both Kṛṣṇa's  
and Balarāma's marriages by the two sets of parents and the giving of  
gifts by the bride's families to the prospective grooms. Again a few days  
later, again at Paurṇamāsī's instigation, the dates for the nuptials are set  
by astrologers. When the auspicious moment is selected, Nanda asks  
Paurṇamāsī if this is the time which is most appropriate for all the girls,  
and how will they all be wed simultaneously, they being in such large  
number. Madhumaṅgala's solution is to have Kṛṣṇa's flute, garlands, etc.  
stand in for him with other gopīs, the actual Kṛṣṇa presumably staying  
with Rādhā. Paurṇamāsī, however, tells everyone not to worry she would  
exercise her powers as Yogamāyā and all the girls would find themselves  
accompanied by Kṛṣṇa himself. This prompts Nanda to swear a type of  
fealty to her, saying that whatever perfections they have had the good  
fortune to attain, all has everywhere and always been due to her, and that

therefore she should know him to be her follower. Paurṇamāsī answers, saying who is leader and who is follower can be decided at some future date. At present the rite of giving Kṛṣṇa *tilaka*, the concluding rite of the marriage agreement must be completed. This ceremony is carried out by the priests of the brides' families.

#### 6.67 Chapters 33–5: The wedding celebration

The next three chapters which describe the wedding(s) of Kṛṣṇa are all morning recitals. The first tells of the preparations and preliminary festivities (*adhivāsa*). Jīva comments on the miraculous nature of countless millions of marriages taking place all at once. Balarāma's marriage precedes that of Kṛṣṇa, but is only dealt with summarily. In chapter 34, Madhu\* describes the bathing and dressing of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as they prepare themselves for the wedding ceremony. This chapter is written almost entirely in *gaṇacchandas* and each verse describes not only Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's physical *alaṃkāras*, but contains some sort of poetic ornament as well. Chapter 35 (Snigdha\*) describes the entry of Kṛṣṇa's wedding procession into Vṛṣabhānu's village where it is met by the parents of the brides. The women of the village sing saucy songs, to which Madhumaṅgala responds with witticisms. Various aspects of the traditional wedding ceremony including numerous folk customs are described, notably the songs of the *sakhīs*, etc.

The following morning Nanda asks that the bride and groom return to his house. As Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are ready to leave, Vṛṣabhānu gives instructions to Kṛṣṇa and then says goodbye to them both. Upon arrival at Nanda's house, they find that Yaśodā has prepared a great festival, the

women of the village singing songs of greeting. Kṛṣṇa's other wives arrive and are accepted by Yaśodā, but she shows particular affection for Rādhā. Other rituals are performed on the fourth day. On the fifth day, Kṛṣṇa goes with his brides to feast at the in-laws' houses, for the occasion of the "second coming". Śrīdāman and Kṛṣṇa's other friends also get married. The chapter ends with comments on the meaning of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's marriage.

The wedding of Rādhā and Mādhava which has been central to the auspicious completion of this work of poetry, also brings about the completion of their love. If that love too, which has as its object mutual association in an undisturbed state, abandoned the marriage which made them one, it would have had a fruitless existence.<sup>82</sup>

#### 6.68 Chapter 36: The auspicious event of Rādhā and Mādhava's union

This chapter can be loosely said to take its inspiration from PadP vi.279.25-26, verses which describe Kṛṣṇa's dalliances with the gopīs after his return to Vraja, previously interpreted in GC ii.29.63 as indicating the post-marital state.

Some days after the wedding, despite the great happiness and sense of fulfilment that Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs feel, the marriage is not yet consummated.

Previously, when the gopīs and Kṛṣṇa suffered the illusion of illicit love, they thought no one could divine their union, and thus enjoyed without inhibition. Now, however, they thought, "Because we are married everyone will know what we are up to,"

and thus succumbed to shyness.  
 And though they yearned for dalliance,  
 they remained constantly inert.<sup>83</sup>

Vṛndā comes on Paurṇamāsī's instruction to encourage Kṛṣṇa to his marital duty, warning him that the gopīs are unhappy. Then Paurṇamāsī herself proposes a month-long *pūjā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as a ploy to stimulate them. This is to take place in the privacy of the woods which entails an *abhisāra* as in the old days. This leads Vṛndā to consider, however, the superiority of married love, comparing shyness inside marriage and out.

Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, etc. meet in a forest bower and Paurṇamāsī performs the *pūjā*, after which she utters the *vijñapti*, that they should rest in the bower which has so lovingly been prepared by Vṛndā. The memories of separation are so intense, however, that both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa cry the whole night, leaving the marriage still unconsummated. The same events are repeated the following midday, but on the following evening there is success at last. The sakhīs sing to the couple in the morning; Lalitā and Viśākhā joke about their dishevelled condition. Rādhā asks Kṛṣṇa to give Lalitā and Viśākhā a turn. Rādhā dresses Kṛṣṇa up as herself and in this disguise he manages to have his way with Rādhā's two friends. Rādhā then requests that he satisfy all the gopīs; this leads to a performance of the *rāsa* dance which Paurṇamāsī directs.

Several days later, Rādhā states to Viśākhā that her happiness is not yet complete, citing the famous *yaḥ kaumāraharaḥ* verse.<sup>84</sup> Kṛṣṇa, who has been eavesdropping agrees, but changes the last line of the verse, interpreting it to mean that Rādhā wishes to return to the bowers by the

banks of the Yamunā. Kṛṣṇa says that the problem can be solved by crossing to the south bank of the Yamunā, where Vṛndāvana lies.

6.69 Chapter 37: The entry into Goloka, the locus of all happiness

This chapter is based on the single passage from Padmapurāṇa vi.279.27-28 in which Kṛṣṇa is said to despatch the residents of Vraja to Vaikuṇṭha which Jīva has already interpreted as referring to Goloka (GC ii.29.76ff).

Kṛṣṇa states his desire to go to Vṛndāvana, with which Nanda also concurs. He wishes, not only that the Vrajavāsins should never again be bereft of Kṛṣṇa's association, but that Vasudeva's heart too might not be broken. Kṛṣṇa promises that that shall be so. He then orders Dāruka to increase the size of his chariot so that the entire *goṣṭha* can be brought on board, and they set off for Goloka. The greater portion of the chapter contains descriptions of Goloka following the Brahmasaṃhitā as in GC i.1. After the two bards' performance, they are praised. The Vrajavandins praise Kṛṣṇa with lengthy *virudā*-style panegyrics.

In the evening session, the gopīs ask Kṛṣṇa for a more intimate location for their loves. Kṛṣṇa responds by creating the underground gardens described in GC i.1.78. The gopīs are still not satisfied until Kṛṣṇa reveals that the underground gardens open into Vṛndāvana. Rādhākunḍa, etc. There they engage in the *rāsa* dance again. The recital finishes with Madhukaṇṭha's glorification of Rādhā and the *virudā*-recital in her honour of some *vandinī*s. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, inspired by the tale of their previous activities, retire to the intimacy of their own chambers. Jīva concludes with satisfaction at having achieved his purpose in writing GC:



(6) Summary of Gopālacampū

That ambrosia of both worlds

for which I originally began writing this pair of *campūs*  
manifested without blemish in my heart.

By it, which has the mutual joy of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as its essence,  
we have arrived at the divine destination

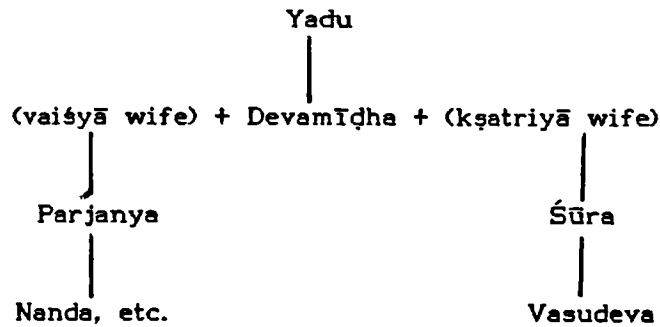
and remain in the highest heaven, where all happiness resides.<sup>85</sup>

## Notes to Chapter 6

1. See the example of such reworking in Chapter 4 of this thesis.
2. Other major imports from purāṇic sources are aspects of Kṛṣṇa's visit to the city of Yama (ii.10.17, from SkandaP), the invitation of Kratha and Kaisika (ii.14.7-35, from Northern recension of HV), background information about the 16,000 princesses married by Kṛṣṇa (ii.18.59, from KālikāP), the return to Vṛndāvana (ii.30-37, from PadP), etc.
3. Various aspects of *bhakti*, the glories of devotees and devotional acts are mentioned in passing throughout the work. Some examples can be found E.g. i.21.10, 21v43, v59, 22v5, 22v27-8, 22v44, 27v49, 33v42, 33.87, 261, 272, v114, ii.5v35, v65, 8v5, v8, 16v10, 17v10, 18.63, 22v3, 22.10, 23v10, 24v3, v5, 27v1-3, 28v13, 29v2, etc. A typical statement: "When eager desire is united with love, only then will the bodily association of Hari become possible, not otherwise." (*utkaṭṭhayaḥ saha premā dhatte mithunatām yadā/ aṅgajam Harisaṅgākhyam tadā bhajati nānyadā*// (ii.29v2).
4. De, op. cit. (1942), 477, "The opening verse (which is elaborately explained by the author himself lest his readers should not appreciate it!)..."
5. See GC i.3.97-104. These arguments are found in shorter form in KṛṣṇaS 90-1.
6. The verse. GC i.3v10: *Śrīmān yo bhagavān svayam vijayate Brahmā surarṣir mahān Vyāsas tatprabhavaḥ Parīkṣid api yāv Ugrasravaḥ Śaunakeu/ ŚrīmadBhāgavataprathāpreṇayinas tām viśvanistārīṇaḥ śrīgoṣṭhasya mahiṣṭhatām prathayitum kamrān namaskurmahe*// Comp. this to BhP xii.13.19: *kasmai yena vibhāsito 'yam atulo jñānapradīpaḥ purā tadrūpeṇa ca Nāradaḥ munaye Kṛṣṇāya tadrūpiṇā/ yogīndrāya tadātmanātha Bhagavadrātāya kārūnyatas tacchuddham vimalam viśokam amṛtam satyam param dhīmahi*//
7. i.3.102: *Yadā nṛsaṃsaKṃsaḥ saha svāvirbhūtacaturbhujarūpācchādana-pūrvakadvibhujarūpāvirbhāvanāya ŚrīDevakīcchā jātā, tadā tasya yad apūrvam dvibhujarūpam pūrvam Māyayā saha ŚrīYaśodhāyā svāntaram āyātā tad eva tatra sannidhānam evāpya caturbhujam rūpam antar-bhāvyā svayam āvirbhāva; yatra sākāratayā mātṛgarbhasthitāpi Māyā nirākāratayā tūrdhvagatyā tanvā tadvāhanatām āgatā, gandhavāhaśreṇī*

*nīlakamaladalam iva tatra sarvālakṣitatayā tat prāpitavatī, yā khalu pūrvaṃ tadākarṣeṇa dharṣeṇa paraṃ mātaram api mohena mlāpitavatī.* Although Jīva seems to be making a deliberate distinction between Māyā and Yogamāyā, we know from the BhP that the Yogamāyā who did the work of transferring Balarāma from Devakī's womb is the same who is born of Yaśodā. The identification with Paurṇamāsī is ambiguous at this point, and certainly Nanda and the others never indicate overtly that they know that she is Yogamāyā or anything more than an elderly human ascetic to whom they give special respect, e.g. after the birth of Kṛṣṇa (i.4.28). The multi-polarity of Yogamāyā's identity is evident in later chapters also. Cf. ii.32.58ff. See below 6.66, note 72. See also note 15 in Appendix III (ch. 2).

8. i.4.28: *tatroṣajamadhyam adhyāsīnām siddhapratanaprayatanatayā pūrṇamānasām Paurṇamāsīm...*
9. Nanda and Vasudeva are cousins as explained in i.3.19 according to the following family tree. Only the *kṣatriya* side of the Yādava family is found in BhP ix.24.27ff.



10. Cf. Ingalls, D. "The Harivaṃśa as a *mahākāvya*" in L. Renou (ed.), 1969, 384-6.
11. i.10.19: *Tataś ca tau vatsāṃs trṇair āpyāyya jalam āpyāyya sarvān vilokitavantau. ŚrīKṛṣṇas tu teṣu kasyacid gaṇḍādikaṇḍūtikhāṇanena bāhudaṇḍkṛtakaṇṭhāvagunṭhanena mātaram militum icchasi? Melayiṣyāmi iti tatkarṇe mithaḥ kapolamelanapūrvakavṛthāvarṇanena ca tam upacarya sukham upalabdhavān.*
12. Sanātana begins his comments to BhP x.12 with a defense of the chapter's authenticity which had previously been put into question by Mādhva and his followers. Jīva does not here follow BhP exactly.

13. i.11v29-30: *ekam ekam adhaḥkṛtvāmukhaṃ tatra caturmukhaḥ/ namann anyamukhasyordhvībhāvāt pūrtiṃ jagāma na// yadapi na naman mumude vidhir ekāsyānavāgbhāvāt/ tadapi Harer mukhaṇḍālokaḥlopaṇ mudam lebhe//*
14. i.15v8: *imau gaurīśyāmau manasi viparītau bahir api sphurattadvadvastrāv iti budhajanair nīcitam idam/ sa ko 'py ecchapremā vilasadubhayasphūrtikayā dadhanmūrtībhāvaṃ prthag aprthag apy āvirudabhut//*
15. i.15v9: *Śrīr āsām na tulām bibharti nitarām ity Uddhavaḥ kīrtayan yāsām aṅghrīrajo nanāma Hariṇā yaḥ svena tulyo mataḥ/ tāsām tatprietāsudhākaratanuṃ viṣvakcakorāyitenānenānugatām samastamahitāḥm vandāvahe Rādhikām//*
16. i.15v10: *premā yo 'sau RādhikāKṛṣṇayugmaṃ svānandena plāvayitvā sakhiś ca/ śāśvad viśvaṃ plāvayan suprasiddhaḥ so 'yaṃ buddhiṃ naḥ samiddhām karotu//*
17. i.15v47: *Yady etad vapur anyasātkṛtam abhūt pitṛādibhis tarhy adaḥ pretagrastam ivāpi jīvad adhikaṃ dhikkārayogyaṃ bhavet/ dhik cātmānam aho yad eṣa saḥate 'py etasya saṅgāpadam tat tīrthāya balād Balānujakṛte kartavyam asyārpaṇam//*
18. i.15v48: *goṣṭhakṣmāpatidampatī śvaśuratām Rāmānujaḥ svāmitām Vṛndāraṇyam idam sadāpi bhajatām āramatām naḥ pari/ yāḥ snehād vyatibaddhahastam abhitaḥ Kāḷindi magnā bhavatpāṇīyāntar amūr bhajantu sakhitām tvām āśritās tad vayan//*
19. *ya etasmin mahābhāgāḥ prītiṃ kurvanti mānavāḥ/ nārāyo 'bhikṣavanty etān Viṣṇupakṣān ivāśurāḥ//*
20. i.15v70: *Rādhā bādhāpratihatatanuḥ sarvadā dhāraṇābhis citte śāntīr api nidadhatī vyākulāsīd atīva/ hā hā tasyāḥ priya-savayaso 'py āsu tadbhāvabhāvāt tām evāpuḥ kaṭutaredasām hanta ke 'mūm avantu//*
21. i.17.10: *Yadā bhavatībhiḥ svamaryādālopaḥ tarkyate, tadā prapalāyya sthīyatām. Samādhānaṃ punaḥ keyācid vidyayāsmābhir eva vidhātavyam, sahasā palāyanadhāma ca tatra tatra vidhātavyam iti.*
22. i.21v51: *yadi na bhavati gopasunderīnām ayam atha melayiteti sampratīti/ kusumaśaraśaraprapetetur asya sphuṭam anyāyatvam ṛtoḥ saḥeta ko vā?*
23. *Vṛndāvane tamālas tvaṃ ahaṃ campakavallikā/ agayor nau mithaḥ saṅgo Vṛndayaiva na cānyathā//*

24. i.23v1: *nije kāvye sarvaṃ rasavalanam astīti likhatā mayā dhārṣṭyāt  
speṣṭīkṛtam atirahasyaṃ tu yad iha/ tad etad Govindaṃ  
Vrajavijānekāntānucaraṇaṃ dadhadbhir yogyasya śravasi param arpyaṃ  
na sadasi//*
25. i.23v8: *enaṅgārcirbhinnā tvedatiśubhagāṅgāvr̥tamanā muryāyā  
rāgaśrīparimalakulaṃ sambhṛtavatī/ sadā śyāmāṃ kāntiṃ diśi vidiśi  
cābhāvayamato mayāptam kṛṣṇatvaṃ tad api na hi Kṛṣṇa tvam abhitaḥ//*
26. I have not been able to find any such account in the sources named by Jīva.
27. i.33.15-6: *Tad etad vyavadhānam eva cāyatām āyatiśuddhiṃ vidhāsyati:  
ṛṇavreṇakalaṅkānām kāle lopo bhaviṣyatīti nyāyena, mama samyag  
anusandhānena, teṣāṃ paścāttāpam anu sadupadeśagrahaṇena ca/*
28. i.33v22: *premā vaśayati sarvaṃ khalv iti prasiddhir udbhātī/ Kṛṣṇa  
tvam sa yasmān na bhajasi pūrvāparānusandhānam//*
29. i.33v39: *yadā yadā dharmāpayitā bhavān darāṃ, netre tadārdre iva te  
bhaviṣyataḥ/ labdham Yaśodāstanapānajaṃ sukhaṃ kṛpābhareṇa  
smaraṇaprathāvataḥ//*
30. i.33v55: *saṅgaḥ kvāyaṃ Vrajasthānāṃ madekaprāṇatājuṣāṃ/ kva vā  
Yadūnāṃ Satrājic-Chatadhanvādisālināṃ//*
31. ii.1v7: *Gīrdevīm anuyāmaḥ sakalaśrutisārabhāgavatarūpām/  
yadrasasiddhāntābhyāṃ navam api kāvyam pramāṇatām yāti//*
32. ii.1.30: *Tad evaṃ duḥkhanigīrṇaṃ yathākathāḥcāna yad varṇitaṃ, yac  
cānyad ito 'py atitarāṃ varṇayitum abhyarṇīkriyate, tat khalu  
sarvāyatyāṃ paramasukhāgatyaḥ pratyāsattaye sampatsyate,  
durgamakūpamarubhūbhuvām anūpagamanāya durgalaṅghanavat.*
33. ii.1.32. *Mahābhāva* is described as the highest stage of love's different degrees or *sthāyīśa*. Cf. UN 14.183.
34. ii.1.36: *Yadi Kṛṣṇena samam āsām aṅgasaṅgaḥ syāt tadārvāg eva sarvaṃ  
eva Gokulam tadvirahākulaṃ syād iti.*
35. ii.1v41: *nāntar bahir api yasyāṃ sphurati jñānaṃ manovikṛtau/  
ekasyāpi na tasyā na vyaktiḥ syād amūḍrāṣāṃ kim uta//*
36. ii.1v43: *dr̥gvīthīm kulapālikāḥ śrutipathaṃ tāsāṃ kathā  
nāsikāvertmānekasugandhidhūparacanā vavrur mayā yojitāḥ/ tasyāḥ  
Kṛṣṇamayī dasā manasi yā sā kena yatnena vā gacched āvṛtatām tato  
janani kim mahyam vṛthā kupyasi//*

37. ii.2.32; *Bhavatu, mayā tu pitṛvyatāyāḥ pitṛtāyāś cānusartavyatayā kartavya eva taylor uddhāraḥ.*
38. ii.2.51; *Bhavannandanasya Mathurāprayāṇe sarvānanda eva syāt. Kṁśādayaḥ sarva eva nṛśaṁsā dhvaṁsāya sampatsyante. Kintu Vrajāgetāv asya vilambasaṁvalanaṁ paśyāma iti yathāyuktaṁ adhyavesyantu.*
39. ii.15v12; *vāsantikāḥ santi mayābhisiñcitāḥ puñjīkṛtāḥ kuñjakṛte sahasraśaḥ/ priyābhir ardhāṅgatayā sadharmabhir manorathaḥ pūryatām mama//*
40. ii.15v13; *kuñjīkartuṁ yās tvayā puñjītāṅgā mādhavyas tāḥ sektukāmā vayam smaḥ/ hā dhik kintu prāpya śītāmbusiktīr apy uṣṇair naḥ śuṣkatām yānti bāṣpaiḥ//*
41. ii.16.67: *Yadyapi satyasaṁkalpasya tasya Vrajāgamanasaṁkalpaḥ kadācid vyabhicārāya na kalpaḥ syāt, tathāpi yāvad vipakṣapakṣakṣapaṇaṁ vilambam evāmbate. Tac ca na pratipadyate, kadā samutpadyate? Tatra sati, Rāmasyāpi grhārāmatāyām jātāyām kumārasya tu tasya tāvat kumāratāsthitir na sukumārā bhavati.*
42. ii.16v37: *vatsa tvam vetsy cittam mama tu yad abhidāṁ Sūraputrena manye tasmāl lipsām tadīyām racayasi khalu yām tām madīyām avehi/ evam ced anyathā syād bata katham abhitas tvanmukhāmbhojalakṣmī-śūnyaṁ dāridryam etac ciram iha viśahe hā sahe naiva naiva//*
43. ii.16v43: *vayam asad aṛṣṭam asṛṣṭam varam ahaḥ sahāmahe kaṣṭam/ na tu Hariyaśasi kalaṅkaś candramasīva kvacid bhavatu//*
44. ii.17v11; *icchā yāsīt purastān mama tu bahuvidhā sā vidhātrāvākīrṇā sampraty etad vidhatsva tvam atanumadanujñāvaśād Uddhavākhyā/ tāsām tadbhaktipātrīkṛtaceritayujām yena sādguṇyaleśaṁ dhātrībhir vatsavatsaḥ pratigrham abhitaḥ sevyate sa snuṣābhiḥ//*
45. ii.17.196: *Na kevalam ekadharmatvam iti Kṛṣṇasyaiva śarmakāraṇam āsīt, kintu caraṇābhyaṅgena drṣṭīnām iva tattadbhogenaitāsām api katham apy aikyāśavaśād yat kiñcit santarpaṇam eva jātam. Kālākṣepa eva tena jajñe, na cātivikṣepaḥ..*
46. ii.21v24; *āyāsyāmy atha yāvat tāvat prāṇān priyā vahata/ jīvanti hi sārāṅgyo yāvan meghāgamo bhavati//*
47. ii.21v25; *satyaṁ sārāṅgīnām ghanasamayāpekṣi santy api prāṇāḥ/ ghanasamaye 'pi samantād aghane katham ahaḥ santu te dīnāḥ//*

48. ii.29v1; *parṇeṣu svarṇavarṇeṣv amara-patimaniprakhyatāvarṇya-varṇair nirvarṇyair gāḍhatamyām api citam abhito ratnasankīrṇa-gātram/ āmuktasvacchamuktā gaṇam idam anu yat pustakam Kṛṣṇa-śobhām tadvastrādiprayuktām svayam iha sa iva prādurāstīti vidmaḥ//*
- 48a. These verses are quoted in full infra, 7.26.
49. ii.29v3; *ŚrīKṛṣṇāsvāditādharāsu vijitāśrīṣu Vrajastrīṣu sā māyāmātra-mayī bhaved vivahanādyutthā parocchiṣṭatā/ manyantām ubhayatra bhaktirahitāḥ satyeti tām durdaśām hā dhik tām kim u tatparāḥ sthīretayā vāñchanti śṛṇvanti ca//*
50. ii.29v4; *nādhyetiṣṭhed yadi Yadupurāt prāpya goṣṭham sa bhūyaḥ sarvaṁ tarhi pratihataraśaṁ sarvathā syād vr̥thā ca/ janmānandaḥ pratilavavayaḥśrīcitiḥ snehavṛddhir līlāpūrtir viraham abhitaḥ sāntvanam cātra tasya//*
51. ii.29v5; *punar udayajaśarma-poṣidharma svayam upaśarma Hareḥ pravāsamātram/ Vrajam api tadṛte rasasya pūrtir yadi valayeta tadā tad eva na syāt//*
52. ii.30v34; *Kṛṣṇaḥ Kṁsaṁ nihantum pravasanasamaye yādṛśān yatpramāṇān goṣṭhasthān dr̥ṣṭapūrvān kṛtācīratayāgatya tadvad dadarśa/ tasyāntardhyānalagnaṁ bhavati yad anīśaṁ tat katham vā varākaḥ kālaḥ kalpeta kalpasthitir api sa balān netum anyām avasthām//*
53. ii.30v56; *yarhy āsīd vrajapadam asāv uddhṛtakṣmātibhāraḥ sarvais tarhi svanayanapadam Rādhayāpy āsu nītaḥ/ vicchidyāpi pratihatānimeṣākṣi sāsraṁ sakampaṁ paśyantīyaṁ punar amum aviśrānti rātrīm anaiṣīt//* Not an outstanding verse, really.
54. ii.30v57; *tadā Harer asaṅgaṁ ca tvam saṅgamam amanyathāḥ/ sāmpratam viparītam tam maunaṁ nas tatra sāmpratam//*
55. ii.31v19; *daiteyān ghātakas tatra purī addhā sthitavān Hariḥ/ kintu Vrajasya vaśyaḥ syāt parārdham iva dāyakaḥ//*
56. ii.31v22; *lokāl lajjāṁ suṣṭhu sajjan purāham Kṁsadhvaṁsaṁ vyājam ācarya yātaḥ/ āyātaś ca prāṇam āsām vibhartum nādyāpy antaḥ sā tu mām hā jahāti//* The nature of *lajjā* and its role in love is discussed by Vṛndā ii.36.37. Cf. 7.325 of this thesis. Here, however, Kṛṣṇa's embarrassment is a result of being implicated in adulterous activity. Kṛṣṇa's departure was intended to overcome this embarrassment, but has not been successful and will not be until they are married.

57. ii.31v23; *vṛttam kurukṣetragatam purā yat tapte kaṭāhe jalabindutulyam/ āsīt tad anvesijanena śūnyam Vraje tu tat tadvipaṛītam eva//*
58. ii.31.16; *Tasmāi lajjā tu mayi sarvataḥ sajjetām agād eveti tāsām paradāratā yadi parihāram āpadyeta, tary eva pūrvam aparam api sarvaṁ samañjasam añjasā bhavati. Kintu prāyaḥ kṛtābhiprāya-madīyāntaryāmitvādisampadi munyādisaṁsadi kathārītyā pratītam, tāsū matparapatnītvam tādṛgalaukikamāmakarītyā nirasya vairasyaṁ pratyākhyāyate. Atra tu munyādidurlabhamadbandhubhāvākule Gokule laukikarītyā param pratyākhyāstavyam.*
59. ii.31.22; *...iti samānaporasiddhatāyām api kīdṛg asminn asiddhatā yena Rukmiṇyādīr iva na Rādhādīr aṅgīkaroṣi?*
60. ii.31.24.
61. ii.31.27.
62. ii.31v27-8; *āśrayāśatvavikhyātir vahneḥ sarvatra labhyate/ preṇṣā ca tava Govinda sā cen nindām avāpsyasi//*
63. ii.31v37-8; *yadi tasya gatā lajjā tātasya ca kulasya ca/ pravekṣyāmaḥ punar vahnāv ahnāyākāṅkṣitāptaye/ atha samvit kumārīṇām āṛīṇāśrubhṛtām iyam/ taṁ vinā na navāśvāsān na vā śvāsān bhajemahi//*
64. ii.31.48; *Tāsām eva tannirodhaḥ samudbodham āpnotu, na punar anyāsām. Anyās tu tad idaṁ boddhum apy adhanyā bhavanti. Tatpremanāmābhāvas tallābhanirodhasyānurodhamayaḥ syād iti, kintu 'yadyapy asau pārśvagato rahogatas tathāpi tasyāṅghriyugam navam navam' ity (BhP i.11.34) eva boddhum udbuddhā bhavanti.*
65. ii.31v39; *Harer nityāḥ kāntā iti na hi vidur ye Vrajaramāḥ matam teṣām tāsām tadupapatitāpy uttamaphalam/ vidur ye tā nityāḥ param ahaha teṣām punar asāv amūṣu gālīḥ katham anugalokaṁ sukhayatu?//*
66. ii.31v43; *yathā Sītādevyā Daśamukhakṛtārtir vipad abhūd yathā vā Rukmiṇyā vivahanavidhiś Cedipakṛte/ tathā Rādhādīnām paragrāhagatir yā beta vipat katham tasyā nityā sthitir abhimatā hanta suhrdām//*  
This verse also appears as GC i.33v106.
67. ii.31v44; *śasabhrī Rāhoś chāyā cirāya neti vyanakti kutukaṁ ca/ nityāvasthitilāñchanam akhilasvāntam virañjayati//*
68. ii.32.7; *tarhi Dvārekāvad āgāram atra yadi syāt tadā tad asmākaṁ sukhasatram bhavati.*



69. ii.32v6; *putrīm putram cāpajahre Vrajesasyātmārtham yaḥ Sūraputraś chalena/ tatputreṇa dvībhavan putra eṣa svīyam tātām paśya pipartī//*
70. ii.32v14; *Kṛṣṇasāratanayā yadī tīrṇā vyāghramukhagahanād bhavitārah/ kṛṣṇasāratanayaṁ param etāḥ sambhaveyur akhilāḥ svasamānam//*
71. ii.32.46; *Sa khalu bhāvinīm tādṛśīm gatīm pratītya matim etām utthāpitavān. Nahi bhavedaṅgaje paramamaṅgalā tāsām aṅgasaṅgatis tasya Vraje saṅgabhaṅgāya saṁgacchate. In GC i.33.276, something similar is said, though there Paurṇamāsī also adds that Garga was acting in the interests of Vasudeva, sa khalu līlānaiyatya eva tatratyadoṣatayādhyastavān svayajamānahitasamīhitasahitatayā, na tu paramaśubhaniveśa-veśarūpāṇām āsām kleśaleśapraveśadā sadeśatā sambhavati.*
72. Though we know from i.2.28 that Paurṇamāsī is Yogamāyā in another form, she is not expressly known as such by the Vrajavāsins who see her as a powerful ascetic. She does not here reveal her identity with this particular incarnation of that deity, also named Viṣṇumāyā, Devī or Sarvamaṅgalā in this section. Kṛṣṇa's sister, born to Yaśodā and taken as the replacement for the baby Kṛṣṇa by Vasudeva is another form of the same deity. She is also given the name Ekanāṁsā in many editions of HV and is said to have come to Vraja for this wedding (ii.33.3). The function of revelatrice is played by her in Rūpa's LalM (10.261). See note in Harivaṁśa, (ed.) Parashuram Lakshman Vaidya, Poona: BORI, 1969, 791.
73. ii.32v16-7; *Sandehaṁ mā kathāñcit kuru pitar iha he mātā anyasvavargaṁ, svairam prāg eva Gargapretihativihatīm kurvatī kāścid āsām/ kurve smāhaṁ sarūpā yad anu ca paśupā matkṛtās tā dvitīyā dārān svān manyamānāḥ pariṇayaśayanam nāpur ādisthitānām// jānāmi yā nijabhṛtū aṅgīkṛyā iti svayam/ tāḥ katham rakṣitum doṣād upekṣe sarvataḥ kṣamā//*
74. ii.32.58; see also GC i.33.299. The reference to Māyāvatī comes from VT 55.7 where Sanātana quotes an unknown source, *vyavāyādy-upabhogeṣu rūpaṁ māyāmayaṁ śubham/ darśayāmāsa daityasya tasyeyam madirekṣaṇā//*
75. ii.32v18; *anyāḥ santu sahasraśaḥ patiparā nāmūḥ stuve yā nijam lokam dharmam api śritā na hi punaḥ svam svam patiṁ kevalam/ gopīḥ*

- staumi janaprasiddham api yās taṃ taṃ vihāya sphuṭaṃ nirṇīya  
svaratipratītivibhavāt Kṛṣṇaṃ patiṃ menire//
76. ii.32v20; yathāvasaram etāsām ubhayāsām kṛtā mayā/ prakāśanā gopānā  
ca vyaktaṃ tena na tad rahaḥ//
77. ii.32v21; maṇīnām kācānām api bahir udīkṣādhubhidām parīkṣām  
pṛcchadbhir drg api ca parīkṣyeta vaṇijām/ tathā Rādhādīnām  
tadanukṛtibhājām api bhidā kṛte Devyādiṣṭā vayam iha parīkṣyā  
viracitāḥ//
78. ii.32v22; dūre bhāsvānmūrteḥ śaśalāñchanamūrtir ābhāti/ nikaṣe  
nikaṣte tasyāḥ sā punar ābhāvyaṣya jāghaṭṭi//
79. ii.32v25; vacasi manasi kāye jāgare svapnabhāve skhalitam iha yadi  
syād goparājātmajanāḥ/ sapadi khalu tadāśmanmūrtir āyātu jūrṭim  
śadasi paśupapātuh satparīkṣāhutaśe//
80. ii.32v27; na ced etāḥ śuddhā bhavati na Harer āsu karuṇā tayā  
sandīprās cet kim analavarākaḥ kalayatu? Sa cāstām kaḥ syād vā  
baḍavadahanaḥ kaḥ khararucir bhaved vā kaḥ kālānalakiraṇarudraḥ  
svayam api?
81. ii.32v28; yadānanyām vṛttim Harim anu nijām vyaktum amukā  
dadhatyaḥ satyaṃ taṃ munidahanam āviśya nirayuh/ tadā pakṣmāpy  
ekaṃ na vasanadaśānām malinatām ayāsīd etāḥ pratyuta  
navakumārīśriyam adhuḥ//
82. ii.35v87; RādhāMādhavayor vivāha iha yaḥ kāvyasya nirvāhana-  
svastyarthaṃ nihitaḥ tayoś ca sa bhaved rāgasya nirvāhakaḥ/ rāgaḥ  
so 'py anupadravasthitimithaḥ saṅgāspadas tat tyajann ātmīyāspadam  
antarā vivāhanam dadhyād vṛthājanmatām//
83. ii.36v2; bāḍhaṃ prāg aupatyabhramam anu tad idaṃ tarkayet ko 'pi  
neti, śrīgopīgoparājātmajanamithunakulaṃ jñad ākrīḍad eva/ sampraty  
udvāhataḥ syād viditam iti vidat tena muhur lajjamānam krīḍāyām  
suṣṭhu sajjaty api manasi mithaḥ śaśvad audāsyam āpa//
84. See infra 7.322 for a fuller discussion of this significant verse.
85. ii.37v149: prāg ārabdham abhūt tad etad amalāṃ campūdvayaṃ yatkṛte  
tac cedam hr̥di śuddham āvirabhaval lokadvayasyāmṛtam/ RādhāKṛṣṇa-  
parasparavyatikarānandātmanā yena te yātā divyagatiṃ vayam sukha-  
mayam sarvordhvaṃ adhyāśmahe//

## Chapter VII

### The theological background of Gopālacampū

#### 7.0 Introduction

At the beginning of GC, Jīva Gosvāmin clearly describes the scope his work is to take:

*yan mavā Kṛṣṇasandarbhā siddhāntāmṛtam ācitam/  
tad eva rasyate kāvyakṛtiprajñārasajñavā//*

The ambrosia-like conclusions  
compiled by me in the Kṛṣṇasandarbhā  
can here be savoured by the palate  
which is learned in the poetic art.

KṛṣṇaS has been briefly introduced in Section 1.21 above. It is the fourth volume of Jīva's major theological work in which aspects of Kṛṣṇa's nature are described, primarily according to the revelation of BhP but with the support of other purāṇic and tantric materials. Though in the above verse Jīva refers to the *siddhānta* or demonstrated conclusion of the arguments presented there as being ambrosia-like in its own right, which as a seasoned exegete he no doubt deeply felt, he also seems to admit the inadequacy of a purely argumentative approach to the truths he held dear. Thus, not totally satisfied with his previous efforts, he sought to give expression to these conclusions in a poetic form. Indeed, in view of the impetus given to the theological understanding of *rasa* by Jīva's predecessor Rūpa, it would seem that such an effort was essential. Jīva's theological ideas had to pass a *rasa*-test, as it were, for Rūpa had indicated that his theory of divine aesthetic was an objective criterion for

determining the relative superiority of different forms of the supreme:  
"Though according to spiritual laws Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa are not different  
in essence from one another, nevertheless Kṛṣṇa is demonstrably superior  
by the criteria of the divine æsthetic; his form is the resting place of  
*rasa*."<sup>1</sup>

This emphasis on *rasa* has its roots in BhP itself which invites the  
connoisseurs of poetry (*rasikas*) to taste the poetic flavour of the Lord  
(*bhāṅgavatam rasam*).<sup>2</sup> Jīva also confirms the value of *rasa* as an  
independant marker of truth in his introduction to the Uttaracampū where  
he puts *rasa* and *siddhānta* on an equal footing in a dual compound:

We take shelter in the goddess of sound,  
who takes the form of the Bhāṅgavata,  
the essence of all the Veda;  
through her *rasa* and *siddhānta*  
even a new work of poetry becomes authoritative.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, at the very end of the Uttaracampū, two further verses again  
stress the word *rasa*:

I have humbly demonstrated the fulfilment of the *rasas*  
according to the sequence of Kṛṣṇa's activities.  
According to one's own enthusiasm for them,  
let any one of them be venerated by anyone.

Kṛṣṇa, like a cook, achieves the fulfilment of the *rasa*  
according to their sequence  
for the pleasure of the *rasikas*.  
One who follows this sequence  
and attains such fulfilment by arriving at the end,  
his intelligence is successful.<sup>4</sup>

For all the importance placed on the word *rasa* in the above verses. Jīva's predilection for *siddhānta*, even the *siddhānta* of *rasa*, rather than *rasa* itself, is nevertheless apparent throughout GC. In the discussion which follows, an attempt is made to delineate not only the salient conclusions of the KṛṣṇaS which form the backbone of GC (many of which are explicitly stated in GC itself), but also those which are found in the works of Rūpa Gosvāmin and Jīva's commentaries upon them. Indeed the latter discussion is perhaps of greater importance, for it is in these works that Jīva has defended his vision of Kṛṣṇa on the basis of Rūpa's conceptions and identified his views with those of his spiritual master.

#### 7.1 Presuppositions from KṛṣṇaS: *aśvarya* and *mādhurya*

In the first 105 paragraphs of KṛṣṇaS, Jīva argues (on the basis of BhP i.3.28; KṛṣṇaS 28) that the "historical" Kṛṣṇa, generally considered to be an *avatāra* of Nārāyaṇa, is in fact *svayaṁ bhagavant*, ergo, the fountainhead of the numerous different types of *avatāra*: the *Ilāvatāra*, *puruṣāvatāra* (which includes the *vvūhas* Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha), *guṇāvatāra* (i.e. Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu), *manvantarāvatāra* and *yugāvatāras*. This preliminary portion of KṛṣṇaS has little or no relevance for the GC other than as a general theological *a priori* for the narration of the events of Kṛṣṇa's life. Kṛṣṇa's divinity (his *aśvarya*), though undoubtedly basic to any understanding of him, is secondary to other aspects of his character as the supreme truth (i.e. his *mādhurya*). The relation of Kṛṣṇa's "god-ness" to his "sweetness" or "human-ness", to use Jīva's own example, is that of the Sarasvatī to the Ganges at Trivenī: it cannot be seen but its currents are known to flow there outside the range of vision.<sup>5</sup> Put another way, Kṛṣṇa's *mādhurya* makes loving intimacy with

him possible. but this great prize would have no meaning without his *aiśvarya*, for he would then be reduced to mere humanity. Nevertheless, it is matters related to Kṛṣṇa's *mādhurya*, because of their greater potential for the emotional response or *rasa* which are rather more important to the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas in general, and this concern is reflected by GC.

Kṛṣṇa's *mādhurya* is expressed primarily in his human-like relationship to his devotees, his parents, his friends and his lovers. The various ambiguities in these relations which appear in BhP are brought into the open and clarified in the latter portion of KṛṣṇaS. Jīva's main preoccupation there is to reconcile Kṛṣṇa's supreme godhead, expressed not by a surfeit of *aiśvarya*, but of *mādhurya*, with his *de facto* treatment of his devotees as described in the authoritative scriptures, in particular BhP. To do this, he must reconcile Kṛṣṇa's activities as *avatāra* with his eternal activities or *nitya/līlā* in Goloka, his heaven. To this end, then, once Jīva has identified Kṛṣṇa as *bhagavān*, the supreme form of the personal godhead, full of six glories, he goes on to establish the scriptural basis for the existence of a suitable abode for him (§§105-16). This abode, alluded to in a BhP passage (x.28.13-8) where Kṛṣṇa gives Nanda and the cowherds a vision of their "ultimate destination",<sup>6</sup> is further described according to verses from BrS, HV, and other purāṇic and tantric sources. This eternal abode has manifestations in the earthly dimension, appearing there at the time of Kṛṣṇa's *avatāra* in the same way that he does. Though Jīva accepts that Dvārakā and Mathurā are eternal places of Kṛṣṇa's residence, his main preoccupation is with Vṛndāvana where Kṛṣṇa in his most human (two-armed, never four-armed) form abides. The original presentation of much of the material of GC 1.1, i.e. the nature of

the realm of Goloka including even a description of its topography (see Appendix III), is given in this portion of KṛṣṇaŚ.

Jīva next asserts (§§117-45) that the residents of Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā are all Kṛṣṇa's companions, similarly eternally associated with him in his realm. He compares Nanda and Yaśodā to Kṛṣṇa's "natural" parents in Mathurā, Vasudeva and Devakī, on the basis of remarks made about each of them in BhP (§§146-52). Nanda and Yaśodā are deemed to have a greater claim to be Kṛṣṇa's parents than Vasudeva and Devakī, traditionally his "real parents", even though parenthood in a real physical sense is denied in BhP (x.2.18). After all, Kṛṣṇa appeared to the latter in a four-armed form at his birth, showing the extent to which they were conscious of his *aiśvarya*, while the former only knew him in his *mādhurya*.<sup>7</sup> Thus in GC, Jīva narrates a complex tale which places Kṛṣṇa first in the womb of Yaśodā before he is magically transferred to Mathurā to merge with the Vāsudeva form born to Devakī. This continued separation of the Kṛṣṇa of the cowherds from that of the Yādavas is the essential theological guideline Jīva follows in his conceptualization of the Kṛṣṇa myth, and the GC is in effect a rewriting of BhP from this point of view. Throughout the book, Jīva minimizes the relations with the residents of Dvārakā, except to point out their negative side.<sup>8</sup> Kṛṣṇa says to Uddhava that the Vrajavāsins are to the Yādavas as an object to its reflections: when with the former he was never reminded of their counterparts in Dvārakā, whereas when with the latter he was constantly is reminded of the loving relations he enjoyed with the Vrajavāsins.<sup>9</sup>

*Mādhurya*, though existing in certain aspects of Kṛṣṇa's life in Dvārakā, such as his private relations with his queens (e.g. the banter Kṛṣṇa enjoys with Rukmiṇī, BhP x.60) are completely dropped from GC as irrelevant to the concerns of the residents of Vraja. Interest in Kṛṣṇa and his life ends as soon as he returns to Vraja, two months after which, he once again divides himself into two forms. In his cowherd form he ascends to Goloka, while in another form he returns to Dvārakā<sup>10</sup> to participate in the battle of Kurukṣetra and speak the Gītā, etc. These latter activities, however, have no place in GC. Interestingly enough, Jīva does note that Kṛṣṇa lays down his arms after killing Dantavakra and Vidūratha just prior to entering Vraja, an untold event of relevance to the events of MBh.<sup>11</sup>

## 7.2 The return of Kṛṣṇa to Vraja

### 7.21 Kṛṣṇa is never in reality separated from his devotees

In KṛṣṇaS, after having established the eternal nature of Kṛṣṇa himself, his abode and his associates, Jīva turns to the questions which affect the very structure of BhP's Kṛṣṇa narrative to the extent that its rewriting was deemed necessary. He starts with a question: "If Kṛṣṇa eternally resides in Dvārakā, etc., then why is he seen to go from one place to another in the course of his manifest activities before finally ascending to *Vaikuṇṭha*?"<sup>12</sup> The answer is that this is what is visible (*prakāṣa*) to those of this world; in the *aprakāṣa* *II* he does remain permanently in the appropriate place.<sup>13</sup>



Nevertheless, the separation (*viraha*) of Kṛṣṇa's devotees from him in the *prakaṣa* remains unresolved, made to stand out with all the poetic force that BhP's author could muster. The only attempts at resolution there take the form of a letter of instructions from Kṛṣṇa, transmitted by Uddhava, which was intended to placate them in their separation. This letter is couched in the language of *aśvarya* if not monism, and Jīva has exercised considerable license in extracting desired meanings from its verses in KṛṣṇaS (155ff) and GC (11.12). He justifies the exercise by citing BhP xi.20.13: "Generally, instructions in knowledge and renunciation are not beneficial to a yogin who is devoted to me, whose soul is imbued with me." If such is true of the ordinary devotee, then how much more true it must be of the gopīs who are the most exalted of all devotees. The words must be understood by Kṛṣṇa's intimates just as Yudhiṣṭhira had to interpret Vidura's message when they were warned of the dangers about to befall them while living in the house of lacquer.<sup>14</sup> From a verse which grants general license for sophistry, Jīva cites Kṛṣṇa's words in BhP, "The seers speak obscurely for obscurity of expression is dear to me."<sup>15</sup>

Kṛṣṇa's letter to the gopīs starts with the words, "You are never separated from me in all respects due to the [presence of the] all-pervading soul."<sup>16</sup> Beyond the *prima facie* interpretation which explains the gopīs' separation away through Kṛṣṇa's or *brahman*'s divine omnipresence, this verse is taken by Jīva in conjunction with later statements to mean that, just as Kṛṣṇa by virtue of his unlimited powers is able to be present in unlimited manifestations simultaneously,<sup>17</sup> so too are the gopīs and indeed all of Kṛṣṇa's eternal associates through the Yogamāyā potency. Thus, though apparently separated from each other in the *prakaṣa* or visible

manifestation in this world, in the eternal abode they go on in uninterrupted union.

Rūpa Gosvāmin, whose descriptions of separation form a large part of his work, also made a point of including a caveat in at least his theoretical writings to the effect that the *viraha* he himself described was done so according to the *prakaṣa* manifestation, but that in reality Kṛṣṇa was always united with his eternal associates.<sup>18</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja writes that Rūpa was told by Caitanya himself "never to take Kṛṣṇa out of Vṛndāvana".<sup>19</sup>

#### 7.22 Dissatisfaction with the *ādhyaत्मika* solution

Though Kṛṣṇa explained to the gopīs that he was in fact never separated from them, they could not be entirely satisfied with any instruction which did not lead to union in that specific manifestation. After all, the gopīs, whether or not they were united with Kṛṣṇa in some other manifestation, only had consciousness of that manifestation in which they happened to be present. As a consequence of the *mādhurya* imperative, it is also said of Kṛṣṇa that none of his unlimited manifestations in the *II/3* is aware of any other.<sup>20</sup> For the gopīs, mere intellectual knowledge of a higher state could not bring about satisfaction. The desire for union in the *prakaṣa* manifestation required a solution in the same manifest situation.

Thus a second attempt at satisfying the gopīs is said to be made in a subsequent verse of the same letter from Kṛṣṇa which reads: "I (the *ātman*) am experienced (by you) in the activities of the mind, in deep sleep, dreams and in wakefulness."<sup>21</sup> This is further said to indicate the *sphūrti* phenomenon, which would most properly be understood to mean

"hallucination". Union with the beloved in dreams and hallucinations is included by Rūpa in UN as *gaupasambhoga*<sup>22</sup> and has been described to great effect by him in his *Haṃsadūta*.<sup>23</sup> Jīva's Kṛṣṇa makes a point of openly mentioning *sphūrti* several times in his letters. For example:

It is true that in abandoning you all,  
whose lives are dedicated to me,  
I have not shown any principles whatsoever, my friends,  
but listen to this submission of mine:  
the unequalled love you have for me,  
which transcends all limits, by shaming me  
has made me take a hidden form of like sentiment.  
I am thus never far away from you.

Here I am in the city,  
how can I do anything openly for your benefit?  
Even so, I act here as though a mere shadow,  
while there in Vraja, I reveal my true form.  
It happens in this way:  
wherever one is absorbed in thought of someone,  
that person appears there personally in *sphūrti* form,  
according to that absorption, and not otherwise.<sup>24</sup>

### 7.23 Dissatisfaction with the *sphūrti* solution

Though the truth of Kṛṣṇa's claims is nowhere denied, not even by the gopīs who are on one level aware of Kṛṣṇa's divinity, they cannot be said to be entirely satisfied with this attempt to assuage them. Upon hearing Uddhava begin to recite his message (in GC) they say,

It seems that [Kṛṣṇa] is instructing us of his own *brahman*-ness, for he is calling himself "the soul of all". There is no point in listening to these unpleasant things....

He appears to be explaining to us that which he has told us before about hallucinations: that our separation does not exist in every

manifestation, but only in this one where <sup>he</sup> is absent in Mathurā. Thus, even though situated there, he is united with us in our hallucinations of him. What is the use in listening to the irritating sound of a grinding stone going round and round, grinding that which has already been ground?<sup>25</sup>

Kṛṣṇa due to his omnipotence can be personally present by the *sphūrti*, but on a further level of intensity of the suffering devotee, he manifests himself in another degree of "solidity" which is called *āvirbhāva*. Rūpa says that the Vrajavāsins feel separation in all its intensity for only a short time before they are relieved by *sphūrti*, and not long afterwards by *āvirbhāva* or *sākṣātkāra*.<sup>26</sup> These are direct meetings which, because fleeting, are nevertheless experienced as hallucination.<sup>27</sup> That which is true for the gopīs is similarly applicable to all the residents of Vraja. His parents experience the same symptoms of separation and manifestations of their beloved child in *sphūrti*, etc., in the way described for the gopīs. Thus, in GC, in a letter from Kṛṣṇa to his mother, he tells her that he truly comes and eats the food that she prepares for him even in his absence.<sup>28</sup> Yaśodā answers, as might be expected, that though she remembers the incident well, it did not give her satisfaction for the onset of astonished bewilderment interfered with her making the most of the situation before Kṛṣṇa was again gone.<sup>29</sup> In short, then, *sphūrti* and *āvirbhāva* are only temporary measures providing fleeting relief from separation which requires Kṛṣṇa's return for a full cure.

Kṛṣṇa is aware of the dissatisfaction with these solutions from majesty. When inviting the Vrajavāsins to Kurukṣetra, he says that only those who do not believe that he comes secretly to visit them in Vraja need come,

that the rest should stay.<sup>30</sup> To the gopīs he says that he too is subject to a similar perception of these real/illusory meetings:

Though I come to meet with you constantly  
in such a way that you are only aware individually,  
you believe [my presence] to be hallucination and false;  
this is true not only for you but alas for me as well;  
therefore let us meet, even if only once, at Kurukṣetra  
on the pretext of spying on our enemies,  
and may that meeting bring about our resuscitation.<sup>31</sup>

Nowhere is this dissatisfaction with anything but physical contact in the here and now better expressed by Jīva than in the context of the gopīs' meeting with Kṛṣṇa at Kurukṣetra, where Kṛṣṇa again repeats the instructions couched in the language of his all-pervasiveness, the essence of which is that they should content themselves with his memory. The gopīs' response to this is a verse which might be interpreted as humble acquiescence to these lessons;<sup>32</sup> Jīva takes it rather as a statement saturated with sarcasm about Kṛṣṇa's lofty idealism:

[The gopīs] said: Oh lotus-navelled Kṛṣṇa,  
your lotus-feet, the object of meditation in the hearts  
of the masters of yoga  
whose understanding is unfathomable,  
hand down to raise those fallen into the well of *samsāra*;  
may they rise up always in the minds of us  
who are so attached to our homes.<sup>33</sup>

According to Jīva's paraphrasing, the underlying implication or suggestion of the gopīs speech is as follows: "It is all very well for you to tell us to remember your feet when we want to see you and be with you. The yogins may well be able to meditate on them because they are so unfathomably deep that they are emotionally unaffected. We on the other

hand fall into a faint the minute that we begin to remember you. If we could just touch your feet which are soft like the lotus, the pains of separation would be revealed, but not merely by remembering them. You may think that we could be relieved from our separation in the way the yogins are raised up from the well of material life, but a well is one thing, we have fallen into an ocean of separation, which is another. If you say to us, well come to Dvārakā, our answer is that we are attached to our homes in Vṛndāvana. That is where you also belong, with us in Vraja. Only your return there will save us."<sup>34</sup>

#### 7.24 Vipralambha and sambhoga

Jīva covers many of the same points in more detail while commenting on the 15th and last chapter of Ujjvalaṇṇamaṇi, which deals with the different manifestations of separation and union. Generally four types of separation are listed in the works of the poeticians beginning with Rudra Bhaṭṭa.<sup>35</sup> The terms for the four corresponding types of union which follow them appear to have been coined by Bhoja.<sup>36</sup> The correlation between the two is kept strict and we thus have the following scheme:

	<i>vipralambha</i>	<i>sambhoga</i>
[1]	<i>pūrvārāga</i> (first love)	<i>saṁkṣipta</i> <sup>a</sup>
[2]	<i>māna</i> (lover's quarrels)	<i>saṁkīrṇa</i> <sup>a</sup>
[3]	<i>pravāsa</i> (exile)	<i>sampūrṇa</i> <sup>a</sup>
[4]	<i>karuṇa</i> (death)	<i>saṁṛddhima</i> <sup>a</sup>

*Karuṇa* or death is not considered an irresolvable state of separation in the Sanskrit dramatic context because the lovers can meet if one of them is brought back to life. Bhoja gives the example of Rati being reunited with

Kāma after he has been reborn as Pradyumna and Śiṅgabdhūpālā adds that of Śiva being united with Satī after she comes back as Parvatī.<sup>37</sup>

Rūpa makes several changes in this taxonomy to fit the particular conditions imposed by the Kṛṣṇa legend. As in the works of his predecessors, Rūpa divides both separation (*vipralambha*) and union (*sambhoga*) into four categories. The correlation is not as neat as in the table given above, however. Rūpa eliminates *karuṇa*, presumably since Kṛṣṇa's separation from Rādhā by death would be impossible. A new category, *premavaicittya*, refers to the phenomenon of separation in union, a peculiar mental state described by Rūpa alone amongst poets.<sup>38</sup> This type of separation is not followed by a union unique to it. Rūpa divides *pravāsa* into two, one the daily absences of Kṛṣṇa from the gopīs when he goes into the forest with the cows which is followed by *sampanna*-("consummated") *sambhoga*, and the other *dīrghapravāsa*, the long separation which comes when Kṛṣṇa unwillingly leaves to perform his worldly duties of demon-killing. These are also characterized as *buddhipūrva*° and *abuddhipūrva*°, intended and unintended separation. Rūpa's schema thus appears as follows:

	<i>vipralambha</i>	<i>sambhoga</i>
[1]	<i>pūrvārāga</i> (first love)	<i>saṃkṣipta</i> °
[2]	<i>māna</i> (lover's quarrels) ( <i>premavaicittya</i> )	<i>saṃkīrṇa</i> °
[3]	<i>pravāsa</i> ( <i>buddhipūrva</i> )	<i>sampanna</i> °
[4]	<i>pravāsa</i> ( <i>abuddhi</i> )	<i>saṃdḍhimat</i> °

It is after he has described *vipralambha* and before he commences to describe *sambhoga* that Rūpa gives, as he has on so many other occasions,

the reminder that there is in fact, never any real separation of Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs other than the appearance of such in the *prakāṣaḥ*. In his introduction to the discussion on *sambhoga*, Jīva takes this context into account as he stresses the necessity of describing the union of Kṛṣṇa with the gopīs in the *prakāṣaḥ*, even in knowledge of such an undisturbed state of union. First of all, he argues that as a rule, wherever one kind of separation, *pūrvāṅga*, etc. is described, it is always followed by the corresponding form of union. If no such union were to follow, then the æsthetic experience would be incomplete. The proposed transcendental solution is also rejected on this basis, for even if it were accepted that the gopīs were enjoying union with Kṛṣṇa in one manifestation, the experience of separation they felt in the world of the incarnation was sufficiently real that even Kṛṣṇa himself acknowledged their suffering (x.46.6). No description of any suffering at all would be possible if the happiness of union were <sup>a reality</sup> simultaneously experienced by the gopīs while ostensibly suffering separation.

The existence of the description of separation demands a parallel description of union. As even the mundane poets say, "Not without separation can union be fully experienced,"<sup>39</sup> the corollary of which is that without union, separation alone does not bear æsthetic fruit.

In view of the desire of the gopīs and Kṛṣṇa to be united with one another in the *prakāṣaḥ*, Jīva advises the devotee against a misguided preference for the *līlā* of separation, for this would not be a sign of love, but rather a sign of selfishness, since one would be neglecting the wishes of Kṛṣṇa's beloved gopīs themselves. In saying this Jīva appears to have



been anticipating a line of argument which states that separation is an exalted state, pleasurable in itself. Though Caitanya by his example may well be the ultimate source of such a doctrine, it is Rūpa who appears to first take such a position in the written word. In BRS, he states that though the various *vyabhicāribhāvas* and *anubhāvas* may appear to be symptomatic of happiness and distress like the equivalent emotional manifestations resulting from the transformations of the material qualities, since they are experienced in relation to Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇānvayāḥ*), they are all transcendently joyful experiences and to be called "hot" or "cool" rather than "distressful" or "pleasurable".<sup>40</sup> Sanātana too, in his *BṛBhāg* stresses the inherently blissful quality of separation, stating that it is even greater than that of union. There, Kṛṣṇa actually thanks Nārada for inflaming the pain he feels at being distanced from the gopīs. Though Sanātana hints at the even greater joy of ultimate reunion which is eventually to take place,<sup>41</sup> he never actually describes such a reunion in *BṛBhāg*, leaving such a conclusion to the imagination of the reader (as does *BhP* itself). Jīva, in his commentary on the above-mentioned BRS verses, however, takes the position that it is precisely the ending of the apparent distresses in union which makes them "pleasurable"; he does not seem to find them pleasurable in their own right as does the later commentator Viśvanātha.<sup>42</sup>

Jīva reminds us that Rūpa Gosvāmin wrote UN on the basis of the manifest *II/ā*, as he did his plays and other books. He was similarly seen to worship Kṛṣṇa according to that manifestation. Furthermore, Śuka's own absorption in the *prakaṣa/IIā* is self-evident. The revelation of the exalted position of the *prakaṣa/IIā* is also the purpose of Brahmā's words:

*prapañcam niṣprapañco 'si viḍambayasi bhūtaḥ/  
prapannajanatānandasendoḥaṃ prathitum prabho/*(x.14.37)

Though you are untouched by the world, you imitate the activities of the world in order to give great amounts of pleasure to the people who are surrendered to you."

Even acknowledging the existence of the *nitya* *īlā*, Kṛṣṇa's activities of being born, etc., alone bring great amounts of pleasure to the devotees. If Rūpa did not prefer the *prakaṣa* *īlā* but rather the *aprakaṣa*, says Jīva, then what would have been gained by extensively describing Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's separation, which is of a painful nature? The activities of the incarnation would be seen as a source of distress rather than joy! To avoid any such misunderstanding, Rūpa ends his study of the *madhurarasa* with a description of the various different kinds of union, culminating with the *samṛddhimat* or "enriched" union, just as though he did not know the felicitous situation in the eternal *īlā*.<sup>44</sup>

#### 7.25 *Samṛddhimat sambhoga*

*Samṛddhimat sambhoga* is defined by Rūpa as follows:

When due to separation forced upon them by external forces over which they have no control, a couple are long unable to see one another, the extreme experience of pleasure [they experience upon union] is called "completely fulfilled happiness".<sup>45</sup>

Jīva draws attention to the word *pāratantrya*, and draws out the implication that the enjoyment of this highest state of union (*upabhogāstireka*) commences with such a sense of helplessness, which is not a prerequisite in the other types of separation. The union which follows implies the resultant dissipation of this helplessness. He points to Rūpa's own description of the *svakīyā* heroines (UN 3.5), the wives in *Dvārakā*, who are stated expressly to serve Kṛṣṇa daily, *aparatantrāḥ*, in complete independence. But since the queens never know this state of helplessness,

neither can they experience the great joy which comes after being separated due to "external forces over which they have no control". For again, "not without separation can union reach its fulfilment".

The objection may be raised that the gopīs cannot experience *samṛddhimat* because, due to being *parakīyā* they could never be free from subjection to external forces. The meeting at Kurukṣetra could not have instanced the *samṛddhimat sambhoga* because the gopīs' lack of freedom was not removed at that time. But if deprived of this ultimate joyful experience which exceeds that of all the types of separation or union, how could they be considered supreme amongst all those loved by Kṛṣṇa? Jīva says that it is to avert such incorrect conclusions that Rūpa wrote his play *Lalitāmādhava* and cited it here in UN to give instances of *samṛddhimat sambhoga* (7.8 for Rādhā, 8.10 for Kṛṣṇa).<sup>46</sup>

In other words, the experience of union is defined in terms of separation. Without separation, union becomes devoid of meaning. Thus, though Rūpa pays lip-service to the state of eternal union, he shows his preference for Kṛṣṇa's comings and goings in the material world. The reason for this is that there is a surfeit of æsthetic pleasure to be had in the variety of experiences undergone there. This includes not only the experience of birth, growing up, falling in love with the gopīs, meeting them for the first time, etc., but even the pains of separation itself which are pleasurable because of the periodic experiences of *sphūrti*, *āvirbhāva* and finally, the various kinds of actual union including ultimately the *samṛddhimat*.<sup>47</sup>

Jīva therefore says in KṛṣṇaŚ that subsequent to their ascension into the supreme heaven of Goloka, the Vrajavāsins continue not only to remain absorbed in identities which are formed by the constructs of the *prakṣaṭa*IIĀ, but take pleasure in remembering activities engaged in during its course. There is a potency in the variety of the separation and union experienced at that *tiṣṭhā* which is not found in the *aprakṣaṭa*IIĀ, and that continues to be a source of charm to the residents of the divine realm,<sup>48</sup> though they never wish for it to happen again.<sup>49</sup>

No doubt, the picture of the residents of Goloka, absorbed in hearing about the activities of the incarnation inspired Jīva to conceive the form taken by GC. This image would of course have no meaning if the Vrajavāsins got no æsthetic pleasure from hearing about the activities of Kṛṣṇa's (and their own) incarnation. It is no accident then, that amongst Jīva's first quotations at the beginning of Pūrvacampū, as well as the last at the end of Uttaracampū is found the prayer of Brahmā quoted above.

#### 7.26 Reunion in the *prakṣaṭa*IIĀ

In his commentary on BRS iii.4.76, an example of parental love in union, Jīva is at pains to show that Rūpa too supported the idea of Kṛṣṇa's return to Vraja. He states that Rūpa wrote for devotees of various tastes, those who worshipped the cowherd Kṛṣṇa, others of the Yadu, and others again without specified tastes (*taṣaṭhā*). He thus described all of Kṛṣṇa's activities, whether in Vraja, in leaving Vraja or outside of Vraja, even though only the two latter groups can find pleasure in stories of Kṛṣṇa's leaving Vraja and his subsequent life, which bring no happiness to the Vṛndāvana devotees because of the separation they entail. Since by Rūpa's

own admission, the Vraja devotees are of the highest order, the pleasure of those devoted to the Vraja pastimes should be considered the highest priority. When he considered this priority, Rūpa showed that his own heartfelt sentiment was in seeing the return of Kṛṣṇa to Vraja and he says as much in LBhāg (1.4.479) where he quotes PadP in support of this idea.<sup>50</sup>

In seeking a solution for the tension between the desire for physical union on the part of the devotee and a philosophical state of union, in whatever terms it is expressed, Jīva argues for the integration of the two planes of Kṛṣṇa's activity: *prakaṣṭāprakaṣṭalīlāsamanvaya*. This must take place twice in the course of Kṛṣṇa's incarnation: once for the Vṛndāvana cycle and again for the Dvārakā. The manner in which Kṛṣṇa and his retinue depart from Dvārakā to return to his eternal abode is written of in BhP and MBh, but nothing is said anywhere of any ascension into heaven of the Vṛndāvana group of associates. Kṛṣṇa is said to have returned to Vraja, etc. in an idiosyncratic (and thus probably interpolated) prose passage towards the end of the huge and overwhelmingly versified PadP (vi.279.18-27). This provides the Gauḍīya theologians with all the evidence they need. To quote part of the passage, it is said that after coming to Mathurā to kill Dantavakra,

Kṛṣṇa crossed the Yamunā and went to the cowherd settlement of Nanda. There he honoured his eager parents and gave them assurances; he was embraced by them choked with tears; he then bowed to all the senior cowherds and gave them assurances as well. He then satisfied everyone with gifts of cloth and jewellery.

On the banks of the Yamunā, covered with pious trees,  
Keśava frolicked constantly with the cowherd women;

the Lord, wearing the clothes of a cowherd,  
spent two months there, enjoying pleasant sports  
with much of the flavour of love.

Then all the residents of the Vraja, Nanda and all the others, their sons and wives, all the birds and animals too, took on divine forms by the grace of Vāsudeva, climbed on to celestial vehicles and went to the supreme Vaikuṇṭha realm. Kṛṣṇa, however, having granted the supreme destination of his own abode, entered Dvārakā while being praised by the gods in heaven.<sup>51</sup>

From BhP, Jīva finds support for these events only in a verse from its first book (1.11.9) which is spoken by the residents of Dvārakā upon Kṛṣṇa's return there after the battle of Kurukṣetra: "When, oh lotus-eyed one, you go to the land of the Kurus or Madhus to see your friends..."<sup>52</sup> The land of the Madhus is interpreted to mean Vṛndāvana which lies within the district of Mathurā, for all the friends from the city itself had been moved to Dvārakā long before. Other verses (BhP x.82.44, 83.1, xi.12.8-19) are also given as further proofs that the desires of the residents of Vraja, in this case of the gopīs in particular, were fulfilled. Elsewhere, Jīva states that to conceive of any other end for the *IT* is impossible. He refers to the statement of Brahmā of the extent to which Kṛṣṇa is indebted to the residents of Vraja for their love for him. If even Pūtānā the witch could attain a liberation in which she became Kṛṣṇa's eternal nurse, just by having imitated one such, what could he do for them who had sacrificed their souls and everything they possessed out of a genuine love for him alone. Their desires for union with him must be fulfilled.<sup>53</sup>

Furthermore, Kṛṣṇa had made repeated promises to the gopīs and his parents that he would come back. Since Kṛṣṇa is the essence of supreme truth (x.2.26) and is known in the *śruti* as one who keeps his word (*satyasamkalpa* - Maitrā 1.1), and because the words of the gods are never false (*Īśvarāṇāṃ vacaḥ satyam*, BhP x.33.31, etc.), these promises must have been kept. Again, Kṛṣṇa's representative Uddhava also assured Kṛṣṇa's parents and the gopīs on his behalf that he would return to them. Even if Kṛṣṇa should somehow or other not keep his own word, Jīva felt sure he would nevertheless keep that of his devotee.<sup>54</sup>

### 7.3 The Parakīyā-svakīyā issue: introduction

In his commentary to UN, after he has established the return of Kṛṣṇa to Vṛndāvana, his reunion with its residents and the gopīs' experience of *samṛddhimat sambhoga*, Jīva asks himself the question, "What is the nature of the gopīs' and Kṛṣṇa's relation in this *aprakāṣa*/II, are they *svakīyā* (his married wives) or *parakīyā* (married to other men)?" Jīva is unambiguously in favour of the *svakīyā* relation and defends his position strongly. In doing so, he goes against a long tradition which perhaps no one did more to perpetuate than his own guru, Rūpa Gosvāmin.

The term *parakīyā* arises from the critical tradition rather than the purāṇic. Although etymologically it almost certainly indicates "the wife of another", the equivalent of *paradāra* (in Kāmasūtra), *parayoṣit*, *parakalatra*, etc., according to the Kāvyaśāṅkara of Rudraṭa, the first extant work which makes the division of the *nāyikā* into *parakīyā* and *svakīyā*, it includes both unmarried virgins (*kanyā*) and adulteresses (*parodhā*).<sup>55</sup>

Though it is clear that the gopīs were always conceived of as being *parakīyā*, there is some uncertainty about which of its two categories they belonged to. The earliest epic/purāṇic source, HV, and the earliest secular source, Hāla's *Gāhāsattasāṭī*, make no definitive clarification of the matter, though in a verse pertaining to the *Sattasāṭī* tradition, the gopīs are depicted as still hoping for marriage to Kṛṣṇa, thus indicating they are *kanyās*.<sup>56</sup> In Bhāsa's *Bālacarita*, another early source which mentions Kṛṣṇa's comparatively innocent dancing with the gopīs, they would appear to be young unmarried girls. By the time of the ViP, however, it is clear that at least some of the gopīs were considered to be married (v.13.59, 24.16) and at around the same time, Māgha's *Śiśupāla* rails against Kṛṣṇa's being a lover of the wives of other men.<sup>57</sup>

The secular poetic tradition, meanwhile, gingerly delved into some aspects of the *parodhā* relationship. Hāla has a few humorous verses in which an adulterous woman (Pkt. *asaṭ*) advertises her availability to a stranger<sup>58</sup>, or cleverly deceives her husband as he catches her red-handed with her lover.<sup>59</sup> There are also some wistful verses in which the *asaṭ* is seen in a more positive light and her activities are taken seriously. In the later poetic tradition as found in the Sanskrit anthologies, the *asaṭ* is most often described either in her role as a serious flirt or as an anxiety-ridden but beautiful *abhisārikā* on her way to the trysting place. It would appear, surprisingly, that these themes only gradually found their way into writing about Kṛṣṇa, and furthermore that Kṛṣṇa's love affairs were not taken up seriously as a literary subject to any great extent by poets of stature. Only a handful of *muktakas* are found in the early Sanskrit anthologies in which the gopīs are described in accordance with the



*abhisārikā* theme, etc., but no complete work of literature with such a relation as its basis and dating from the pre-Caitanya period survives to the present day.

In general the poeticians did not consider the *parakīyā nāyikā* to be a relishable topic for literature or drama. The critics and the poets using the Sanskrit medium, starting with Bharata, themselves had roots in a courtly tradition steeped in its own peculiar tastes and values. The overwhelming number of heroes in the Sanskrit dramas are kings of whom only Rāma is monogamous. The *parakīyā* woman was avoided, even when, as in Kṛṣṇa's case, theological considerations might have absolved the author of fault. The ambivalence to the subject was so strong in the courtly circles, that in the 14th century, Viśvanātha gave an example of an exchange between Kṛṣṇa and a gopī as an example of *rasābhāsa*, even while including the benedictory formula, *Harīḥ pātu vaḥ*.<sup>60</sup>

Though the South-Indian Ālvār Vaiṣṇavas who promoted the erotic spirit in devotionalism were primarily interested in the mood of the young virgin who seeks a marital relation with Kṛṣṇa, when their traditions were joined to that of the VīP in BhP, the *paroḍhā* relation was wholeheartedly adopted. In addition to the *paroḍhā* in BhP, however, the *kanyā* mood of Koṭai also finds a place (in x.22) and other Ālvār themes are also used in the descriptions of the sentiments of the queens of Dvārakā (x.52, x.90).

The court of the Bengal Sen dynasty, whose roots were in Karṇāṭaka, also cultivated Kṛṣṇaite eroticism. The verses about Kṛṣṇa in Śrīdhara's *Saduktikarṇāmrta* contain some of the most unambiguous *paroḍhā* material.

At the same time and place, however, Jayadeva's Gītagovinda appears to reflect the idea of a transcendental Kṛṣṇa, one who incarnates in ten *avatāras*, but whose original form is engaged in an eternal cycle of love-games with Rādhā in a world which has no place for other men; Kṛṣṇa is the only male in the Vṛndāvana of Gītag. In this unreal world there is no need for a formal marital relationship. We are occasionally reminded of the activities of Kṛṣṇa's other incarnations in which existed the *parakīyā* relation to Rādhā (1.1) or the married relation to Lakṣmī (12.25). Though some find evidence in the Gītag for the *parakīyā* mood,<sup>61</sup> it is not strong, while the words *pati* and *dampati* can also be found referring to Kṛṣṇa's relation with Rādhā.<sup>62</sup> Thus it would appear that the dichotomy of the *prakaṣa* and *aprakaṣa* relations was intuited by Jayadeva, if it were not already a matter of dogmatic belief amongst the Vaiṣṇavas of the day.

Jayadeva's vision of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa had an all-pervasive influence in both the secular and devotional worlds, but probably more in the latter than the former. Poets such as Sūrdās and Hit Harivaṃś seem to have visualized the relationship of the divine Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in terms not dissimilar to his.<sup>63</sup> There are a few isolated examples of later works, secular in character, in which Kṛṣṇa is said to have been married to Rādhā.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, those purāṇic sources which discuss Rādhā's marriage to Āyāna or mention Kṛṣṇa's marriage to Rādhā, all appear to be of eastern Indian provenance and very late in their composition. They were most likely unknown to Jīva.<sup>65</sup>

The popularity of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa theme in the vernacular songwriting and literature of eastern India in the 15th century gave particular impetus

to the *parakīyā* conception. Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa seems to have been the first to record the name of Rādhā's husband and his relation to Kṛṣṇa's mother, adding a further forbidden dimension to their liaison. At the same time, another Caṇḍīdāsa poignantly expressed the emotional dimension of such forbidden love. Paradoxically, though it is generally thought that Caṇḍīdāsa used Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as a metaphor for his own deeply-felt love for a married woman, he was responsible for respiritualizing that which to a great extent had lost its spiritual dimension. In this period of flourishing Bengali culture, the BhP seems to have made a sudden appearance. Whether or not the BhP in its present form was current in Bengal prior to this period cannot be stated with absolute certainty. We know that Lakṣmaṇa Sena's work *Adbhutasāra* (late 12th c.) contains a few verses from BhP iii, but other than this, the learned works of the early medieval period show a complete ignorance of this purāṇa.<sup>66</sup> Those aspects of BhP which are the most profound are only marginally influential on the vernacular works referred to above. In the late 15th century, however, translations of BhP started to appear in Bengali and this purāṇa became the main religious text for the *bhakti* revival of Caitanya.

Rūpa Gosvāmin was the first to write in Sanskrit to any great length about the *paroḍhā* relationship, and certainly the first to have made Kṛṣṇa the centrepiece of an entire drama, *Vidagdhamādhava*, which is filled with *paroḍhā* themes. Furthermore, in his influential theoretical works, Rūpa glorified the *parakīyā* loves of the gopīs in terms which rendered anti-climactic the existence of any *svakīyā* relation with them. Nevertheless, Jīva was not only convinced that scripture supported the view that Kṛṣṇa was married to the gopīs, but that Rūpa Gosvāmin also supported it.

Jīva's arguments can be divided into two categories as they were for the establishment of Kṛṣṇa's return to Vraja: those based entirely on revealed statements from BhP and other purāṇas, etc., and those based on the divine aesthetics and writings of Rūpa Gosvāmin.

### 7.31 Arguments from the religious text

To establish the eternal wedded condition of Kṛṣṇa with his consorts, Jīva is faced with even more problems than he had in establishing the return of Kṛṣṇa to Vraja. Just as Kṛṣṇa's return to Vraja is nowhere stated overtly in BhP, his chief source of evidence, neither is there any wedding of Kṛṣṇa to the gopīs. The BhP author's vision of the gopīs seems to be primarily that of ignorant sinners who are redeemed by their love for Kṛṣṇa (Cf. x.47.59). On the other hand, other verses in Uddhava's eulogy of them show the seeds of an understanding that they are goddesses even more glorious than Lakṣmī (Cf. x.47.60ff). Nevertheless, Kṛṣṇa's chief queen Rukmiṇī is positively identified as Lakṣmī and her fortune (and that of the other queens) at having Kṛṣṇa's constant company is stated to be out of the reach of the gopīs.<sup>67</sup>

It is doubtful that the *purāṇas* and *upapurāṇas* of east Indian provenance such as *Brahmavaivarta* or *Mahābhāgavata* were available at that time in their current form. Jīva, in any case makes no use of any evidence that these works might have provided toward proving his case. He is rather left once again to argue valiantly from whatever weak evidence he finds to confirm his dogma. He felt it necessary to show, not only that Kṛṣṇa has an eternal relationship with the gopīs which is self-evident (*svataḥsiddha*), but that this relation had to be established by ritual means, viz. a wedding,

in the manifest *īlā* also after the false relationship with the gopīs' so-called husbands had been revealed as a sham.

The evidences marshalled together by Jīva can be roughly divided into three categories. First, those which argue that in the eternal or *aprakṣaīlā* the gopīs are eternally united with Kṛṣṇa, i.e. that they belong to his *hlādinī śakti* or pleasure giving potency and are thus his *de facto* wives. Next are those evidences which are used to argue that the gopīs desired to become his wives and even considered themselves to be such during the course of the *prakṣaīlā*, when others understood them to be wives of other men. Finally, Jīva argues on the basis of weaker evidence, that after Kṛṣṇa return to Vraja, he actually did sanctify his relation with the gopīs by a wedding ceremony.

#### 7.311 The gopīs are Kṛṣṇa's *śaktis*

The problem of the divine Kṛṣṇa's dealings with the gopīs required answering from the time that the *parakīyā* relation was first mooted. Thus in ViP, the first attempt at rationalization and justification is made by recalling Kṛṣṇa's divine position in terms not unlike those encountered in Kṛṣṇa's reminders to the gopīs of their eternal *aprakṣa* state of union:

That Kṛṣṇa is the god who like the air pervades their husbands, the gopīs themselves and indeed every created thing in the form of the soul. Just as the ether, fire, earth, water and air pervade all the elements, so too is the soul Kṛṣṇa situated within all.<sup>68</sup>

This appeal to the divine majesty of Kṛṣṇa, for whom nothing is "other" (*parakīyā*) and to whom all is his own (*svakīyā*), there can be no sin in

any activity he chooses to engage in. Property relations of this world are subject to the world's inherent limitations which he transcends.

BhP expands on the lead given by ViP: Śukadeva concludes the *rāsa* section with answers to Parīkṣit's questions about Kṛṣṇa's apparently immoral behaviour. He first answers that the powerful are not subject to the same rules as the rest of humanity, but goes on to say:

*gopInām tatpatInām ca sarveṣāṃ api dehinām/  
yo 'ntaś carati so 'dhyakṣa eṣa krīḍanadehabhāḥk//69*

He who dwells within the gopīs, their husbands, indeed within all embodied beings, is the director partaking of a body meant for recreation.

Jīva (in GC) says that the immediately available meaning of this verse, in which Kṛṣṇa is identified with the *antaryāmin* or indwelling oversoul is intended for the uninitiated (*behiraṅga*). The following meaning is intended for the aware (*antaraṅga*):

That there are two types of gopīs, some married and some unmarried, is a worldly understanding only. In fact, they are all the eternally liberated beloved wives of Kṛṣṇa, superior to all women in all respects. (*gopInām*) They, as well as the other women of Vraja, all of whom are enriched with feeling for Kṛṣṇa, whether young girls, young women or aged; (*tatpatInām*) the gopīs' husbands as well as the unmarried men, all of whom are to be inferred from "husband"; (*sarveṣāṃ api dehinām*) indeed, all the creatures residing in Vṛndāvana know only Kṛṣṇa as the centre of their lives. All of them possess bodies which are paraphernalia for his recreational activities (*krīḍanadeha*), because they are possessed of qualities suitable to such a purpose. Kṛṣṇa becomes attached (*bhāḥk*) to those bodies and dwells (*carati*), i.e. plays, in that celebrated place indicated by the word "within" (*antaḥ*), his eternal, non-mundane

personal opulence which is not visible to worldly eyes. He is the director (*adhyakṣaḥ*) who sometimes becomes perceptible (*adhyakṣaḥ*) to this world and plays here. Therefore, the bond of Kṛṣṇa to his eternally beloved (wives) exists since time immemorial; thus the suggestion that he is merely their unmarried lover is improper; a marital relation such as that of the lords of the spiritual world, Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa, is befitting to them.<sup>70</sup>

The gopīs are, like all the rest of the Vrajavāsins, Kṛṣṇa's eternal associates. Their bodies are meant for his pleasure, thus their relationship is fixed as his eternal wives. But the gopīs are much more than this, they are the personal energies of Kṛṣṇa, his *svarūpaśakti*. The various functions of the *svarūpaśakti*, primary amongst which is the pleasure-giving (*hlādinī*), are described in BhagS.<sup>71</sup> This energy is identified as Lakṣmī or Śrī, or as the wife of the personified god.<sup>72</sup> She never leaves his side: when he appears as a god, she is a goddess, when he appears in human form, she is there as a woman. Whenever he becomes incarnate in whatever form, she is there as his helper.<sup>73</sup> The gopīs in particular are predominantly characterized by a surfeit of love for Kṛṣṇa, which is the essential pleasure-giving function.<sup>74</sup>

In the last nine paragraphs of the KṛṣṇaS, Jīva focuses on the gopīs and their special relation with Kṛṣṇa as his *śaktis*. Though BhP verses can be summoned to show that Rukmīṇī is the goddess of fortune or Lakṣmī, the gopīs too must be identified as Kṛṣṇa's *śaktis* or *Lakṣmīs*. In fact, they are super-*Lakṣmīs* for on the occasion of the *rāsa* dance, they are said to have received a mercy that was never attained even by <sup>Nārāyaṇa's wife</sup> Lakṣmī.<sup>75</sup> It is this logic, which identifies the gopīs and the chief amongst them, Rādhā, as Kṛṣṇa's eternal consorts, related to him in the same way that Lakṣmī is

to Nārāyaṇa, that leads Jīva to insist on the gopīs relation to him as *svakīyā nāyikā*.

His favoured *pramāṇa* for this comes from Brahmasaṃhitā:

I worship that original person Govinda, who although he is the all-pervading soul, resides particularly in Goloka with those portions of his who are imbued with ecstatic conscious pleasure, being, as they are, manifestations of his very self.<sup>76</sup>

To this he adds the following comment in Digdarśinī:

By the word *nījarūpatayā* is meant that the gopīs act as his own wives and not as the wives of others as they do in the *prakṛtāṅgī*. Because they are the supreme Lakṣmīs, there is no possibility of their being the wives of anyone else. Such a relation was displayed by Māyā in order to nourish a feeling of eager desire through playfully disguising the taste of the marital relation. By saying, *ya eva* the author wishes to emphasize that the very person who in his activities displayed in the world of matter lived with them who behaved as the wives of other men, in the *aprakṛtāṅgī* in Goloka, he lives with them where they are revealed in their true forms (*nījarūpatā*.... By saying "in Goloka alone", it is emphasized that this married *jīva* is nowhere else revealed.<sup>77</sup>

In KṛṣṇaṢ, Jīva adds that "in Goloka alone" means that there is no possibility that the *parakīyā* relation could exist in the unmanifest activities.<sup>78</sup>

The BrṢ calls the gopīs Lakṣmīs in at least two other places,<sup>79</sup> but their identity as goddesses of fortune (Lakṣmī) should be seen in the same light that the Pāṇḍavas are considered to be Kauravas: though they belong to the same genus, they form a special species within it. Thus as one can



say "the Pāṇḍavas defeated the Kurus" even though in truth the Pāṇḍavas are themselves Kurus, similarly one can state that the gopīs, though themselves Lakṣmīs, are superior in every respect to the Lakṣmī who is Nārāyaṇa's consort.<sup>80</sup> As goddesses of fortune in their own right, identified as even more fortunate than she who is Nārāyaṇa's consort, the *parakīyā* concept could not reasonably apply to them for they are eternally joined with Kṛṣṇa.

Another favourite set of *evidence* comes from the Gautamīyatantra (2.22-4) in which the meaning of the 10-syllable *mantra* (*klīm gopījanavallabhāya svāhā*) is explained. There, the epithet of Kṛṣṇa, *gopījanavallabha*, is glossed in three ways, the word *gopī* interpreted as *prakṛti* for the first two.

The third and conclusive interpretation is given as follows:

Or, it means "the husband of the gopīs",

who are perfect throughout many births,

He is also known as the son of Nanda,

who increases the joy of the three worlds.<sup>81</sup>

The word *Anekajānmasiddhānām* means that the gopīs have accompanied Kṛṣṇa throughout his eternal incarnations on earth, just as Kṛṣṇa told Arjuna [Gītā 4.5] that he was such a companion. The word *patī* negates the possibility of Kṛṣṇa's being their paramour, as he illusorily appears to be in his manifest pastimes.

7.312 The appearance of a marriage elsewhere is illusory

If the gopīs are Kṛṣṇa's eternal *saktis*, then they cannot possibly "belong" to anyone else. The entire event of marriage has been managed by Kṛṣṇa's *yogamāyā*, of whom he is said to have taken shelter at the beginning of

the *rāsa* dance (x.29.1). In BhP, the gopīs' husbands are said to have been bewildered by this Māyā and so they did not feel angry with Kṛṣṇa.<sup>82</sup> Rather they thought, "How could Kṛṣṇa, who is the very centre of our religion, our meaning, our friends, our dear ones, our hearts, our children, our lives and our souls, possibly do anything inauspicious like accept the wife of another man?"<sup>83</sup> In order to protect Kṛṣṇa's eternal wives from the sexual approaches of others, she created duplicate forms of them which their so-called husbands saw by their sides. The BhP states that this took place on the night of the *rāsa* dance, but of course, the supremely powerful Yogamāyā had been constantly vigilant to protect the gopīs from dishonour ever since they were married to the other cowherds.<sup>84</sup> In some editions of KṛṣṇaS, KūrmaP (32.513-30) is quoted in full to show how Sītā prayed to the household sacrificial fire when she realized that Rāvaṇa sought to abduct her. By the fire god's grace, Rāvaṇa was not able to abduct the real Sītā, but was left with a Doppelgängerin. This was later revealed at the time of her trial by fire after her safe return to Ayodhyā. Jīva adds, "As the same principle is seen to take <sup>effect for</sup> any devoted wife in similar circumstances by the power of her devotion to her husband, then why would Māyā, who serves the husband of the gopīs, not especially protect them in the way that Rāma's fire protected Sītā? For Garga said about devotees in general that Kṛṣṇa's enemies will never overcome those who take shelter of him (x.8.18), what to speak of the gopīs who never abandon him even in error."<sup>85</sup>

A similar statement is made in Rūpa Gosvāmin's LalM by Paurṇamāsī, the personification of Yogamāyā in answer to questions by Gārgī:

Gārgī: Then surely the marriage of Govardhana and the other cow-herds to Candrāvalī and the other gopīs was arranged by Māyā.

Paurṇamāsī: What else? The gopīs are the wives of these cowherds only in the sense that the latter claim possession of them, but that is all. In fact, they rarely even see one another.<sup>86</sup>

Thus, when an apparent reference is made to the gopīs' children in BhP and elsewhere, it should be otherwise understood, for if such children existed a contradictory sentiment (*rasābhāsa*) would result.<sup>87</sup> They might be considered the offspring of other women, such as their sisters-in-law, etc. as in x.29.6 where *pāyayantyaḥ śiśūn payaḥ* is to be so interpreted, for had these children indeed been the gopīs', the words *sutān stanam* would have been used. In x.29.20, where Kṛṣṇa says that "Your mothers, fathers, sons, brothers and husbands are searching for you", it should be taken that Kṛṣṇa is joking, otherwise there would have been *rasābhāsa* in view of the fact that he was about to accept them.

### 7.313 Marriage with Kṛṣṇa is the fulfilment of the gopīs' desire

The proponents of the *parakīyā* position, though not denying that the gopīs are Kṛṣṇa's eternal *śakti*, deny that they desire a married relation with Kṛṣṇa. The general view of all Vaiṣṇavas is that one's spiritual attainments match the quality of one's desires. This is, of course, in keeping with the Bhagavadgītā's statement that, "As one surrenders to me, so do I deal with him."<sup>88</sup> Jīva's primary source for believing that the gopīs did indeed possess such a desire is the words *matkāmā ramaṇam* in BhP xi.12.13 discussed in the next section below, but he finds other evidences also. The gopīs' praises of Kṛṣṇa's flute show the proprietary feelings that they had for him, "Oh gopīs! What penances did this flute do

that it should enjoy the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's lips which rightfully belongs to us gopīs?"<sup>89</sup> Similarly, when Kṛṣṇa turned them away on the night of the *rāsa* dance, telling them to serve their husbands, the gopīs responded by saying,

That which you, the knower of religion,  
have told us is the duty of women,  
to follow the needs of her husband, children and relatives,  
may it all be done for you who are the Lord,  
the ultimate object of the instruction;  
you who are the most dearly beloved,  
the friend and soul of all embodied beings.<sup>90</sup>

Not only did the gopīs desire Kṛṣṇa as their husband, but they actually thought of him as such, as is revealed by their use of the honorific *śryaputra*, generally reserved for use by a wife for her husband.<sup>91</sup>

Kṛṣṇa, too, is said to have thought of the gopīs as his wives, as Jīva argues in GC:<sup>92</sup>

While sending Uddhava to Vraja (x.46.3-6), Kṛṣṇa said to him, "Go to Vraja, gentle Uddhava, and convey my affection to my parents." [By calling Nanda and Yaśodā his own parents] he revealed that he identified himself as a cowherd, thus when he says "My cowherdesses (*ballavyaḥ*) are my very life" (x.46.6) it should be understood that he is speaking in the same way that a brāhmaṇa speaks of his *brāhmaṇī*, meaning his wife.

Similarly, in the half-verse, "They think of me as their husband, their dear one, as their very self", it is abundantly clear that though to the vision of the uninitiated it sometimes seems that Kṛṣṇa is the gopīs' unmarried lover, to the vision of those in the inner circle he is constantly perceived to be their married husband.<sup>93</sup>

Other scriptures are marshalled forth to show that *de facto* such a relation was accepted by their authors. The strongest of these statements is found in the Gopālatāpanī (2.28), where Durvāsas says to the gopīs after being questioned by them about Kṛṣṇa's identity, "He is verily your husband." Śukadeva also calls them Kṛṣṇa's wives in the course of describing the rāsa dance.<sup>94</sup> Similarly, he points out that a few verses after this usage, the word *ṛṣabha* appears and is interpreted to mean husband by no less an authority than Śrīdhara.<sup>95</sup> Jayadeva's Gītagovinda, Saṅgītaśāstra, the Yamunāstotra attributed to Śaṅkara and even a verse found in Padyāvalī and sometimes said to be by Caitanya, are all similarly cited.<sup>96</sup>

#### 7.314 A wedding takes place in the *prakaṣaḥ*

The relation that the gopīs have with Kṛṣṇa as *nityakāntā* is based on their sense of identity rather than on a ceremonial marriage as such. Such a ceremonial relationship should of course not be necessary any more than is Kṛṣṇa's birth in the womb of Yaśodā in Goloka.<sup>97</sup> Though Jīva feels that this relation is *nityasiddha*, like that of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and would not need any ceremony to validate it, nevertheless, just as in the *prakaṣaḥ* union was felt to be necessary after the long separation, the gopīs needed to be ceremoniously wed to Kṛṣṇa in order that their desires be properly fulfilled. In his commentary to UN 1.21, Jīva says,

If the gopīs are thus eternally married to Kṛṣṇa, their so-called *paraṅmīyā* relation is not only false but is ultimately dispelled when the illusory force which promoted the falsehood is retracted, at which time the beginningless and eternal state again comes into force. However, if no actual wedding ceremony took place, there would be a danger of clash of sentiments, i.e. of disgust marring

their pure love as a result of the knowledge of the previous relation.<sup>98</sup>

Jīva refers to LalM where Kṛṣṇa's marriage to Rādhā takes place in the last act named "The fulfilment of all desires" (*pūrṇāmanorathā*). Jīva takes it that the wedding of Kṛṣṇa to the gopīs is a logical corollary of the *samṛddhimat sambhoga*, for as mentioned above, the removal of all dependancy (*pāratantrya*) is part of its definition. The union after prolonged separation must be without disturbances (*nirvighna*); the repetition of separation is likened by Jīva to the bath of an elephant which sprinkles itself with dust after bathing, and must not be allowed to happen. Thus marriage is a necessary part of *samṛddhimat sambhoga*.

In KṛṣṇaS, therefore, Jīva's point of departure in substantiating his belief in the gopīs' marriage to Kṛṣṇa comes after he has demonstrated his return to Vraja. Of the verses of BhP said to "prove" that Kṛṣṇa returned to Vraja to award the gopīs the fulfilment of their desires, Jīva focusses on those in the eleventh book, spoken by Kṛṣṇa to Uddhava in Dvārakā not long before he departs from the world, or in Jīva's parlance, from the *prakaṣaḥ* of his Dvārakā manifestation. Again, Jīva's exegesis is interesting. The most important of these verses are as follows:

When I was taken with Rāma to Mathurā by Akrūra,  
the gopīs, their hearts attached to me,  
suffering a great malaise of separation  
out of their deep feeling for me,  
saw nothing else which could give them pleasure.

Those nights which were stolen  
by me, their most dear one in Vṛndāvana,

seemed to pass in a brief moment.

Without me, the nights took on the length of eons.

Their intelligence bound up in attachment to me,  
they knew not their own selves, nor "mine," nor "not mine";  
as sages merge into trance, or rivers into the sea,  
or name into form, they merged into me.

Desiring me, [though] they knew not my real identity,  
they attained me, their lover and paramour,  
who am the supreme *brahman*,  
a hundred-thousand fold by virtue of association.<sup>99</sup>

Of these four verses, the first two are said to describe the period of Kṛṣṇa's departure from Vraja. The use of the perfect tense indicates, according to Jīva (and Sanātana before him<sup>100</sup>) that these events are of the distant past. The third verse is said to indicate Kṛṣṇa's return to Vraja; the word *anuṣaṅga* having as its primary meaning "close adherence" or "association". Such association would only have been attainable upon his return there. At this time, they had no further knowledge of their identities, or this or that, i.e. they had no further confusion about their existence in this *prakāṣa* manifestation or the eternal one, the separation of the manifest activities of Kṛṣṇa has merged with the unmanifest. Just as rivers which form part of both land and sea, the gopīs were not aware of any distinction between the two.

The last of these verses is said to indicate the nature of the gopīs' attainment. Jīva's interpretation is, again, somewhat at variance with the immediately understood meaning of the verse. Of the two words in apposition to *brahma māṃ paramaṃ, ramaṇam* ("lover, husband") is separated

from *jāram* as different objects for the two adjectives describing the gopīs, *matkāmāḥ* and *asvarūpavidāḥ*. *Ramāṇa* is taken to mean husband alone, and not as a synonym of *jāra*, which can only be defined as "paramour".<sup>101</sup> Thus, according to JIva's gloss, the verse is read: "They attained me, the supreme *brahman* named Kṛṣṇa. Not knowing their own identities as my eternal beloved [wives] (*preyas*) they first attained me as their paramour. Nevertheless, since their desire was to have me for their husband, they later attained me as such. Not only they, but hundreds of thousands of other gopīs also did through their association."<sup>102</sup> JIva's conclusion is that the gopīs were indeed wed to Kṛṣṇa.

In order further to substantiate this, JIva returns to the two PadP verses found within the prose portion quoted above (7.25). There it was said that Kṛṣṇa "frolicked constantly" (*anīṣam*) and "enjoyed pleasant sports" (*ramyakel*) with "a great taste of love" (*bahupremarasena*). Constant enjoyment is felt by JIva to indicate that the secrecy which had characterized his earlier relations with the gopīs was no longer maintained.<sup>103</sup> That the sports were pleasant also indicates that the dangers, etc., involved in a *parakīyā* relationship were not present.<sup>104</sup>

### 7.32 Considerations from the point of view of the *rasa śāstra*.

Rūpa's UN commences with an outline of the romantic hero (*nāyaka*), who to the author can only be Kṛṣṇa. He describes him as being of two kinds, either a husband (*pat*) or a paramour (*upapat*). His incarnation as husband takes place in Dvārakā, while that of paramour is found in Vraja. As an example of Kṛṣṇa the paramour, Rūpa quotes with relish an old verse by Ācārya Gopīka found in SKM (275) and also in Pv (205). He



footnotes that verse by saying, in total contradiction to the previous traditions of Indian dramatic theory, that the most perfect state of love is found in the paramour.<sup>105</sup> In support of such a bold statement he quotes a verse purported to be that of Bharata:

That love on account of which many obstacles arise,  
where desire must of necessity be concealed,  
and in which the lovers find it difficult to meet,  
is the strongest that Cupid [can bestow].<sup>106</sup>

The section concludes with Rūpa warning (UN 1,21) that any levity or baseness (*laghutvam*) imputed to the paramour by the arbiters of poetic good taste refers to lovers other than Kṛṣṇa, for he has descended "to relish the essence of the sentiments (*rasa*)."<sup>107</sup> Jīva chooses to make this verse the locus of the bulk of his arguments supporting the *svakīyā* position.

#### 7.321 Adultery is unacceptable for *rasa*

Jīva's long commentary under UN 1.21 (cited above) refers to a tradition of opposition to the positive treatment of the extramarital sexual liaison in Sanskrit literary circles. He takes a quote found in Viśvanātha Kavirāja's *Sāhityadarpaṇa* which declares the superior nature of the *śṛṅgāra* sentiment,

The word *śṛṅga* means the sprouting forth of love. The sentiment which produces this love is of the highest nature and is called *śṛṅgāra*. Thus, the *nāyikā* can be neither one married to another man nor a prostitute who has no affection for the hero.<sup>108</sup>

The attribute of purity is given preeminence in the sentiment of love, which is further confirmed by the synonyms for it used by the

*śleṣkāśrikes* such as *śuci* "pure" and *ujjvala* "bright". How then could extramarital love which is synonymous with sin (*jāraḥ pāpapatih samaḥ*) be acceptable therein? Viśvanātha in SāhD delineates the situations which would produce contradictory sentiments in the *śṛṅgāra-rasa* (*rasābhāsa*). Included as taboo for the Sanskrit author are descriptions of relations with the wife of a saint or a teacher, a woman's possessing numerous lovers, or love between inferior persons or animals, etc. First in this list is the *nāyikā's* taking of a paramour (as the word *upanāyaka* is interpreted by Viśvanātha).<sup>109</sup> In cases where such love is described, it is never to be done as the main theme of a literary work, i.e. as its *aṅgī rasa*, but as a secondary theme to be mocked or as comedy relief, etc. This attitude is also referred to by Rūpa in a later verse of UN.<sup>110</sup>

In society, of course, adultery was supposed to be frowned upon and even Kṛṣṇa himself spoke against it to the gopīs when they came to meet him on the night of the *rāsa* dance: "For a well-bred family woman, consorting with a man other than her husband is not the path to heaven; it leads rather to infamy, falsehood, distress, fear, and is everywhere considered with distaste."<sup>111</sup> The gopīs indicate their concurrence in principle when they say in wistful criticism of Kṛṣṇa and the ways of the world, "A prostitute deserts the man who has lost his wealth, a paramour the woman he has seduced."<sup>112</sup>

Parīkṣit further confirms the social attitude towards extramarital love when he inquires about Kṛṣṇa's apparently paradoxical behaviour, "The Lord of the Yadus is completely fulfilled, yet he performed acts which are

regarded as abhorrent.”<sup>113</sup> Thus the word *laghutvam* (“levity”) in the UN verse (1.21) is equated with “abhorrent behaviour”.

When Kṛṣṇa is said to be a paramour (*upapati*), however, it should be understood that he is only temporarily acting as such. The purpose of such a charade is that it gives him an opportunity to enjoy “essence of *rasa*”, i.e. various aspects of love-in-separation with their final climax in the joys of *samṛddhimat sambhoga*. At that point Kṛṣṇa's true and eternal marital relationship with the gopīs is revealed. In view of this it should be taken that Bharata's verse about obstacles, etc., enhancing the romantic sentiment (l.c. 7.32 above) was cited by Rūpa in order to praise those aspects of the relation, but not the state of being a paramour itself. Kṛṣṇa's desire to experience *samṛddhimat sambhoga*, etc., is not a sign of levity on his part, but of greatness. In the absence of such a background, however, the mundane hero who indulges in like behaviour is condemned as wanton. The ignorant take use Kṛṣṇa as an example of such a condemnable mundane *nāyaka*,<sup>114</sup> not understanding that Kṛṣṇa's engaging in paramourship is like a man's eating something nourishing and beneficial, even though it has been forbidden him by one ignorant of the food's value.<sup>115</sup>

### 7.322 The excitement of forbidden love

Having denied that Rūpa's purpose in citing Bharata's verse was to confirm that Kṛṣṇa was an *upapati*, Jīva alludes to its original context, remarking that Bharata's intention was to point to a type of romantic situation found described in plays like *Ratnāvalī* or *Yayāticarita*.<sup>116</sup> In these and other

dramas of the genre, obstacles are created by rival queens to the hero and a particular type of heroine, called *abhyantarā* according to Bharata.<sup>116</sup>

Though Rūpa clearly has himself cited Bharata's verse in a different context, Jīva's point is not altogether inappropriate. Dramas dealing with the loves of the king centre on the intrigues of the seraglio, the competition amongst the queens for the favour of the king who comes to prefer one or another of them, or as is, <sup>often</sup> the case, -

with another new or potential member of the harem. Sanskrit plays containing variants on this essential theme are indeed so numerous that it could be viewed as the essential myth of Hindu royalty. It may be summarized here as follows:

- (1) The heroine's hand is intended for the king [in some cases the marriage has already taken place], though neither he nor his queens are aware of it.]
- (2) Due to circumstances beyond her control, the heroine finds herself in the king's own palace, unrecognized and in a position of subordination (e.g. as a servant).
- (3) The king comes across her in the garden and they fall in love.
- (4) The queen becomes aware of their mutual attraction and takes preventive measures. By some deception or another, however, the king succeeds in meeting her again.
- (5) Finally, the queen places the heroine under house-arrest to prevent the king from seeing her.
- (6) The king does not give up his attachment despite these difficulties until some event brings about the resolution of the problem: the heroine's true identity is revealed and the queen is forced to give her blessing to the new alliance.

Since Bharata has hinted at such a plot structure, it is highly likely that Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the earliest play known to use it, had

antecedents. The great number of later plays using variants of it include *Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī* by Śrīharṣa, *Yayāticarita* by Rudra, *Karpūramāñjarī* and *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* by Rājasekhara, *Karṇasundarī* by Bilhaṇa, and *Kuvalayāvalī* or *Ratnapaścālikā* by Śiṅgabdhūpāla, otherwise known to have had an influence on Rūpa Gosvāmin through his work *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*. The tradition continues up to the 19th century, and thus this theme is perhaps only challenged by the various versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* as the predominating motif of Sanskrit drama. Most significantly for this discussion, however, Rūpa's own *Lalitāmādhava* uses the same scheme with some imaginative variations.

The plot structure under discussion may be considered a variant on the theme of the Gāndharva marriage, otherwise unmentioned in *Nāṭ*. With the exception of *Yayāticarita*, the heroine in all the above-mentioned plays is the *kanyā*. Nevertheless, because she is destined for marriage to the royal hero both through the arrangements of men and gods, and does indeed later marry him, she must rather be classified *svakīyā*, as indicated by Bharata's nomenclature (*abhyantarā*). By pointing out the above tradition, Jīva confirms his statement that the verses cited to show that the *parakīyā* relation is more exciting do not in fact praise the *parakīyā* relationship at all, but rather the excitement alone.

### 7.323 Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Lalitāmādhava*

We have already seen that Jīva has relied to some extent on *LalM* in the earlier discussion of *samṛddhimat sambhoga*. In the context of the discussion in the previous section it is worthwhile examining this work in somewhat greater detail. The *LalM* is the second of Rūpa's two plays,

completed some four years after *Vidagdhamādhava* (1533-4).<sup>119</sup> Evidently, Rūpa himself set great store by this play; in his work on dramaturgy, *Nāṭikācandrikā*, he uses examples almost exclusively from it. The plot of the play is more complex than that of the light-hearted *ViM* and arguably met with less favour amongst the community of Vaiṣṇavas than the *ViM*.<sup>118</sup> Jīva states that the two plays are rather like his two *campū*s, i.e. *pūrva* and *uttara* divisions of what is essentially the same play: the former concerned exclusively with the amusements of Vṛndāvana, while the second attempts to resolve, in a rather idiosyncratic manner, the problems presented by Kṛṣṇa's departure for Mathurā and separation from the gopīs.<sup>119</sup> Jīva leaves other clues to the great importance this play has for him. The last chapter of the *Pūrvacampū* is given the same title as the last act of the *Lalitāmādhava*, "the fulfilment of all desires" (*pūṛṇamanorathā*). The same words (*lalitamādhavapūṇamanoratham*) are used as a pun to refer specifically to Kṛṣṇa's wedding when the astrologers are fixing the auspicious moment for the ceremony (GC ii.32v37). It might be said that in writing GC, Jīva was following in the footsteps of his uncle, but whereas Rūpa was free to improvise in his play without binding himself by the strictures of the scriptural evidence, Jīva took the challenge of basing his restructuring of Kṛṣṇa's life from within the confines of Purāṇic revelation.

In *LalM*, Rūpa tells too complicated a tale to give a full summary here.<sup>120</sup> The key factor is that Candrāvalī, Rādhā and the other gopīs are all, like Kṛṣṇa, possessed of dual identity. Though they are primarily Vṛndāvana-based, they were born elsewhere (like Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā) and were subsequently transferred to Vraja. After Kṛṣṇa's departure with Akrūra,

this premise permits Rūpa to imagine the reunion of the gopīs with Kṛṣṇa in Dvārakā, where they reappear as his wives.<sup>121</sup>

From this long and somewhat convoluted play, two remarkable points can be made. The first is that Rūpa adapts the above-described royal polygamy myth of Sanskrit drama to the *dramatis personae* of Kṛṣṇaite mythology. Rādhā, though given in marriage to Kṛṣṇa in her alterego of Satyābhāmā, being unable to identify the prince of Dvārakā as her beloved Kṛṣṇa, asks Rukmiṇī (Candrāvalī) to be placed under her protection so that she may avoid any contact with any man. Rukmiṇī, the chief queen, is only too glad to accommodate the request of her potential rival, whom she does not recognize as her Vṛndāvana cousin Rādhā. This is followed by the stereotyped themes of meeting, love, the surmounting of obstacles presented by Rukmiṇī, until finally the identity of Rādhā is made known to all and her marriage<sup>to</sup> Kṛṣṇa is sanctioned by her rival. The clear adoption of this tradition by Rūpa gives further credence to Jīva's contention that being the wife of another is not an indispensable precondition for a more intense experience of the erotic sentiment as is the *prima facie* indication of Rūpa's citation from the Nāṭ (UN 1.20).

The second point to be remarked upon here is that Rūpa adhered to Caitanya's instruction to keep Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana, albeit by a sort of trick. When Kṛṣṇa marries Rādhā and asks her whether she has any further wishes to be fulfilled, Rādhā assures Kṛṣṇa that everything is perfect as it is. When pressed, however, she admits that she actually preferred everything as it was in the old Vṛndāvana. Kṛṣṇa says, *tathāstu* and in springs Ekanāṁśā (Kṛṣṇa's sister and another form of Yogamāyā), to

announce that, in fact, no one had ever left Vṛndāvana, and that these events had taken place "simply to pass the time".<sup>122</sup> Rādhā then asks that everyone take their original form and return to Gokula.<sup>123</sup> It would appear that Rūpa's intention is that they all enter here into the *nitya-* or *aprakṣaḥ* state, which as we have seen from Jīva's exposé has a simultaneous existence and into which the incarnation merges. This is evident from the expression *bahiraṅga-janālakṣatayā*, "outside the range of vision of the uninitiated".<sup>124</sup>

Rādhā's expression of a desire to return to Vraja near the end of the play also has its parallel in GC. The LalM verse is as follows:

That fortunate land in Mathurā  
which is filled with sweetness, surrounded by forests  
which spew forth the odours of *Ilārasa*,  
is where you must sport again,  
the flute sitting joyfully on your lips,  
and surrounded by us, our minds unsophisticated  
by the frivolous nature of cowherd girls.<sup>125</sup>

In LalM, Rādhā and the gopīs wish to return to the Vraja that they knew. *Parakīyā* (i.e. *paraḥ*) supporters say that the words *caṭulapaśupībhāva* and *mugdhāntarā* indicate a desire on Rādhā's part to return to the former *parakīyā* state. Jīva uses a well-known verse with a pointed history in Caitanya legends to make a parallel statement in GC, while denying any possibility of such a *parakīyā* interpretation:

My husband (*vara*) is the same who took my maidenhead  
and these the moondrenched nights we knew;  
the very breeze is blowing from the Vindhya hills,  
heavy with the scent of newly blossomed jasmine.  
I too am still the same;



and yet with all my heart I yearn for the reedbeds by the stream  
 which knew our happy, graceful,  
 unending bouts of love.<sup>126</sup>

This verse is quoted no less than three times in the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, for it was mysteriously uttered by Caitanya during the chariot festival in Puri and is said by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to have been particularly revealing of his mind. According to Kṛṣṇadāsa and a pastiche verse written by Rūpa,<sup>127</sup> the verse reflects the mood of Rādhā at Kurukṣetra where she meets Kṛṣṇa after such a long interval, a situation of which Caitanya was reminded by the hurly burly of the Rathayātrā. Rādhā cannot be fully content amidst the pomp and majesty of Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā manifestation and his entourage; she thus yearns for the old days in Vraja.

Two preliminary points should be made here which will highlight the somewhat individual nature of Jīva's understanding of this verse. In the context of Caitanya's usage, the word *vara* cannot be interpreted as "husband". Second, if the lover is now become husband, then the *nāyikā's* past situation cannot be construed as that of the *paroḍhā*, for that would have rendered her later marriage impossible. Even so, this reminiscence of secretive pre-marital "bouts of love" is *parakīyā* in the context of the *kanyā* and could thus be considered parallel to that of the *gopī's* by analogy. Caitanya simply took the verse as an expression of the yearning sentimentality for a beautiful moment of love once known in youth but lost forever, i.e. of the mood of love in separation which dominated his life. The added interpretation found in Rūpa's pastiche is that Rādhā could not be swayed from her constancy toward the Vraja form of Kṛṣṇa

for in his Vāsudeva aspect he had lost all compatibility with the gopīs. Seeing Kṛṣṇa thus aggravated her nostalgia for the old Vraja.

On the other hand, though Jīva's first citation of this verse ("My husband, etc.") in GC includes a very rare reference to the acts of Caitanya, referring directly to the context in which the verse came to have meaning for the Gauḍīyas, his only point, through emphasis on the word *vara* which he unhesitatingly understands as "husband", is that Caitanya supported the ultimate marriage of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.<sup>128</sup>

Its second citation (GC 11.36.122) serves a function more closely parallel to the LalM verse under discussion ("That fortunate land..."). At some time after the consummation of her marriage to Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, Rādhā expresses her lack of complete satisfaction by reciting "My husband, etc." Kṛṣṇa suggests that the words "the banks of the Revā" be changed to "the banks of the Yamunā" and that her nostalgia can be easily treated by a simple change of locale. This is the signal for the ascension into Goloka which then takes place in the next chapter, the last of the book. Jīva ignores the possible inference that a return to former joys hankered for by Rādhā implies a desire to return to the *parakīyā* situation.

#### 7.324 *Sthāyibhāvas* and *samarthā ratī* problems and their resolution

The later critics of Jīva's understanding of the nature of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's relation in the eternal world, stress the indispensability of the *paroḍhā* relation for the most intense quality of love. They primarily base their critique on the hierarchy of the divisions of love, or *sthāyibhāvas*, described in chapter 14 of Rūpa's UN, which are said to dominate in any

particular dramatic representation. This is in fact a continuation of the classification started in the BRS, and indeed further explains some of the terms used in that book. For some, like Rūpa Kavirāja, this chapter is of the greatest importance in establishing the eternal character of *parodhā* love. Jīva has to some extent anticipated and pre-empted many of the arguments of his later detractors.

Rūpa's vision of *sthāyibhāva* is original, though clearly following in the tradition of Śiṅgabhūpāla.<sup>129</sup> The general term for the feeling of love is *rati*, or more exactly, *madhurā rati*. Rūpa classifies this single basic feeling into three separate streams into which its further stages or *sthāyibhāvas* can fall.<sup>130</sup> These appear at first sight to have been categorized by Rūpa according to the three types of *nāyikā* which are familiar from the customary divisions of the poeticians. They are: *sādhārāṇī* ("common"  $\approx$  *sāmānyā nāyikā*), *samañjasā* ("conventional"  $\approx$  *svakīyā nāyikā*), and *samarthā* ("competent"  $\approx$  *parakīyā nāyikā*). These three kinds of *rati* are graded as progressively superior, compared in turn to ordinary jewels, the thought-jewel (*cintāmaṇi*) and the *kaustubha* jewel of Nārāyaṇa.<sup>131</sup>

Though Rūpa rejected the *sāmānyā* or courtesan for his devotionally based conception of poetics and categorized Kumbhā as a type of *parakīyā nāyikā*,<sup>132</sup> he nevertheless here places her in a category of her own in order to account for her rather unrefined and overtly sexual behaviour. Her love for Kṛṣṇa is based entirely upon sexual attraction and contains a rather strong element of selfish desire.<sup>133</sup> The word *samañjasā* means "correct" or perhaps "conventional". Its essence is said to be the pride of

wifely identity (*patnībhāvēbhīmānātmā*); it is thus said to contain an element of ego-centred sexuality which occasionally pierces through the veneer of selfless devotion.<sup>134</sup> When such an attitude is struck, the queens are not able to bring Kṛṣṇa under their own control. The *samarthā* "competent" *ratī* is defined as being identical in form to sexual desire, but despite such an appearance of identity, the erotic desire never has an independent life of its own. Every effort of the possessor of such competent affection is uniquely dedicated to the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>135</sup> It is thus the most pure and intense of all the forms of love according to the standard mooted by Rūpa at the beginning of BRS.<sup>136</sup>

Though a parallel has been made above of the three types of *nāyikā* to these three types of *ratī*, some clarification is necessary. First, even though Rukmiṇī is at first technically a *kanyā parakīyā* who had to face numerous obstacles presented by her family before she could be wed to Kṛṣṇa, she is never considered to possess anything other than *samañjasa ratī*. Rūpa's example clearly indicates what is meant by "pride in wifely identity":

What lofty virgin, Mukunda, thoughtful and of noble birth,  
seeing you to be equal to her in nobility, character, beauty,  
education, age, wealth and effulgence,  
would not in time choose you, oh lion amongst men,  
who are pleasing to the minds of the world of men.<sup>137</sup>

Again, though Rūpa clearly indicates the *paraṇhā* gopīs of Vraja including Rādhā when he speaks of *samarthā ratī*, in his definition of this category of love, Rūpa nowhere specifically links it to the *parakīyā nāyikā* in the way that *samañjasa* is linked by definition to the married woman.

The subsequent stages or degrees of *ratī* are named *preman*, *sneha*, *māna*, *prapaya*, *rāga*, *anurāga* and *bhāva*.<sup>138</sup> All these *sthāyins* are further subdivided (see Fig. 6a on following page), the primary criterion being whether the *nāyikā* is possessive or not. *Madīyatā*, or possessive love, is considered superior to its opposite, *tadīyatā*. There is no point in here detailing the various subtle differences between these *sthāyibhāvas*, suffice it to say that *sādhārṇī ratī* reaches only as far as *preman*, *samañjasā* as far as *anurāga*, while the *samarthā ratī* attains the very limits of *mahābhāva*.<sup>139</sup> Even amongst the gopīs, Rādhā is shown to be supreme, for only she and those close to her know the intoxicating condition of *mādanamahābhāva*.<sup>140</sup>

It would superficially appear that according to Rūpa, only a *parakīyā nāyikā* was able to reach the highest stage of love. If we look at the definitions of the different types of *mahābhāva*, however, we see that the highest stage, known as *mādana*, encompasses the gamut of features found in every other stage and degree of love, including those of union (*modana*) and separation (*mohana*). It is manifested, however, in union in the *nityalīlā* and not in separation.<sup>141</sup> Rūpa's example also stresses the undivided (*advaita*) aspect of the divine couple.<sup>142</sup>

Jīva draws attention to the consistency of Rūpa's presentation by saying that the three types of *ratī* are *sui generis*. Thus, by definition, even when the obstacles, etc., which enhance love are present, *samañjasā* and *sādhārṇī* cannot change and become *samarthā*, the only type which can attain to the very limit of *bhāva*. Due to its special qualities, this *samarthā ratī* is desired by the seekers of liberation (as stated by Uddhava,

x.47.58) and even by the queens of Dvārakā (as stated by them in x.83.43), yet neither the seekers nor the queens actively wish for the obstacles and interference faced by the adulteress, what to speak of marriage with someone other than Kṛṣṇa. Thus, the particular emotional status of each group remains unique to itself even when obstacles, etc. are experienced equally by all. Moreover, the obstacles faced by the gopīs desirous of meeting Kṛṣṇa reveal the strength of their love, like the chains which bind an elephant in rut; they are not in any way responsible for the existence of the love itself.<sup>143</sup> Therefore, when it is said, "The gopīs abandoned their own kith and kin, and the path of morality, so difficult to give up" (x.47.61) and "ignoring their obligations to this world and the next, they offered their hearts out of love" (UN 3.17), this should not be taken to imply that the obstacles, in this case those presented by the *parodhā* situation, are of a permanent nature, or indeed that they are integral to the particular *rati* which they experience, i.e. they do not preclude the marriage.

Jīva further anticipates the argument that separation improves the quality of love on the basis of Kṛṣṇa's own statements in BhP,

My beloved friends,  
 I do not deal with those who deal with me  
 strictly according to the way in which they desire,  
 Think, rather, of the poor man who loses the wealth he has gained,  
 and alone, thinks of nothing else.<sup>144</sup>

Jīva answers that such statements are meant to show that love within a particular class is increased, not that one type becomes another. He gives the example of the digestive powers of different species of animal.

Though exercise might increase the hare's power of digestion, it will never increase to the point of equalling that of an elephant no matter how much it jumps about. Similarly, *samañjasā* or *sādhārṇī ratī* will not become *samarthā* even if subjected to similar conditions, i.e. of separation or obstacles, etc.<sup>145</sup>

Jīva continues with the same example to show that separation is not an end in itself. The hare's (or indeed the elephant's) hunger is not itself mitigated by its exercise, rather it is increased. In other words, any amount of separation produced by obstacles etc., cannot satisfy the hunger that a devotee feels for the association of the Lord, no matter how much such separation serves to increase their desire. Therefore, the opinion of the mundane literary critics which was mooted in the verse *bahu vāryate* [UN 1.20] is for the superficial understanding of those who also follow the school of thought in which separation and obstacles, etc., are necessary ingredients in the increase of love.

### 7.325 The perfections of the married state

Given the emphasis on both *samṛddhimat sambhoga* and *mādana bhāva* made by Jīva in his arguments, he has made little effort to demonstrate directly through descriptive poetry exactly what form these emotional states entail. The nature of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's amorous dealings in the *nitya-līlā* are only described in a somewhat anodyne fashion at the beginning of GC 1.2. Other than this, Jīva makes one further attempt to show the superiority of the marital state in a speech by Vṛndā. Essentially, Jīva postulates that fear and disgust are *rasas* in their own right (*bhayāṇaka* and *jugupsā*). Neither of these is stated to be compatible with the erotic

sentiment. Embarrassment or bashfulness (Skt. *trapā* or *laṣṣā*) manifests itself both when one engages in sinful acts or in sexual activity. The two are different in nature, and the shame one feels in sinful acts is identical with fear. Thus when one is married the shame one feels becomes purified, whereas when one engages in sexual acts with the wife of another man, it does not because of fear and criticism. Furthermore:

The romantic sentiment is weakened when mixed with fear,  
while its sweetness is aroused when combined with bashfulness,  
when it has been thus ascertained by all the critics of poetry,  
then it should also be determined that  
the hidden sexual union born of irreligion,  
being covered by the first of these (horror)  
must truly bring distress,  
while that religious union which is combined with shyness  
is highly relishable.<sup>147</sup>

Thus though Jīva admits that some purpose might be achieved by a temporary causing of fear or horror, he states that no useful purpose could be served if fear remained permanently. Jīva ends with a verse which states the same conclusions made in UNc 1.21.

The power of the gopīs natural love  
is not a result of their fear,  
but rather was accepted by them (*antaḥkṛtā*)  
to see whether or not they could overcome their fear.  
If by overcoming the social and religious barriers  
the power of their love is increased, it is confirmed;  
it is like gold which, already known to be pure,  
having undergone the test of fire,  
is put in the fires once more  
[to increase again its purity].<sup>148</sup>



## 7.33 Critics and critique

In the century following the publication of the Gopālacampū, numerous devotees questioned Jīva's position, some of which/<sup>critique</sup> has been discussed in 1.14 above. Particularly outspoken was Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmin, a successor to the helmsmanship of the Rādhā Govinda temple which housed Rūpa Gosvāmin's deity. In two works, Daśaslokaṭbhāṣya and Sādhanaadīpikā, Rādhā Kṛṣṇa Gosvāmin was the first to point out the apparent confession Jīva had made in the Locanarocanī. The second major critic, Rūpa Kavirāja, who wrote Sārasaṃgraha, has not been taken extremely seriously by Gauḍīyas due to his excommunication by his spiritual master, ostensibly for ignoring commensality laws. In his work he identifies himself as a follower of Mukunda Gosvāmin, a disciple of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja who is known for a commentary on the Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu. The majority of *śahāīyā* groups trace their succession through these masters. One edition of the Narottamavilāsa apparently contains the story of Rūpa Kavirāja's disgrace at the hands of Hemalata Tākuraṇī. Whatever one may say about Rūpa Kavirāja's later status, he certainly was a qualified scholar and his arguments in Sārasaṃgraha, show evidence of an education in *nyāya* and a logical mind. Another work has been attributed to him, Rāgānugavārtikā.

The third writer, who put the nail in the coffin of the *svakīyā* position in the Gauḍīya school, was Viśvanātha Cakravartin. Sometimes called an incarnation of Rūpa Gosvāmin, he was a prodigious writer and commentator. He wrote commentaries on most of Rūpa Gosvāmin's books, most notably Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu and Ujjvalanīlamanī, in which he takes on Jīva Gosvāmin's position in support of *svakīyā* head on. His

commentary on the Bhāgavatapurāṇa is one of the most entertaining of all ever written. He promoted Kavi Karṇapūra's Ānandavṛndāvanacampū by writing a commentary on it rather than Jīva's Gopālacampū because of its adherence to the *parakīyā* position. He also wrote original works, in particular Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta, a sequel or supplement to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's Govindalīlāmṛta, which also is a work with a *parakīyā* emphasis. Other works by this author include Vrajaṭṭicintāmaṇi, Premasampūṭa, Stavāmṛtalaharī and a Saṃkalpakaḥpadrūpa which seeks to supersede that of Jīva. Two other small works by Viśvanātha directly address the question of the *svakīyā* loves: Svakīyāṭvanirāsavicāra and Parakīyāṭvanirūpaṇa

We do not have the space here to discuss in full the arguments presented by these critics. The main point made by Rūpa Kavirāja is, as already mentioned above, that since *samañjesā ratī* is the love that a conventionally married woman feels for her husband, the gopīs would automatically fall into this category upon becoming married. Their love would thus no longer have its own special qualities.<sup>149</sup> Jīva's numerous comparisons of the relation of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa to the queens in Dvārakā or to Sītā and Rāma or even Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa are inherently distasteful to the devotees who see Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the supreme couple, their supremacy expressed in their idiosyncratic relationship.<sup>150</sup>

In the same vein, Viśvanātha Cakravartin says that the *parakīyā* relation in the *prakeṣa/līlā* cannot be considered false because the *rāsa/līlā*, which is the greatest of Kṛṣṇa's sports, is described in BhP with repeated reference to such a relation. Without such a relation, the *rāsa/līlā* would not be relishable. If it were not for the *parakīyā* nature of the *rāsa/līlā*, the

statement that the gopīs were more fortunate than Lakṣmī (x.47.63) would also have no meaning. No one has ever described a *rāsaiṅg* of a married Kṛṣṇa (though Jīva does mention such a *rāsa* in GC 11.36.109ff).<sup>151</sup>

Even though Viśvanātha Cakravartin agrees that as Kṛṣṇa's *hlādinī śakti*, Rādhā is *svayā*, he states that they are worshipped in the context of and not divorced from their *īṅg*. This *īṅg* takes the *parakīyā* form throughout, in the *aprakṣaṭīṅg* as well as in the *prakṣaṭīṅg*. The very nature of the gopīs' love is expressed in their abandonment of the limits imposed on them by society and religion through their marriage vows. If their love did not take this form in the *aprakṣaṭīṅg* then it would not attain the highest reaches of emotional attachment and *mahābhāva* itself would not manifest.

Viśvanātha concludes that Jīva's real intention was in favour of the *parakīyā* mood.<sup>152</sup> As we have seen, however, Jīva's defence of the *svakīyā* position is confirmed throughout all his works. The words of Paurṇamāsī at the end of her account of the *svakīyā* relation in GC 1.15. emphatically confirm the importance which he placed on this doctrine, but also denies any possibility that he might have been of two minds on the issue. Seen in the light of such accusations, Jīva's playful use of different forms of the verb *vac* is much more than a "display of pure pedantry"<sup>153</sup>; it is rather an exercise in absolute confirmation of conviction in a doctrine:

I was saying it, I have said it, even in dreams did I say it;  
I am saying it, I am about to say it and I will go on saying it;  
I should say it, I pray to God that I may go on saying it,  
I must say it,  
if it weren't so, then I would never have said it at all.<sup>154</sup>

## Notes for Chapter 7

1. BRS i.2.59: *siddhāntatas tv abhedo 'pi ŚrīśaKṛṣṇasvarūpayoḥ/ rasenotkrṣyate Kṛṣṇah rūpa esa rasasthitiḥ//*
2. BhP i.1.3: *nigamakalpataror galitam phalam Śukamukhād amrtadrava-samyutam/ pibata Bhāgavatam rasam ālavam muhur aho rasikā bhuvi bhāvukāḥ//*
3. GC ii.1.7: *gīrdevīm anuyāmaḥ sakalāśrutisārabhāgavatarūpām/ yadrasa-siddhāntābhyām navam api kāvyam pramānatām yāti//*
4. GC ii.37v151-2: *līlānām rasapūrtir mayakādarśi kramād atra/ svasvāgrahatas tāsām kācana kenāpy upāsyantām nāma// Kintu, rasika-janasukhārtham sādhayāmāsa śaśvat kramam anu rasapūrtim sūdatat Kṛṣṇacandraḥ/ kramam anurasayan yaḥ pūrtim ānoti pūrtyām saphalam iha param syāt tat tu vaidagdhyam asya//*
5. PrītiS 112.
6. This vision is described in GC i.20.36-46. The dhāma is described in detail in GC i.1 and ii.37.
7. These matters are discussed in GC i.3.82ff. See section 5.201 above.
8. Cf. Kṛṣṇa's criticism of their marriage customs (i.33.138), the behaviour of the Yādavas in the Syamantaka affair (i.33v55-6, ii.17.17 etc.) and at the time of the Kṛṣṇa's going to abduct Rukmiṇī (ii.13.26).
9. GC ii.10v13: *manye Gokulasambhavam pīṭmukham premāvalambam janam bimbam tatpratibimbam eva purajanaṁ yatrānubhūtiḥ pramā/ pūrvasminn anubhūtatām anu gate nāntyāḥ kva ca smaryate paścādbhāvinī yātavaty anubhavam pūrvam sarīsmaryate//*
10. PadP vi.279.15-6 states that Kṛṣṇa spent two months in Vraja before sending Nanda and the other men with their sons and wives (Nandādayaḥ putradārasahitāḥ) to Vaikuṇṭha and returning to Dvārakā. Jīva interprets the word "sons" to refer to Kṛṣṇa, since Nanda is not known to have any other children and says that he went to Dvārakā in another form appropriate to that place (ekena prakāśena ca Dvāravatīm ca jagāmeti. KṛṣṇaS 175, p.93. Also GC ii.29.103: *putradārasahitāḥ iti pūrvasūcitatatputratocitarūpeṇātra sthitir eva, Yadupurasamucitarūpeṇa tu Dvāravatīpraveśa iti sarvam sadeśarūpam.*
11. GC ii.30.12: *itaḥ param svīyam astraṁ na prayujjīya kvacid apīti samcakṛpe.*

12. KṛṣṇaS 152, p.78; *Yadī nityam eva tathāvidhaḥ ŚrīKṛṣṇākhyah svayam bhagavān tatra tatra etaiḥ parikaraiḥ sārddham viharati, tarhi...katham vā janmādilīlayā krameṇa Mathurām Gokulam punar Mathurām Dvārakām ca tyaktvā Vaikuṇṭham āruḍhavan iti.*
13. *ibid. Tathā Mathurādīparityāgādyuktir avatāre prāpācīkajanaprakāṣa-  
līlāpekṣayaiva. Tadaḥ prakāṣa tu līlā nityam eva vidyate. Since Kṛṣṇa  
must by nature always be situated in his dhāman, what is happening  
when he is at Kurukṣetra or some other place? The answer is that at  
those times, these places are temporarily imbued with the  
characteristics of the dhāman. Sa bhagavaḥ kasmīn pratiṣṭhita iti sve  
mahimnīti (ChāU 7.24.1)... Tatas tatraivāvyavahānena tasya līlā.  
Anyeṣāṃ prākṛtatvāt na sākṣāt tatsparśo 'pi sambhavati dhāraṇasaktis  
tu natarām. Yatra kvacid vā prakāṣalīlāyāṃ tadgamanādikam āruḍyate,  
tadapi teṣāṃ ādhārasakti-rūpāṇāṃ sthānāṇāṃ āveśād eva mantavyam. etc.  
(KṛṣṇaS 174, p.90).*
14. KṛṣṇaS 164, p.85. *Na hy atra tāsāṃ adhyātmavidyā śreyaskarī bhavati...  
sādhāraṇabhaktānāṃ apy anupādeyatvenoktavyāt. Na ca tacchravaṇena  
vīrahaivāpī śāmyati... Tasmād Vidurasyeva kūṭoktir iyam ity ukta  
evārtho bhavaty antaraṅgaḥ, sa ca Yudhiṣṭhirasyeva tāsāṃ eva gamya  
iti.*
15. BhP xi.21.35; *Parokṣavādā ṛṣayah parokṣam ca mama priyam/ Cited at  
BRSc iii.4.76, etc.*
16. BhP x.47.29, discussed in KṛṣṇaS 155 (p.80), GC ii.12.12ff; *bhavatīnām  
vīyogo me na hi sarvātmanā kvacit.*
17. KṛṣṇaS 116, p.62; *Tataś ca līlādvaye Kṛṣṇavat teṣāṃ eva prakāśabhedaḥ.  
Yadā ca prakāśabhedo bhavati, tadā tattallīlārasapoṣāya teṣu tattallīlā-  
śaktir evābhīmānabhedaṃ parasparam ananusandhānam ca prāyaḥ  
sāpādayatīti gamyate.*
18. This is stated in Pv 312ff, UN 15.185-7, LBhāg 1.4.471, BRS iii.3.129,  
NāṭC. E.g. *Harer līlāviśeṣasya prakāṣāyānusārataḥ/ varṇitā  
vīrahāvasthā goṣṭhāvāmbhruvāṃ asau// Vṛndāraṇye viharatā sadā  
rāsādivibhramaiḥ/ Hariṇā Vraja-devīnām vīraho 'sti na karhicit//UN  
15.185-6.*
19. CC iii.1.65; *Kṛṣṇake bāhira nāhi kariha Vraja haite/ Vraja chāḍī Kṛṣṇa  
kabhu nā yāya kāmhāte//*

20. BhP x.69 is cited to show how Kṛṣṇa lived simultaneously in the houses of each of his 16,000+ wives. Uddhava is also present in more than one of these homes engaging in different activities with Kṛṣṇa. *Tatra nānākriyādyadhiṣṭhānatvād eva JIḥrasapoṣāya teṣu prakāśeṣv abhimāna-bhedaṃ parasparam ananusandhānaṃ ca prāyaḥ svecchayorIkarotIty api gamyate.* KṛṣṇaS 155, p.81.
21. BhP x.47.31; *Ātmā jñānamayaḥ śuddho vyatirikto guṇānvayaḥ/ suṣupti-svapnajāgradbhir manovṛttibhir Iyate//* JIva takes *Ātmā* to mean "I": *Ātmasābdo 'sminn asmacchabdārthaparaḥ,* KṛṣṇaS 158, p.83.
22. UN 15.210-20. This type of union is not less real in the theological sense where a vision of Kṛṣṇa, even in dreams, is not different from the real Kṛṣṇa any more than his name or idol is ontologically different from him.
23. Hamsadūta, 105-13.
24. GC ii.6v9-10; *satyaṃ samtyajya yuṣmān niyatamedanugeprāṇaṇī nīṣpramāṇā dharṃyaṃ me nāsti kiccit tad api savayasaḥ śrūyatāṃ mannivedyam/ yuṣmākaṃ yātisetur mayī ratir atulā sā tu māṃ hreṣyanti tattulyāśaktiriktaṃ hnutatanum akaron nāsmi dūraḥ kadāpi//* *puryāṃ aśyāṃ yad asmi prakāṣaṃ api hitaṃ hanta kuryāṃ kathaṃ tat kintu cchāyāśadṛkṣaḥ sphuṭaṃ iha vihare tatra tu svena nityam/ āveśo yatra yasya sphurati sa niyatam tatra bhāti svayaṃ yat sphūrtiṃ svām so 'yam asmiIty anubhajati yathā tena nānyena tadvat//*
25. GC ii.12.13; *Nanv idam svasya brahmajñānam ivoddiṣṭam, sarvātmanā me mayeti sāmānādhikaranyāt. Tad alam anabhīṣṭaśravaṇena... Ibid, §15; Nanv anena punar uktena pūrvapūrvam upadiṣṭam sphūrtilekṣaṇam ivādiṣṭam. Sarveṇa prakāśena viyogo nāsti, kintu Mathurāsthena prakāṣena viyogaḥ. Bhavatīṣu sphuratā tatrasthena saṃyogo iti. Tad alam piṣṭapeṣaṇasarga-karacakravargasya ghargharaśabdaśravaṇena.*
26. LBhāg i.4.
27. KṛṣṇaS 158, p.83; *Ataeva sa ca sphūrtirūpo 'yam anubhavaḥ kadācit sākṣātkāradvārāpi kalpyate iti cīrakālavirahe 'pi tāsāṃ sandhukṣaṇa-kāraṇaṃ jñeyam.*
28. GC ii.6v3; *Ādye 'hni kṣīrabhaktam ghanam adhivalitā roṭikā tasya paścāt tatpaścād dugdhapūpaṃ tad anu bahuvīdhānnādyam anyeṣy cānyat/ mātar mahyam nikāyye mahati rasayate paryaveśi tvayā yan na svapnas tan na*

*vā tatsphuraṇamayam iti smaryate kintu satyam//* Compare this to Caitanya's message to his mother, CC iii.12.89-93.

29. GC ii.7v2; *Satyam taddivasam anu te bhojanam tat tad āsId ittham citte sphurati mama hā tatra cāsIn na tṛptih/ yasmān mohād eha mayakā putra tatpūraṇāya prāpto nāsId avasara iti svāntam antar dunoti//*
30. GC ii.23v3: *yadyapy aham Gokulalokam āsu pratīsvam abhyasya raho bhajāmi/ tathāpi ye na pratiyanti te 'mī milantu māṃ tatra pare vasantu//*
31. GC ii.23v6: *yadyapy ātmaikavedyā mama lasati muhuḥ saṅgatir yuṣmakābhiḥ sphūrtibhrāntyā pratītiḥ tad api kila na vaḥ tatra hā dhig mamāpi/ yad dvīṣṭadveṣṭrarkagrahaṇamīṣatayānyonyasaṅgaḥ sambhāvyaḥ tat priyāyaḥ Kurubhuvi sakṛd apy astu sa prāṇanāya//*
32. Hardy, op. cit. 510, "...and in their reply, praising him, they show that they have understood the lesson."
33. BhP x.82.48, *āhuḥ ca te nalinanābha padāravindam yogeśvarair hṛdi vicintyam agādhabodhaiḥ/ saṃsārakūpapatitottaraṇāvalambam gehamjuṣām api manasy udiyāt sadā naḥ//* Trans. d'après Hardy, ibid.
34. KṛṣṇaS 170, p.86f. *Yogeśvarair hṛdi vicintyam na tv asmābhis tat-smaraṇārambha eva mūrcchāgāminībhiḥ... agādhabodhaiḥ sākṣāddarsane 'py akṣubhitabuddhibhiḥ na tv asmābhir iva taddarsanecchayā kṣubhitabuddhibhiḥ. Caranasyāravinderūpakam ca tatsparśanaiva dāhasāntir bhavati na tu tathā tatsmaranēneti jñāpanāya. Nanu, tathā nididhyāsanam eva yogeśvarāṇām saṃsāraduḥkham iva bhavati nām virahaduḥkham dūrIkṛtya tadudayam kariṣyatIti āśaṅkyāha, saṃsārakūpapatitānām evottaraṇāvalambam na tv asmākam virahasindhunimagnānām... Nanv evādhunāgatya muhur māṃ sākṣād evānubhavata, tatrāhuḥ... geham juṣām iti tava saṅgatiḥ ca tvatpūrvasaṅgamavilāśadhāmnī tattadesmatkāmā-dughe svābhāvikaśmatprītinilaye nijagehe Gokula eva bhavatu, na tu Dvārakādāy iti... Vṛndāvana eva yady āgacchasi, tadaiva nistāra iti bhāvah. Jīva's reworking of this verse in GC also partially catches the spirit of this interpretation, adapting a famous cliché which contrasts yogin with viyogin: *vṛṇImahi padāmbujam tava sarojanābha prabho manasy api kathāficana sphuratu naḥ samantād iti/ idam hi bata yoginām smṛtatayā tamaś cyāvanam viyogisudṛśām tayā tamasi majjanam pratyuta//* (ii.23v39).*

35. Śṛṅgāratilaka ŚṛT 2.1; *vipralambhābhidhāno 'yaṃ śṛṅgāraḥ syāc caturvidhaḥ/ pūrvānuraḅgo mānākhyaḥ pravāsaḥ karuṇātmakaḥ//*
36. Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana (Skā) 5.84. See also 5.59-63.
37. e.g. Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana 5.50: *lokāntaragate yūni vallabhe vallabhā yadā/ bhr̥ṣaṃ duḥkḥāyate dīnaḥ karuṇaḥ sa tadocyate//* 5.88: *pratyāgate 'pi yatraiṣā ratipuṣṭiḥ priye jāne/ sā kim āvarṇyate yūnāṃ tatraiva mṛtaḥ/* Ras 2.225: *punar ujjīvitāṃ bhogesaṃrddhiḥ kiyatī bhavet/ Śīṅgabhuṇḍa also gives the example of Kāma and Rati who were reunited when he was reborn as Pradyumna.*
38. UN 15.147-9; *priyasya sannikarṣe 'pi premoṭkarṣasvabhāvataḥ/ yā viśleṣadhiyārtis tat premavaicittyaṃ ucyate//*
39. UN 15.3. Rūpa attributes only to *prāñcaḥ*. The verse appears to be Bhojadeva's (Skā 5.53): *na vinā vipralambhena sambhogaḥ puṣṭim āsnute/ kṣāyite hi vastrāḍau bhūyo rāgo 'bhivardhate//*
40. Cf. BRS 11.5.74,77-8: *Kṛṣṇānvayād guṇātītapraudhānandamayā api/ bhāntya amī triguṇotpannasukha-duḥkhamayā iva//...prāyaḥ sukhamayāḥ śītā uṣṇā duḥkhamayā iha/ citreyaṃ paramānandasāndrāpy uṣṇā ratir matā// śītair bhāvair baliṣṭhais tu puṣṭā śītāyate hy asau/ uṣṇais tu ratir atyuṣṇā tṣpayantīva bhāṣate//*
41. BrBhāg 1.7.126-7: *tathāpi sambhogasukhād api stutaḥ sa ko 'py anirvācyatamo manoramaḥ/ pramodārśiḥ pariṇāmato dhruvaṃ tatra sphuret tadrasikaikavedyaḥ// tacchokaduḥkhoparamasya paścac cittam yataḥ pūrṇatayā prasannam/ samprāptasambhogamahāśukhena sampannavat tiṣṭhati sarvadaiva//*. In BrBhāg, Sanātana does not describe a return to Vraja in the *prakāṣa/II*, rather he speaks of regular departures for two month periods from the *nitya/II*, thus introducing *dūrepravāsa* even there.
42. BRSc 11.5.74: *Kṛṣṇasphuraṇamayatvādd harṣādayas tāvad aprākṛtasukha-mayā eva, kintu tadanvayāt viṣādayas ca tādṛśasukhamayā eva vaktavyāḥ. Duḥkhamayatvena teṣāṃ sphuraṇaṃ tu tadaprāptyā dibhāvanā-rūpaṇopādhinopādānenaiva jāyate, Kṛṣṇasphuraṇaṃ tu tatra nimitta-mātram. Bhaktānāṃ āyatyāṃ tatprāptyādayat tv āśāyaka eva, prāpty-ādiṣu ca jāteṣu tadbhāvanārūpasypādher upādānasyāpagamādd harṣasya poṣaṇāc ca bubhukṣādīvad viṣādayo 'pi sukhamayatvenaiva sphurantīti duḥkhamayā iva, na tu duḥkhamayāḥ.* 11.5.78: *ābhāsatvam ādyantayor*



*asthāyitvāt viyogalakṣaṇam upādhim anv eva madhye 'py anyathā pratīyamānatvāt. Comp. GC 1.1.26-7. Viśvanātha Cakravartin stresses the inherently pleasurable aspects of separation in his commentary under the same verses.*

43. BhP x.14.37.

44. UNc 15.187; *Tathāpi hanta hanta yatra prakāśe pūrvārāgādivipralambhā varṇitās tatraiva tattadanāntarāḥ sambhogā varṇanīyāḥ. Prakāśāntareṇa nitya-sambhoge tu prakāṣaprakāśagatānām tāsām varṇitavirahānām kṛtiḥ, yāṁ vinā tad varṇanam viśam eva syāt? Yadi cāprakāṣaḥ prakāśagatam yat sukham tat tatra saṅkrāmed ity ucyate tarhi viraha eva na syād iti tad varṇanam kathambhūtam? Kathaṁ vā svayam ŚrīKṛṣṇena,*

*dhārayanty atikṛcchreṇa prāyaḥ prāṇān kathāncana/*

*pratyāgamānasandehair vallabyo me madātmikāḥ// ity uktam?*

*Tasmān mahāvīpralambhād anantaram sambhogo 'vāśyam varṇanīyaḥ. Na ca yasminn aṁśe sukham syāt tatraiva sātavyam, seyam premarītir na bhavati kintu svasukhatatparataiveti tatprijanānām upekṣaṇīyatvāt. Astu tēvat tatprijanānām vārtā, laukikarasevidāṁ api, na vinā vipralambhena ity ādinā sarvāyatyāṁ sambhogaparyavasānatayaiva sammatir dṛśyate. Tadanusāreṇāpi nirvighnasambhoga eva vipralambha-gaṇānām phalaṭayā paryavasāyanīyaḥ. Tam etaṁ prakāṣaprakāśam evāmbanīkṛtya granthakṛtām eṣa grantho, nāṭakādayo 'nye ca granthā, upāsanā ca pravṛtṭyā dṛśyante. ŚrīSukādinām apy atraivāveśaḥ spaṣṭaḥ ŚrīBrahmaṇas ca*

*prapañcam niṣprapañco 'pi viḍambayasi bhūtaile/*

*prapannajanatānandasandohaṁ prathitum prabho// ity atra tathaivābhīprāyaḥ. Prapañcānukaraṇam hy atra janmādilīlārūpam eva. Tataś ca satyāṁ api tasyāṁ nityalīlāyāṁ janmādilīlaiva prapannajanavṛndānām ānandasandohahetur iti.*

*Yadi ca granthakṛtām atrāgraho na syāt, kintv aprakāṣalīlāyāṁ eva, tarhi prakāṣalīlāyā vipralambhaduḥkheviśeṣamāyā varṇanāyāṁ ko lābhah syāt? Tad etad āśaṅkya prakāṣalīlāyāḥ paripāmatāḥ kleśamayatvam prāptam iti svayam api paritāpya tattannītyalīlāsukhanirūpītalīlākrama-rasaparipāṭīm adṛṣṭvā svayam sarvarasaparipāṭīṣūrakān phalarūpān samṛddhimatparyantān sambhogān vaktum āha ethe sambhoga iti.*

45. UN 15.207; *durlabhālokeyor yūnoḥ pāratantryād viyuktayoḥ/ upabhogāṭireko yaḥ kīrtiyate sa samṛddhimān//*
46. The latter of these verses is also quoted in GC 1.33.319.
47. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja appears to be saying the same thing in CC 1.4.28: *Vaikuṇṭhādye nāhi ye ye līlāre pracāra/ se se līlā karība yāte mora cematkāra//*
48. KṛṣṇaS 182, p.105: *Tatra prakāṣalīlāgetabhāvasya vīrahasaṃyogādi-līlāvaicitrībharavāhītvena balavattaratvād ubhaya līlāikībhāvānantaram apī tanmayas teṣāṃ abhimāno 'nuvartata eva.*
49. *ibid.*, p.106; *...tena vayam aho samayagamanāgamanam apī sambhālayitum na pārayāma iti.*
50. BRSc iii.4.76: *Kim cātra granthe līlāvarṇanās trividhāḥ, Vrajalīlāmayyo, Vrajetyāgamayyaḥ, Puralīlāmayyaś ceti. Śrotāś ca trividhāḥ Vraja-janānugā purajanānugāś tatāsthāś ca. Sarveṣāṃ sukhapoṣārtham eva ca tē nirdiṣṭāḥ. Tatra tatāsthānāṃ sarvā eva sukhapoṣikā bhavanti, ŚrīKṛṣṇa-mātratātṭparyakatvāt. Pura-janānugānāṃ Vrajalīlāś ca sukhapoṣikā bhavanti, aśmadīyaḥ ŚrīmadAnakadundubhinandanaś tatra Vraje sthitvā vicitralīlā vidhāya pureṇa āgatya tāsāṃ upadhāraṇayā ŚrīmadĀnakadundubhīnāṃ sukhapoṣikā jāta iti bhāvanayā. Tasmād āsātāṃ tēvad anye dve līle. Vraja-janānugānāṃ purasambandhinyāḥ sukhapoṣikā na bhavanty eva, pratyuta duḥkhopoṣikāḥ, punaś tasya Vrajāgamanānuṣṭāṇkanāt. Tataś ca Vrajalīlāmayyaś ca duḥkhatvenaiva paryavasitāḥ, kim uta Vrajatyāga-mayyaḥ. Sarveṣāṃ eva ca sukhaṃ poṣṭum icchadbhir granthakṛdbhiḥ sarvā līlā varṇitāḥ. Viśeṣataś ca,*  
*alaukikī tv iyaṃ Kṛṣṇaratih sarvādbhutādbhutā/*  
*tatrāpi vallavādhīśānandanāmbanā ratih/*  
*sāndrānandacamatkārapareṇāvadhir iṣyate// (ii.5.108-10)*  
*iti spaṣṭokter Vraja-janānugānāṃ eva sarvādhikaṃ sukhaṃ poṣṭavyam. Tasmād uktarītyā svayam eva saṃkṣepatBhāgavatāmṛte likhitam ŚrīKṛṣṇasya punar Vrajāgamanapūrvakaṃ puragatatattadvijayaśravaṇād apī puṣṭasukhānāṃ Vraja-janānāṃ madhye nityāvasthānam eva granthakṛtāṃ hṛdgatam. Tena tacchravaṇena Vraja-janānugā apī puṣṭasukhāḥ syuḥ. Parokṣavādāḥ ṛṣayaḥ parokṣam ca mama priyam (BhP xi.21.32) itivat. Prakāṣam tu tan na pāṭhitam iti jñeyam.*
51. Kṛṣṇo 'pi tam hatvā Yamunāṃ uttīrya Nandavrajam gatvā sotkanṭhau pitarāḥ abhivādyāśvāsya tībhyāṃ sāsrukanṭham ālīṅgitaḥ sakalagopa-

*vṛddhān prapamyāśvāsyā bahuvāstrābharāṇāḍibhis tatrasthān sarvān  
santarpayāmāsa. Kālindyāḥ puline rāmye puṇyavṛkṣasamācīte/  
gopānāḥIbhīr anīṣaṃ krīḍayāmāsa Keśava// rāmyakelisukhenaiva  
gopaveśadharaḥ prabhuh/ bahupremarāsenātra māśadvayam uvāsa ha//*  
The rest is given above, see note 10.

52. *Yarhy ambujāḥkṣepasasāra bhavān kvacit Kurūn Madhūn vātha suhrd-  
didṛkṣayā, etc.*
53. BRSc iii.4.76; *Nityāvasthāṃ cātra kaimutyena gatyantarāsvIkāreṇa ca  
ŚrImadBhāgavate darśitam, eṣāṃ ghoṣanivāsinām uta bhavān kiṃ deva  
rāteti naḥ (x.14.35) etc. ...tasya teṣu ṛṇitvapṛāptes teṣāṃ tatpṛāptes  
cānādikalpāparamparāpṛāptatvān nityāvasthānam avagamayate...*
54. KṛṣṇaS 174, p.93; *iti ca tasya śrImukhena bhaktajanamukhena ca  
bahusāḥ saṃkalpānām anyathānupapatteḥ.*
55. Kāvyaśāṃkārā 12.30: *parakīyā tu dvedhā kanyodhā ceti.* The virgin is  
included somewhat artificially under the *parakīyā* rubric ostensibly  
because she is under the protection of her father. Cf. Dhanika's  
Avaloka to Daśarūpaka 2.20: *kanyakā tu pitrādyaḥyattatvād aparīṇītāpy  
anyastrīty ucyate.* Bharata in Nāṭyaśāstra, 22.154, uses different  
terminology for slightly different categories of *nāyikā bahiraṅgā, etc.*  
Kāmasūtra also clearly distinguishes the *kanyā* from the *paradārā*; the  
former is in fact discussed as a *svīyā nāyikā* for men expected to wed  
a virgin.
56. Hāla 435.
57. Śiś 16.8; *Kṛtagopavadhūrater ghnato vṛṣam ugre narake 'pi samprati/  
pratipattir adhaḥkṛtainaso janatābhis tava sādhu varṇyate//* The verse  
has a double meaning: Śiśupālā intends to insult Kṛṣṇa, but the poet  
protects him from the blasphemy. Thus despite Kṛṣṇa's engagement in  
what is universally accepted as sinful activity, e.g. adultery and cattle  
slaughter, he was not adversely affected by such activity.
58. Hāla 669, *ettha nimaḥjeṭṭhā ettha ahaṃ, ettha pariāṇo sayalo/ e paḥiya  
rattiyandhaya mā maha sayāṇe nimaḥjijhisi//* [i.e. *ito nivasati śvaśrūr  
atrāḥam atra pariāṇaḥ sakalaḥ/ he pathika rātryanda mā mama śayāṇe  
nimaḥkṣyase//*]
59. *ibid.* 397, 401.
60. SāhD 3.82.
61. Lee Siegel writes in *Sacred and Profane Traditions of Love in Indian*

Traditions, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978, 119. "Rādhā is clearly a *parakīyā nāyikā* - her love-making with Kṛṣṇa is in defiance of Nanda, Kṛṣṇa's foster father, who as a representative of authority exemplifies the social order, the ideal of *dharma*." But later, "Jayadeva avoids clarity; the relationship is ambiguous." (ibid., 120)

62. Gītāgovinda 5.19: *dampatyor iha ko na ko na tamasi vrīḍāvimīśro rasaḥ*; 12.13: *patyur manaḥ kīlitaḥ*
63. J.S. Hawley, "A Vernacular Portrait: Rādhā in the Sūr Sāgar", in (ed.) Hawley, *The Divine Consort*, p.53. "If anything, Sūr seems to relish the ambiguity of Rādhā's position somewhere between wife and mistress. Its lack of definition adds to her fascination and ... acts as a factor that makes her ultimately worthy of worship.... It is not her position that matters but her feeling, and the ambiguity of her position serves to underscore that effect."
64. *Pañcatantra*, (ed.) D. D. Kosambi, Bombay: Nirṇayasāgara Press (9th edn.), 1950, p.54: *Rādhā nāma me bhāryā gopakulaprasūtā prathamam āsīt, sā tvam avatīrṇā*. *Campūbhāgavata* 6.67ff.
65. Of these *Brahmaivaivartapurāṇa* is perhaps the most significant and has had the widest appeal. Rādhā is Kṛṣṇa's wife: BVP 11.48.47: *svayaṁ Rādhā Kṛṣṇapatnī Kṛṣṇavakṣaṣthalesthītā/ prāṇādhiṣṭhātrdevī ca tasyaiva paramātmānaḥ*// Brahmā conducts Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā's wedding ceremony in rather unusual circumstances: BVP 11.49.37-43, 15.119-131. This same story is retold in *Gargasamhitā*, *Golokakhaṇḍa*, ch. 16. On the other hand Rādhā's marriage to Āyāna is spoken of in BVP 11.51.34: *tām Rādhām upasamyamy āyānagopo mahāmune/ kīrtvatvaṁ sahasā prāpa sambhor icchānusārataḥ*// Different combinations of these elements, apparently derived from BVP are to be found in *Mahābhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa*. Cf. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, (Calcutta University, 1969), for the eastern Indian provenance of these works. *PadP* 1v.82 contains material on the 24 hour day of Kṛṣṇa which follows closely that of *Govindalīlāmṛta*. This entire section of *PadP* (1v.69-83) is almost certainly an interpolation by someone influenced by Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava ideas. Most notably, comp. BRS 1.2.22 and *PadP* 1v.77.62 or *Pv* 83 (= CC 11.19.106) and *PadP* 1v.77.52. Major citations found frequently in Gauḍīya works, such as *PadP* 1v.81.54 (*Bṛhadgautamīyatantra*, GC

1.15.14), iv.76.8-12 (ibid., GC 1.1.18), iv.69.23 (BrS 5.2, GC 1.1.21) etc., etc., are never attributed to PadP.

66. Cf. Sukumar Sen, *Bāṇāś Sāhityer Itihāsa*, 11.1 (1978), 98-9.
67. Rukmiṇī is named Śrī in BhP x.49.46, x.54.60, x.53.37, x.60.9, etc. Cf. KṛṣṇaS 185. BhP 1.10.28: *nūnaṃ vratasānahutādinēśvaraḥ samārcito hy asya gr̥hItapāṇibhiḥ/ pibanti yāḥ sakhyadharāmṛtaṃ muhur Vrajastriyaḥ sammumuhur yadāśayāḥ//* Naturally the Gauḍīya commentators see praise of the gopīs in this verse, a testimony to the depth of their love. Cf. also 1.10.30; *etāḥ paraṃ strītvam apastapeśalaṃ nīrastaśaucaṃ bata sādhu kurvate/ yāsāṃ gr̥hāt puṣkaralocaṇaḥ patir na jātva apaity āhṛtibhir hṛdi spr̥śan//* etc.
68. ViP v.13.61-2: *tadbhartṛṣu tathā tāsū sarvabhūteṣu ceśvaraḥ/ ātmasvarūparūpo 'sau vyāpī vāyur iva sthitaḥ// yathā samastabhūteṣu nabho 'gniḥ pṛthivī jalam/ vāyus cātmā tathaivāsau vyāpya sarvam avasthitaḥ//*
69. BhP x.33.35. The reading here is that given by Jīva. The reading given in BhP is as follows: *gopīnāṃ tatpatīnāṃ ca sarveṣāṃ eva dehīnāṃ/ yo 'ntaś carati so 'dhyakṣa krīḍaneneha dehabhāḥ//*
70. GC 1.15.78; *Atrāntaraṅgān prati tv ayam arthaḥ: Gopīnāṃ kāścid vyūḍhāḥ kāścid avyūḍhā iti dvidhātra lokamātraprasiddhānāṃ, vastutas tu nityasiddhānāṃ sarvataḥ śreyasīnāṃ tatpreyasīnāṃ, anyāsāṃ api nānābhāvasamṛddhānāṃ kumārītaruṇīvrddhānāṃ tathā yathāśambhavaṃ tāsāṃ patīnāṃ, tadupalakṣitatayā kumāratatīnāṃ, kiṃ bahunā sarveṣāṃ api tadekaḥIvānāṃ VrajaḥIvānāṃ yāni tattaducitatācitatatīyakraīḍā-sādhanadehāni, tadāśaktaḥ sann, antaḥ śabdābhīhīte mahīte jagannetrāḍ antarhīte sadābhāve svavāibhāve yaś carati krīḍati, sa eṣa evādhyakṣaḥ kāścij jagannetrapratyakṣaḥ san krīḍati. Tasmān nijapreyasībhiḥ samam anāḍita eva mithunateti kathanāḍ aupapatyam asya nopapatty-arham, kintu paramavyomādhīpaLakṣmīNārāyaṇavad dāmpatyam eva tadarham bhavatiIti.*
71. KṛṣṇaS 117f, pp.149-60; *Athaivam bhūtānantavṛttikā yā svarūpasaktiḥ sā tv iha bhagavadbhāṣāsavartinī mūrtimatī Lakṣmīr evety āha, anapāyini bhagavatī Śrīḥ sākāśāḍ ātmano Harer iti.* [BhP xii.11.20]. Cf. RKAD, 10-4.
72. ibid. p.158; *Tathā yato bhagavadvigrahaprakāśakevisuddhasattvasya mūrtitvam Vasudevātvaṃ ca, tato tatprādurbhāvaśeṣe dharmapatnyā mūrtitvam prasiddham.*

73. ViP 1.8.17; *nityaiva sã jagenmãtã Viṣṇoḥ Śrīr anapāyinI/ yathã sarvagato Viṣṇus tathaiveyaṃ dvijottama//* Two other verses attributed by JIva to ViP but not found in the text: *evam yathã jagatsvãmI devadevo Janārdanaḥ/ avatāraṃ karoty eṣã tathã Śrīs tatsahāyinI// devatve devadehã sã mānuṣatve ca mānuṣI/ Harer dehānurūpāṃ vai karoty eṣātmanas tanum//* See RKAD, p.14.
74. KṛṣṇaS 188, p.111; *Tãṣāṃ mahattvaṃ tu hīdīnīśāravṛttiviśeṣapremarasaśravisēṣaprādhānyāt. Rādhã stands out amongst even the gopīs* (KṛṣṇaS 189, p.112): *Tad evaṃ paramamadhurapremavṛttimayIṣu tãsv api tatsāraṃsodrekamayI ŚrīRādhikã, tasyāṃ eva premotkarṣaparākāṣṭhãdyã darśitatvāt.*
75. BhP x.47.63; *nāyaṃ śrīyo 'nga u nitāntarateḥ prasādaḥ svaryoṣitāṃ nalinagandharucāṃ kuto 'nyāḥ/ rāsotsave 'sya bhujadaṇḍagrāhItakaṇṭha-labdhāśiṣāṃ ya udagād Vrajesundarīṇāṃ//*
76. BrS 5.48; *ānandacinmayarasapratibhāvitābhis tābhīr ya eva nijarūpatayã kalābhīḥ/ Goloka eva nivasaty akhilātmabhūto Govindam ādi puruṣaṃ tam ahaṃ bhajāmi//*
77. BrSc 5.48; *Nijarūpatayã svadāratvenaiva na tu prakāṣalīlāvat paradāratvavyavahāreṇety arthaḥ. ParamaLakṣmīṇāṃ tãṣāṃ tatparadāratvā-sambhavād asya svadāratvamayarasaṣya kautukāvagunṭhitatayã samutkaṇṭhāpoṣaṇārthaṃ prakāṣalīlāyāṃ māyayaiva tādṛśatvaṃ vyañjitam iti bhāvaḥ. Ya evety evakāreṇa yat prāpañcīkaprakāṣalīlāyāṃ tãsu paradāratvavyavahāreṇa nivasati so 'yaṃ ya eva tad aprakāṣalīlāspade Goloke nijarūpatvavyavahāreṇa nivasatīti vyañjyate.... Goloka evety eva kāreṇa seyaṃ līlā tu kvāpi nānyatra vidyata iti prakāśyate.*
78. KṛṣṇaS 177, p.98; *Goloka eva nivasatīti prakāṣalīlāyāṃ iva parakīyātva-prapañcanam niṣiddham,*
79. BrS 5.29: *Lakṣmīśahasraśatasambhramasevyamānam*; 5.58: *śriyaḥ kāntāḥ,* etc. See GC 1.1.24 in Appendix III.
80. UNc 1.21; *Lakṣmīśahasraśatasambhramasevyamānam ity atra ca Saṃhitāyāṃ khalu Lakṣmītvena tã nirdiśati, tathāpi Pāṇḍavaśabdasyeva gopīśabdasyaiva prācuryeṇa prayogāt Pāṇḍavaiḥ Kuruvo jītā itivat, nāyaṃ Śrīyo 'nga iti pravartate.* See also GC 1.1.25.
81. *anekajanmasiddhānāṃ gopīnāṃ patir eva vā/ Nandanandana ity uktas trailokyānandavardhanaḥ//*

82. BhP x.33.37; *nāsūyan khalu Kṛṣṇāya mohitās tasya māyayā/ manyamānāḥ svapārśvesthān svān svān dārān vrajaukasaḥ//*
83. KṛṣṇaS 177, p.101; *tasya māyayā mohitāḥ santo nāsūyan tasya svanityapreyasīsvIkāralakṣaṇe katham asāv asmaddharmārthasuhṛt-priyātmantanayaprāṇāśayaJīvātutamah parādārasvIkārāmaṅgalam aṅgIkaroṭīti doṣāropam nākurvaṇn iti.*
84. *ibid.; paramasamarthāyās tasyā māyayā nijaprabhupreyasīnām tadekānurāgasvabhāvānām maryādārakṣaṇārtham pariṇayam ārabhya sadaiva sāvadhānatāyāḥ yogyatvāt taddīnam upalakṣaṇam eveti.*
85. *ibid. (fn.1); Tad evaṃ pativratāmātrāṇām viśeṣataḥ Śrībhagavat-preyasyā prabhāve sati, ya etasmin mahābhāge prītiṃ kurvanti mānavāḥ/ nārāyo 'bhibhavanty etān Viṣṇupakṣān ivāsurā iti sāmānyaviṣaye Gargavacane ca sati tādṛśīnām bhrame 'pi nityakāntam aparītyajantīnām nityam tatkāntam pericarentī māyā ŚrīRāmāvasathyāgnivad api kiṃ rakṣāṃ na kurvīte? Jīva also gives the example of Sītā's being saved by Agni in this way in GC ii.32.58.*
86. LalM 1.54-5, p.15; GargI: "Nūnam Goaḍḍhaṇḍigoehiṃ Candāvalīpahudīṇam ubbāho māḥe nivvāhido." [Nūnam Goverdhanādigopaiḥ Candāvalīprabhṛtīnām udvāho 'pi māyayā nirvāhitaḥ.] Paurṇamāsī: "Atha kiṃ. Patimmanyānām ballavānām mamatāmātrāvaśeṣitā tāsū dāratā. Yed ebhiḥ prekṣaṇam api tāsāṃ durghaṭitam.
87. *ibid., p.102; svāpatyātve sati vibhāvavaigūnyena rasābhāsatvam āpadyeta.*
88. 4.11, *ye yathā māṃ prapadyante tāṃs tathaiva bhajāmy aham//* BrS also has *yādrśī bhāvanā yasya siddhir bhavati tādṛśī//* (5.82).
89. BhP x.21.9; *gopyas tapaḥ kim acarat kuśalam sma veṇur Dāmodarādharasudhām api gopikānām/ bhuṅkte svayam etc.*
90. BhP x.29.32; *yet patyapatyasuhṛdām anuvṛttir aṅga strīpām svadharma iti dharmavidā tvayoktam/ astv evaṃ etad upadeśapade tvayīśe preṣṭho bhevāṃs tanubhṛtām kila bandhur ātmā//*
91. BhP x.47.21; *api bata Madhupuryām āryaputro 'dhunāste, etc.*
92. GC i.15.71.
93. BhP x.46.4; KramaS: *mām eva dayitam preṣṭham ātmānam manasā gatāḥ. VT: paramātmānam api mām dayitam nijapatim iti na tu pāṇigrahītāraṃ gopam ity ādi. VT: Tad evaṃ tribhir yogaiḥ padair mām eva patim nīścitavatya ity arthaḥ. Na tu kimvadantīprāptam anyed ity arthaḥ.*

94. *Kṛṣṇavadhvaḥ*, BhP x.33.7. JIva (KramaS): *nanu, madhye maṇīnām haimānām ity ādiproktadṛṣṭānto na ghaṭate adāmpatyena tattadāgentuke-sambandhāt na tv ayaṁ svābhāvikasambandhābhāvāt, tad etad āśaṅkya, ānandevaicitryeṇa rahasyam eva vyanakti Kṛṣṇavadhvaḥ iti... gopavadhūtvam prasiddham vārayati.*
95. BhP x.33.21; KṛṣṇaS 177, p.98; *ṛṣabhasya jaguḥ kṛtyāni ity atra Svāmināpi "ṛṣabhasya patyuh" iti vyākhyātam.* KramaS: *atra ṛṣabhasya patyuh ŚrīKṛṣṇasya ity atrāyam abhiprāyaḥ: Kṛṣṇavadhva ity asmin svayam eva ŚrīMunIndreṇa vyaktīkṛte vayaṁ katham gopayāmaḥ?* Also mentioned in GC 1.15.78.
96. Pv 63: *gopībhartuḥ padakamalayor dāsādāsānudāsāḥ.* All these citations are made in GC 1.15.76-7; all but the last in KṛṣṇaS 177, p.98n.
97. KramaS to BhP xi.12.13: *Patitvam tūdvāhena kanyāyāḥ svīkṛitām loka eva, bhagavati tu svabhāvenāpi dṛśyate. Paravyomādhipasya mahālakṣmī-patitvam hi anādisiddham iti.*
98. *Tad evaṁ ŚrīKṛṣṇena tāsāṁ nityadāmpatyē sati, parakīyāṭve ca māyike sati, naśyaty evāntato māyikamantratattvanāśe 'nāditve ca sati, nityam eva syāt. Tadrūpatve sati pūrvarītyā rasābhāsaḥ syād ity ato 'vatārasamayasyāparabhāge vyaktībhavaty eva dāmpatyam. Sa eva paryavasānasiddhāntaś ca Lalitamādhavaprakriyayātra ca nirvāhayiṣyate.*
99. BhP xi.12.10-3; *Rāmeṇa sārddham Mathurāṁ prapīte Śvāphalkinā mayy anuraktacittāḥ/ vigāḍhabhāvena na me viyogatīvrādhayo 'nyam dadṛśuḥ sukhāya// tās tāḥ kṣapāḥ preṣṭhatamena nītā mayaiva Vṛndāvanagocareṇa/ Kṛṣṇārdhavat tāḥ punar aṅga tāsāṁ hīnā mayā kalpasamā babhūvuḥ// tā nāvidan mayy anuṣaṅgabeddhadhīyaḥ svam ātmānam adas tathedam/ yathā samādhau munayo' bdhītoye nadyaḥ praviṣṭā iva nāmarūpe// matkāmā ramaṇaṁ jāram asvarūpavido 'balāḥ/ brahma māṁ paramaṁ prāpur saṅgāc chataśahasraśaḥ//*
100. See VT 78.13.
101. KṛṣṇaS 177, p.95-6. Wide variations in readings are given in this section of KṛṣṇaS. The reading of the Vṛndāvana edition closely resembles the KramaS at BhP xi.12.13; *Tataś ca jāratvam ramaṇe nāsti, ramaṇatvam jāre nāsti, dharmopadharmayor iva dravyasya svāmicaurayor iva ca viruddhavadstutvād iti.*
102. See KramaS at xi.12.13; KṛṣṇaS 177, p.94. A condensed version of this lengthy comment is given in PrItiS 423, p.155: *māṁ Kṛṣṇākhyam*



*paramaṃ brahma prāpuḥ. Tam ca mannityapreyasīlakṣaṇaṃ svasvarūpam ajñanāntyo jñararūpam pūrvam prāpuḥ. Tathāpi mayi kāmo ramaṇatvenābhilāṣo yāsām tādṛśyaḥ satyo ramaṇarūpam tu paścād iti.*

3. GC 11.29.63; *anīśam ity anena ca tatpatimmanyādiṣu vāstavābhīrāṇām vivādhādivaicanārtham, nāsūyan khalu Kṛṣṇāya ity ādyuktadīśā yā mayā Yogamāyayā sṛṣṭāś tāsū punar vyaktīkriyamāṇāsu pūrvāsām paraḍāratvabhramāpakramānantaram saṅkocamocanaṃ gamyate.*
4. *Ramayātvam atra sarveṣām manoramātvam anyathā tasmin kelyamāse virūpe sarvasyāpi tadamaśasya vigānaviṣayatvaṃ syād iti.*
5. UN 1.19; *atrāsya paramotkarṣaḥ śṛṅgārasya pratiṣṭhitaḥ//*
6. UN 1.20; *bahu vāryate khalu, yatra pracchannakāmukatvaṃ ca/ yā ca mitho durlabhatā sā manmathasya paramā ratih//* The closest verse to this one traceable in Nāṭ is 22.207, which contains the same meaning though the language differs. Despite these differences, Jīva appears to have known the Nāṭ context, Cf. below 7.322: *yad vāmābhī-niveśitvaṃ yataś ca vinivāryate/ durlabhatvaṃ ca yan nāryāḥ sā kāmasya parā ratih//* Verses with a similar purport are quoted by Rūpa at UN 3.20-21: Rudra Bhaṭṭa's Śṛṅgāratilaka (2.30) and the unknown Viṣṇuguptasamhitā.
7. UN 1.21; *laghutvaṃ atra yat proktaṃ tat tu prākṛtanāyake/ na Kṛṣṇe rasaniryāsasvādārtham avatāriṇi//*
8. SāhD 3.258; *śṛṅgaṃ hi manmathodbhedaś tadāgamanahetukaḥ/ uttama-prakṛtiprāyo rasaḥ śṛṅgāre iṣyate//*
9. SāhD 3.263.
10. UN 5.3; *neṣṭā yad aṅgini rase kavibhiḥ paroḍhāś tad Gokulāmbujadṛśām kulam antareṇa/ āśaṃsayā rasavidher avatāritānām Kāmaśriṇā rasika-maṇḍalaśekharena//*
11. BhP x.29.26.
12. BhP x.47.7.
13. BhP x.33.26.
14. This is undoubtedly a reference to Viśvanātha's own use of Kṛṣṇa as an example in his discussion of *rasābhāsa*. SāhD 3.263f.
15. UNC 1.21; *Tasmād upapattiyamānatvenaivāsāv upapattir ity upadiṣṭaḥ. Vāryamānatvādyamāśena laukikarasaśāstrakṛdbhir api stutaḥ, kintūttraratra vyaktadāmpatyē vipralambhāṅgasyaupapatyē bhramasya samṛddhimadākhya-sambhogerasapoṣakatvāt tasmims tu na laghutvaṃ yuktaṃ kintu*

*mahattvam evety āha na Kṛṣṇa iti. Tatra hetum āha, rasaniryāsa iti. Etatparipāṭīśadbhāṣābhāṣāt prākṛtanāyaka eva, na tu ŚrīKṛṣṇe, vāstavenaupapatyena laghutvaśabdavācyaṃ nikṛṣṭatvaṃ ghaṭate. Apathyabuddhyā lobhyaṃ pathyaṃ bhuktavati bhuktapathyatvavat tad etat tattvam avidvāṃsa evānyathā manyamānāḥ tam api tathodāharantīti bhāṣaḥ.*

- 115a. UNc 1.21: *Ato muninā Bharateṇāpi Ratnāvalīnāṭīkāvad Yayāticaritavac ca dāmpatyam eva sapatnādikṛtavāryamānatvādinā dāmpatye ratih prasastā bhavatīty eva matam, naupapatyaratih prasastā syād iti. Katham tarhi tadvākyenaivaupapatyaratih prasasyate?*
116. Nāṭ 22.152-4.
117. (ed.) Rāmā Bandyopadhyāya, Calcutta: Gauranga Grantha Mandir, 1970.
118. Cf. Donna M. Wulff, *Drama as a Mode of Religious Realization: the Vidagdhamādhava of Rūpa Gosvāmī*, Chico, Cal.: The Scholar's Press, 1984. p.3.
119. GC 1.33.319 ...*Vidagdhamādhava-Lalitamādhavāhvaye pūrvottara-nāṭakadvaye ...*
120. For summary of LalM, see S. K. De (1942), 444-8.
121. Jīva has also made the parallel of the chief gopīs with the eight chief queens, following Rūpa's identifications, though he never goes so far as to say that they are the same persons as Rūpa has done in LalM. Cf. GC ii.17v52-3: *vivāhā yat kṛtāḥ KṛṣṇenāḥIt tatkālayāpanam/ gopajāḥ kṣatrajātāś ca tad amūr ekadharmikāḥ// ...tāsām āsu svaikarūpyam anumodanam ca darśitam. Tathā hi, Candrālyā Bhīṣmakanyā Vṛṣaravisutayā Satyabhāmā Viśākhānāmyā Dyoratnakanyā sphurati Lalitayā Jāmbavad varāmajātā/ Śyāmāṅgyā Lakṣmaṇākhya Śivitanujuṣā Mitravindābhīdhānā Bhadrāvalyātha Bhadrā prakṛtidarasamā Padmayā sā ca Satyā//*
122. LalM 10.261, *Sakhi Rādhā, mātṛa saṃśayaṃ kṛthāḥ, yato bhavatyāḥ ŚrīmadGokule tatraiva vartante, kintu mayaiva kālakṣepaṇārtham anyathā prapañcitam. Tad etan manasy anubhūyatām, Kṛṣṇo 'py eṣa tatragata eva pratīyatām.*
123. LalM 10.266, *Bahiraṅgaṇālakṣatayā ŚrīGokulam api svasvarūpair alaṅkaravāmeti.*

124. The use of the term Gokula by Rūpa rather than Goloka, which is preferred by Jīva, though not necessarily contradictory, here may indicate a slight difference in vision of the eternal abode.
125. LalM 10v38, *yā te Itāpadaparimalodgārivanyāparītā dhanyā kṣauṇI vilasati vṛtā MāthurI mādthurIbhiḥ/ tatrāsmābhiś caṭulapaśupIbhāva-mudghāntarābhiḥ saṁvItas tvam kalaya vadanollāsiveṇur vihāram//*
126. In the secular poetic tradition, the verse appears as a supporting example for various different points of concern to the critics. KāvP 1, RASK 2.115 ad. (p.91). It appears in many of the anthologies, including SRK 809, SKM 533, Śārngadharapaddhati 3768, Sūktimuktāvalī 87.9, etc. In Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava sources it appears at Pv 382; CC ii.1.6, ii.13.6, iii.1.7 (ref. to Skt. verses only); GC 1.33.318, ii.36.122; *yāḥ kaumāraharaḥ sa eva hi varas tā eva caitrakṣapās te conmīlitamālatI-surabhayaḥ prauḍhāḥ kadambānilāḥ/ sā caivāsmi tathāpi tatra surata-vyāpāralItāvidhau Revārodhasi vetasItarutale cetaḥ samutkaṇṭhate//* This translation is based on that of Ingalls with alterations to fit the reading of the Bengali tradition starting with Saduktikarṇāmṛta. Śiṅgabdhūpālā uses this verse as an example of weak or diminished affection, directing a criticism to the wanton who even after obtaining the desired result of having her paramour for a husband speaks of her lack of strong feeling in the present. Ras 2.115ad; *Atra kayācit svairiṇyā gṛhiṇItvaparicayena patidaśām prāpte 'pi jāre upekṣāpekṣayor abhāvakathanān mandaḥ snehaḥ.*
127. Pv 383; CC ii.1.7, iii.1.8 (ref. to Skt. verses only); *priyaḥ so 'yam Kṛṣṇaḥ saḥacari Kurukṣetramīlitas tathāhaṁ sā Rādhā tad idam ubhayaḥ saṅgamasukham/ tathāpy antaḥkheleṇmadhureṇmuralIpañcamajūṣe mano me KālindIpulīnavipināya sprḥayati//*
128. GC 1.33.318; *yāḥ kaumāraharaḥ sa eva hi varas tā eva caitrakṣapā ity ādyapy adhiyaṇ kayācid udītaṁ gopālikāgIr iti/ bhāvonmāda jagānanṛtya-vivāsaḥ ŚrīGuṇḍicāparyasū ŚrīCaitanyatanur mataṁ sa bhagavān aṅgI-kariṣyaty adaḥ//*
129. RASK (Rasārṇavasudhākara) 2.104ff. Compare for instance, the definition of *rāga*, RASK 2.116, UN 14.182.
130. See UN 14.43-60. *sādhārāṇI nigaditā samafījasāsu samarthā ca/ Kūbjādiṣu mahiṣIṣu ca GokuladevIṣu ca kramataḥ//*

31. UN 14.44: *maṇivac cintāmaṇivat kaustubhamaṇivat tridhābhimatā/ nātisulabheyam abhitaḥ sudurlabhā syād ananyalabhyā ca//*
32. UN 5.8-9; *sāmānyāyā rasābhāsaprasaṅgāt tādṛg apy asau/ bhāvayogāt tu Sairindhrī parakīyaiva sammatā//*
33. UN 14.45: *nātisāndrā Hareḥ prāyaḥ sākṣād darśanasambhavā/ sambhogecchānidāneyaṃ ratih sādharāṇī matā//* 14.47: *asāndratvād rater asyāḥ sambhogecchā vibhidyate/ etasyā hrāsato hrāsas taddhetutvād rater apī//*
34. UN 14.48: *patnībhāvābhimānātmā guṇādīśravaṇādijā/ kvacid bhedita-sambhogatṛṣṇā sāndrā samāñjasā//* 14.50: *samāñjasātaḥ sambhogasprhāyā bhinnatā yadā/ tadā tadutthitair bhāvair vaivaśyatā duṣkarā Hareḥ//*
135. UN 14.52-3: *kamcid viśeṣaṃ āyāntya sambhogecchā yayābhitaḥ/ ratyā tādātmyam āpannā sā samartheti bhānyate// svasvarūpāt tadīyād vā jātu yatkiñcidanvayāt/ samarthā sarvavismārigandhā sāndratamā matā//* 14.54-5: *sarvādbhutavilāśormicamatkāraśrīyaḥ/ sambhogecchāviśeṣo 'syā rater jātu na bhidyate// pūrvasyāṃ Kṛṣṇasaukhyārtham eva kevalam udyamaḥ//*
136. BRS 1.1.11; *anyābhilāṣitāśūnyaṃ jñānakarmādyanāvṛtam/ ānukūlyena Kṛṣṇānusaṁtānaṃ bhaktir uttamā//*
137. Note Rūpa's example drawn from BhP x,52,38; *kā tvā Mukunda mahatī kulaśīlarūpavidyāvayodravīṇadhāmabhir ātmatulyam/ dhīrā patiṃ kulavatī na vṛṇīta kanyā kāle nṛsiṃha naralokamano 'bhirāmam//* UN 14.49.
138. The expanded description of the *sthāyībhāvas* appears to originate with Bhoja, though Śaraḍātanaya (Bhāvaṇaprakāśikā 4.55, p.82) gives the credit to Abhinavagupta, though I have not been able to trace the source in Abhinavabhāratī. Rūpa probably followed Śīṅgabhaṇūpālā though he has quoted at least two verses from Bhoja which are not found in Ras. Rūpa has however shown a great deal of originality in his description of the *sthāyībhāvas*. Śīṅgabhaṇūpālā's (p.152-3) three divisions of *sneha*, i.e. *praṇḍha*, *madhya* and *manda* and their definitions match those given by Rūpa for similar divisions of *prema*. Characteristics of *anurāga* are those Rūpa gives for *bhāva*. Rūpa's description of the divisions of (*mahā*)-*bhāva* into *rūḍha* and *adhīrūḍha*, and then into *madana*, *mohana* and *mādana* are original.
139. UN 14.232: *ādyā premāntimāṃ tatānūrāgāntāṃ samāñjasā/ ratir bhāvāntimāṃ sīmāṃ samarthaiva prapadyate//*

140. UN 14.219: *sarvabhāvodgamollāṣt mādanō 'yaṃ parāt paraḥ/ rājate hīdīnīśro Rādhāyām eva yaḥ sadā//*
141. UN 14.225: *yoga eva bhaved eṣa vicitraḥ ko 'pi mādanaḥ/ yadvilāṣā virājante nitya!tāḥ sahasradhā//*
142. UN 14.220: *śrṣṭer akṣayaīṣuṃ hṛdayavidhumaṇidrāvaṇaṃ vakrīmāṇaṃ pūrṇatve 'py udvahantaṃ nijaruciḥaṭayā sādhvaseṇ dhvaṃsayantaṃ/ tanvānaṃ śaṃ pradōṣe dhṛtanavanavatāśampadaṃ mādanatvād advaitaṃ naumi RādhāDanujavijayīnor adbhutaṃ bhāvacandram//*
143. UNc 1.21; *Tathā nivāraṇādīśāmye 'pi tāsāṃ svasvagaṇarater jātibhede-naiva vaiśiṣṭyasyātraiva nirūpayiṣyamānatvāt. Tathā jigīṣūṇāṃ mattahastinaḥ padadurgārgala iva nivāraṇādikaṃ tāsāṃ rateḥ prabalatāṃ vyañjayaty eva, na tu janayati. Ataevoktaṃ, yā dustyajaṃ svajanam āryapathaṃ ca hitvā [x.47.61] iti, rāgenaivārpitātmāno lokayugmānapekṣiṇḥ [UN 3.17] iti. Svakīyālakṣaṇaṃ tac cānena saṃvadate.*
144. *nāhaṃ tu saḥkhyo bhajeto 'pi jantūn bhajāmy amīṣāṃ anuvṛttivṛttaye/ yathādhano labdhadhane vīnaṣṭe taccintayānyan nibhṛto na veda//*
145. *Yac ca, na vinā vipralambhena [UN 15.3] ityādinā, nāhaṃ tu saḥkhyo bhajeto 'pi jantūn [x.32.20] ityādinā ca vīraheṇa rateḥ prakarṣaḥ śrūyate, tac ca prātibhedānāṃ jāṭharāgner iva jātibhedāt paraprakarṣa upalabhyate. Na hi laṅghanādinā hastināṃ iva śāśakānāṃ tadagnir vikāśaṃ prāpnoti. Tatas ca yathaiva kāntārādīlaṅghane kriyamāṇa eva yā bubhukṣā syāt, sā tathā na prasāmyate, tathā nivāraṇādinityatāmaya-vīrahamātrajīvanā ratiś ca. Kīm ca, tadvat kādācitkavīraheṇa kādācit prasāsyate iti ca gamyate. Tasmāt bahu vāryate ityādi yal laukikarasa-vidāṃ matam utthāpitaṃ tat khalu tanmatarāgiṇāṃ apy āpātābodhanāyeti. Tatra rasanīryāśasvācārtham avatāriṇi ity anena yad avatārād anyadā na tādṛśāyāḥ svīkāraḥ kimuta [kintu] dāmpatyasyaiveti labhyate.*
146. GC ii.36v13-4; *patnyāḥ saṅge viviktāṅge śucitāṃ gacchati trapā/ parasyā bhayanindābhyāṃ kliṣṭe tadrūpatāṃ na tu// anācārāt tathā gopyācārāḥ lajjā bhaven nṛṇāṃ/ pūrvā bhayād abhinnātmā parā lajjā paraṃ matā//*
147. GC ii.36v15; *śṛṅgāśasya bhayānakena milane hānir hriyā mādhuṛī tasya syād uditeti sarvakavibhir bāḍhaṃ kṛte nirṇaye/ prācā satyam adharmajā mithunatā dhatte vṛtā vyagratāṃ dharṃyā cāparayā parantu katarā rasyeti nirṇīyatām//*

8. GC 11.36v17; *nāmūṣāṃ sahañnūrāgavibhutā bhīnirmitā kintu bhīr laṅghyā syān na tu veti kautukamayajñānārtham antaḥkṛtā/ tajjñātāṃ yadi dharmasetudalanāt tasyāḥ punar vistṛtiḥ śuddho 'py agniparīkṣyāgniṣu yathā sthāpyeta tadvan matā//*
9. Sārasaṃgraha, p.117; *Yathopatitvāvastho nāyakaḥ patitvāvastho na syāt kintūpapatitvatyāgenaiva, yathā parakīyātāvasthā nāyikā svakīyātvāvasthā na syāt kintu parakīyātvatyāgenaiva, evaṃ samarthātvāvasthā ratīḥ patnībhaṅgābhīmānātmasamañjasātvāvasthā na syāt kintu samarthātvatyāgenaiva, samarthāyām upapater viṣayatvāt parakīyāyā āśrayatvāc ca. Tat tad anyathātve tasyā anyathātvaṃ nyāyyam.*
10. GC 1.15.78; *Vrajaपुरavanitānām vardhayan kāmādevam iti pura-  
vanitābhiḥ saha tāsāṃ sahaṣāṭhād draṣṭavyam; GC 11.31v43; 32v18, 32.58  
1.33v106: yathā Śītādevyā Daśamukhaḥkṛtārtivipad abhūd yathā vā  
Rukmīṇyā vivahanavidhiś Cedīpakṛte/ tathā Rādhādīnām paraḡṛhagatir yā  
bata vipat kathāṃ tasyā nityā sthitir abhimatā hanta suhṛdām// etc.*
11. Ānandacandrikā commentary on UN 1.21 by Viśvanātha Cakravartin; *Na cāprakaṣaḥkṛtāyāṃ sadā dāmpatyam eva tadā tasyā eva līlāyā nityatvaṃ ca, paroḍhopapatitvaṃ ca prakaṣaḥkṛtāyāṃ eva kiyanti dīnāni māyikam eva na tu vāstavam iti vaktuṃ śakyam. Sarvalīlāmukūṭamaṇibhūtāyā rāsālīlāyā  
apy ādimadhyāvasāneṣu paroḍhopapatibhāvamāyā māyikatve  
'nupādeyatva-prasakteḥ. Kiṃ ca, tasyā māyikatve nāyaṃ śriyo 'ṅga u  
nitāntarateḥ prasādaḥ ity ādīnā pratipāditā Vrajaśundarīnām  
Lakṣmīyādīni 'py utkarṣaḥ 'py avāstava eva syāt. Na ca kenāpi kvāpi  
dāmpatyamayī rāsālīlā varṇitāsti. Na ca bhramakṛtān aupapatyamāyān  
amāśān parityajya eva rāsapañcādhyaṅgāyāṃ rāsālīlā upādeyete vācyam.*
12. *ibid. Nenu ca ŚrīRādhā Kṛṣṇasya svarūpabhūtā hīdīnī śaktir eva.  
Tasyā vastutaḥ svīyātvena na tu parakīyātvaṃ ghaṭate. Satyam. Rādhā-  
Kṛṣṇāv asmābhir upāsyete līlāviśiṣṭāḥ eva na tu līlārahitau. Līlāyāḥ  
ŚukaParāśaraVyāsādīproktatve 'pi ŚrīŚukaproktaivāsmākaṃ paramābhīṣṭā.  
Tasyāṃ ca gopīnām parakīyātvadarśanāt sarvagopīśiromaṇiḥ sēpi para-  
kīyāiva... Sā ca rāgaparameyattā tadaiva bhavet yadā samastaduḥkṛtī-  
śayasīmārūpasvajanāryapathabhraṃśakarāṇāśīlāḥ Kṛṣṇasambandhaḥ  
sukhāya bhavati, nānyadā iti. Ato 'prakaṣaḥkṛtāyāṃ yadi svajanārya-  
pathabhraṃśakarāṇāśīlāṃ ŚrīKṛṣṇasambandhasya naivāsti tadā  
rāgasyāpi parameyattā nāsti. tasyāṃ asatyāṃ mahābhāvasyāpy anudaya iti  
naitat samāñjasam. Tasmāt prakaṣāyāṃ ca līlāyāṃ svajanāryapatha-*

*bhraṃśakaraṇam aupapatyaṃ teṣāṃ svecchābhīmatam matam. Aprakṣa-*  
*līlāyāṃ dāmpatyaṃ tu parecchābhīmatam matam.*

153. De (1942), 489.

154. GC 1.15v16; *avacāṃ avocāṃ uvāca ca vacmi hi vaktāsmi vakṣyāmi/*  
*ucyāsam idaṃ vacyāṃ vacāni no ced avakṣyaṃ na//*

**Jīva Gosvāmin's Gopālacampū**

**Appendices**

**and**

**Bibliography**

**J. K. Brzezinski**



**Appendix I: Important Campūs written before the end of the 16th century.**

No.	Title	Author	Place	Date	Sources	Other info
1.	Damayantīkathā (also known as Nalacampū, Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, Karṇāṭaka, A.D. 915, MBh, published. The work appears to have been left incomplete. Type-A.					
2.	Yasastilaka*, Somaprabha, Karṇāṭaka, A.D. 959, Jain, mixed poetry and religious/ philosophical instruction; publ. Nirṇayasāgara, 1888. Type-A.					
3.	Campūrāmāyaṇa, Bhoja, Dhārā [M.P.], <1050, Rāmāyaṇa, only completed 5 of 7 khaṇḍas, others completed later. Type-B.					
4.	Udayasunderikathā, Soḍḍhala, Gujarāt, 11th ca. Gaekwad's Oriental Series #11, Baroda, 1920. Type-A.					
5.	Campūbhāgavata, Abhinavakālidāsa, Andhra, mid-11th (?), BhP X, published, Bombay 1926. Type-B.					
6.	Abhinavabhāratā*, Abhinavakālidāsa, Andhra, mid-11th, MBh, unpublished.					
7.	Campūbhāratacampū, Anantabhaṭṭa, mid-11th (?), MBh, published, Type-B.					
8.	Jīvandhara*, Haricandra, Karṇāṭaka, 1130, Jaina, the lives of king Jīvandhara, Bhāratīya Jñāna Pīṭha, 1958. Type-A.					
9.	Kuvalayamālīkathā*, Ratnaprabhāsūri, <1250?, southern, a Sanskrit version of Prakrit Kuvalayamālī, published by Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, 1970. No metrical variety.					
10.	Haṭṭhavanagallavihāraṇṇasa, ŚrīLaṅkā, ca. 1250, Buddhist, historical, written in Pāli, strongly influenced by Āryaśūra,					
11.	Bharateśvarābhyudaya*, Āśādhara, ca. 1243, Jaina, unpublished.					

Appendix I: Pre-16th century Campūs

12. Purudeva°, Arhaddāsa, ?, second half of 13th, the life of Purudeva is found in Ādipurāṇa, Uttarap°, Munisuvratap°. Jaina, published from Benares, Bharatiya Jñāna Pīṭha, 1972.
13. Amogharāghava°, Divākara, Kerala, 1299, Rāmāyaṇa, praises Kālidāsa. Still unpublished, Trivandrum, #6365.
14. Yatirājaviṇaya°, Ahobala, Vijayanagara, ca. 1350, history of Śrīsampradāya, unpublished, Madras Catalogue #12338.
15. Virūpākṣavasantotsava°, Ahobala, Vijayanagara, ca. 1350, description of a festival, publ. Dharwar, 1953. Type-B. Minimum distinction of prose-verse functions.
16. Ācāryaviṇaya°, Tārkikasiṃha, Tamil, >15th ?, biography of Vedāntadeśika; unpublished, incomplete.
17. Varadāmbikāpariṇaya°, Tirumalāmbā, ca. 1530, panegyric, family history of his patron, Acyuta Rāya of Vijayanagara, 1529-1542.
18. Ācāryadigviṇaya°, Ballīśahāya Kavi, Śringeri ?, 1536, about the life of Śaṅkarācārya, incomplete, unpublished, Madras MS. #12380.
19. Nṛsiṃha°, Daivajñasūrya, 1541, Tamil, story of Prahlāda, published, Benares, 1919. Type-A.
20. Kākutsthaviṇaya°, Vallīśahāya Kavi, 16th, Rāmāyaṇa, India Office 4038/2624.
21. Nāthamuniviṇaya°, Rāmānujadāsa, history of Śrīsampradāya up to Rāmānuja. unpublished, Madras #12306.
22. Kalyāṇavallī°, Rāmānujadeśika, Madras, mid-16th, unpublished, Madras 21/#8275

Appendix 1: Pre-16th century Campūs

23. Rāmānuja°, Rāmānujācārya, Madras, end of 16th, published from Madras, 1942.
24. Vīrabhadradeva°, Padmanābhamiśra, 1577, historical, about the king of Rīvā, a contemporary of Akbar, unpublished.
25. Rukmīpīparīpaya°, Ammala, Andhra, 16th, Purāṇas, unpublished
26. Bhāgavata°, Rājanātha, Vijayanagar, 16th, BhP X, unpublished, MS in Tanjor and Madras.
27. Gopāla°, Jīva Gosvāmī, Vṛndāvana, 1589, 94, BhP, the longest of the campūs with 3500 verses and 10,000 lines of prose. 70 chapters called pūraṇas. Type-A.
28. Ānandavṛndāvana°, Kavi Karṇapūra, Bengal, end 16th, BhP, possibly written as an alternative to Gopālacampū. 22 stavakas, (ed.) Vanamālī Śāstrī, Vrindavan, 1972. Type-A.
29. Madālasā°, apparently another Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, unknown, unknown, the love story of Kuvalayāśva and Madālasā, from Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, (ed.) J. B. Modak, Jaipur.

## Appendix II: Metres used in Gopālacampū

Compared totals:	Pūrva*	X	(X)	Uttara*	X	(X)	TOTAL	X	(X)
1. anuṣṭubh	507	25.71	(28.95)	309	17.92	(14.74)	816	23.48	(20.07)
1a. anu. quotes	126	---	(6.39)	152	---	(7.28)	278	---	(6.85)
2. indravajrā	10+1	0.57	(0.56)	9+1	0.52	(0.48)	19+2	0.55	(0.52)
3. upendṛa*	2	0.11	(0.10)	3	0.17	(0.14)	5	0.14	(0.12)
4. upajñti	32	1.82	(1.62)	32+1	1.86	(1.58)	64+1	1.84	(1.60)
5. śālinī	78	4.45	(3.96)	32	1.86	(1.53)	110	3.17	(2.70)
6. svāgatā	19	1.09	(0.96)	9	0.52	(0.43)	28	0.91	(0.69)
7. rathoddhatā	70	4.00	(3.55)	42	2.44	(2.01)	112	3.22	(2.76)
8. indravajrā	50	2.86	(2.54)	7	0.41	(0.34)	57	1.64	(1.40)
9. vapsāstha	6	0.34	(0.31)	4+1	0.23	(0.24)	10+1	0.29	(0.27)
10. upajñti	57	3.25	(2.89)	45	2.62	(2.15)	102	2.93	(2.51)
11. druta*	12	0.69	(0.61)	13	0.76	(0.62)	25	0.72	(0.64)
12. bhujāṅga*	9	0.51	(0.46)	9	0.52	(0.43)	18	0.52	(0.44)
13. praharsipī	24	1.37	(1.21)	16	0.93	(0.76)	40	1.15	(1.00)
14. rucirā	28	1.42	(1.26)	19	1.10	(0.91)	47	1.35	(1.17)
15. vāsantā*	73+15	4.71	(4.46)	75+3	4.36	(3.73)	148+18	4.26	(4.09)
16. mālinī	37+1	2.11	(1.93)	67	3.90	(3.21)	104+1	3.00	(2.59)
17. śikharipī	86+2	4.91	(4.46)	137	7.97	(6.56)	221+2	6.37	(5.44)
18. mandākrātā	48+1	2.74	(2.48)	39	2.27	(1.87)	87+1	2.51	(2.17)
19. pṛthvī	51+1	2.91	(2.64)	17	0.99	(0.81)	68+1	1.99	(1.70)
20. śārdūlā*	222+6	12.68	(11.56)	259+3	15.12	(12.59)	481+9	13.86	(12.06)
21. sragdharā	81	4.11	(3.65)	189	10.99	(9.05)	270	7.78	(6.65)
22. virudā	0	0	(---)	20	1.16	(---)	20	0.58	(---)
verses	0	---	(0)	163	---	(7.80)	163	---	(4.01)
23. ūryā	60	2.70	(3.04)	66	3.84	(3.16)	126	3.63	(3.10)
24. udgītī	30	1.35	(1.52)	70	4.07	(3.35)	100	2.88	(2.46)
25. upagītī	53	2.39	(2.69)	61	3.55	(2.92)	114	3.28	(2.81)
26. gītī	53	2.39	(2.69)	117	6.80	(5.60)	170	4.90	(4.19)
27. songs	28	1.59	(---)	9	0.52	(---)	37	1.07	(---)
verses	197	---	(9.99)	45	---	(2.15)	242	---	(5.96)
28. puṣpītāgrā	22	0.99	(1.11)	32	1.53	(1.26)	55	1.58	(1.35)
29. viyoginī	3	0.17	(0.15)	4	0.19	(0.16)	7	0.23	(0.17)
Other	35+3	2.00	(1.93)	8	0.46	(0.38)	43+3	1.23	(1.13)
Quotes	152	---	(7.71)	161	---	(7.71)	313	---	(7.71)
TOTAL	1751	100	(88.79)	1720	100	(82.34)	3471	100	(85.47)
incl. verses	1820	---	(92.29)	1928	---	(92.29)	3748	---	(92.29)
incl. quotes	1972	---	(100)	2089	---	(100)	4061	---	(100)

The first X figures denote the percent of original verses, where the *virudās* and songs are not counted according to the number of verses they contain, but rather once only per song or per *virudā*. The second X (in brackets) is calculated on the grand total, which includes all quotes as well as songs and *virudās* according to their real volume. Only full quotations have been included in the calculations.

## Pūrvacampū: (page one)

Metre	Chapter											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. anuṣṭubh (8)	5	11	19	14	5	26	24	12	11	7	12	4
1a. anu. quotes	19	0	4	1	1	4	2	1	9	1	7	1
2. indravajrē	2	0	0	0	3	0(1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
3. upendravajrē	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
4. upajñti	2	5	1(1)	0	0	2	2	0	0	3	1	0
5. ālīnī	3	1	2	0	4	1	0	3	2	6	1	1
6. avāgatē	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	2	0
7. rathodḍhatē	4	3	0	0	3	4	2	4	0	0	0	3
8. indravajrē (12)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9. vapsasthaviḷē	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
10. upajñti (12)	3	1	1	1	2	1	4	8	0	3	3	3
11. drutavilambitē	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
12. bhujāṅgeprayñtē	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
13. praharṣiṅī (13)	1	1	2	2	4	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
14. rucirē (13)	0	4	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	0	0	0
15. vāsantā* (14)	6(1)	1	0	0	2	5	1	2	0	1	1(2)	0
16. mālīnī (15)	1	1	1	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	1	1
17. āikharīṅī (17)	12(2)	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	2	2	2
18. mandākṛāntē (17)	7	0	1	2	0	2(1)	0	0	1	0	1	0
19. pṛthvī (17)	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1
20. āśrūḍā* (19)	11	9	10	5	9	6(1)	1	2	4	4	2	3
21. sragdharē (21)	2	4	5	0	2	4	2	0	3	0	4	5
22. viruda metres.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23. ōryē	1	1	0	3	0	6	1	0	4	0	0	1
24. udgītī	3	1	2	1	0	2	0	1	2	0	0	1
25. upagītī	2	1	3	2	0	5	0	0	4	0	1	0
26. gītī	5	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	5	0	0	0
27. song metres	0	0	0	12 <sup>3</sup>	0	4 <sup>1</sup>	13 <sup>2</sup>	7 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	0	5 <sup>1</sup>	8 <sup>1</sup>
28. puṣpītāgrē	0	1	2	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
29. viyoginī	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	72	52	54	39	38	76	49	41	41	30	34	26
Quotes	22	0	5	1	1	6	2	1	9	1	9	1

Ch. 2 contains 1 verse in *kusumavicitrē* (v24), 2 in *pāṇḍukulakē* (v25-6).

Note: bracketed numbers indicate quotations in that metre. Songs and virudas are marked by a superscript figure indicating the number of songs or kalikās. The other figure indicates the number of verses.

## Pūrvacampī: (page two)

	Chapter														
Metre	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	
1. anu	15	3	13	11*	16	64	25	7	26	18	13	8	11	6*	
1a. /q	7	0	11	4	2	3	2	2	4	2	3	7	1	0	
2. (11)	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
3. (11)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
4. (11)	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	
5. (11)	3	0	3	3	4	16	1	0	0	2	3	4	0	1	
6. (11)	1	0	0	0	1	5	1	0	1	2	7	0	0	0	
7. (11)	2	1	2	4	1	0	0	0	6	0	4	0	1	2	
8. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
9. (12)	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
10. (12)	3	0	2	0	0	4	1	1	1	1	0	1(1)	0	0	
11. (12)	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	0	0	
12. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
13. (13)	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
14. (13)	3	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1(2)	0	0	2	0	0	
15. (14)	3	3	3(3)	1	3	2	4	0	3	1	4	5(6)	1	2	
16. (15)	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	3	1	2	5(1)	2	2	
17. (17)	4	1	10	3	7	6	1	5	4	1	4	1	1	0	
18. (17)	0	0	9	1	4	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	
19. (17)	2	0	0	1	2	7	0	0	1	1	7	9	0	2	
20. (19)	9	4	15(1)	1	9	14	9	4(1)	9	5	7	9	2	11	
21. (21)	2	0	2	1	6	8	4	0	2	2	2	2	1	4	
22. vir.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
23. ōryā	0	0	6	0	1	0	1	2	5	3	3	1	0	3	
24. ud*	0	0	3	1	2	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	
25. upa*	2	0	3	2	2	2	0	1	1	0	4	2	1	2	
26. gīti	0	1	0	0	4	2	4	0	0	4	3	1	0	1	
27. song	0	4 <sup>1</sup>	0	0	7 <sup>1</sup>	5 <sup>1</sup>	0	0	24 <sup>2</sup>	7 <sup>1</sup>	13 <sup>1</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup>	0	16 <sup>1</sup>	
28. puṣ.	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	
29. viy.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	
Other	0	0	0	3	0(3)	1	0	0	0	0	6	0	26	0	
TOTAL	55	16	73	34	69	144	55	24	69	46	74	58	50	40	
Quotes	7	1	13	4	5	3	2	3	6	2	3	16%	1	0	

\*Chapters 16, 26 each contain a verse in *vidyumnāḥ*, a subdivision of *anuṣṭubh*. Ch. 16 also contains 1 verse in *tōṭaka* and 1 in *pādākulakā*; ch. 18, one verse in *śobhā*; ch. 23, 6 verses in *tūpaka*; ch. 25, 25 verses in *rājahamṣī*; ch. 25 has 1 in *haripī*.

Chapter 17 also has 3 quotes in *rājahamṣī*.

## Pūrvacampī: (page three)

Metre	Chapter							TOTALS
	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	
1. anu	12	6	23	7	14	5	54	507
1a. /q	0	0	1	1	5	0	21	(126)
2. (11)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10(1)
3. (11)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
4. (11)	0	0	1	2	2	1	0	32
5. (11)	3	1	0	2	3	3	2	78
6. (11)	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	19
7. (11)	7	1	0	2	1	1	4	70
8. (12)	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
9. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
10. (12)	1	0	0	0	1	3	7	57
11. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
12. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
13. (13)	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	24
14. (13)	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	28
15. (14)	5	1	1	2	3(1)	2	4	73 (15)
16. (15)	5	1	0	1	0	0	1	37
17. (17)	2	1	1	0	2	2	7	86 (2)
18. (17)	1	0	2	1	1	1	5	48 (1)
19. (17)	3	0	0	1	4	0	4(1)	51 (1)
20. (19)	4	0	12	3	12	0	17(3)	222 (6)
21. (21)	2	0	5	0	1	0	14	81
22. vir.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23. ōryā	1	1	13	2	0	0	1	60
24. ud*	1	0	4	0	1	0	1	30
25. upa*	1	0	10	0	0	0	2	53
26. gīti	3	0	11	0	0	0	6	53
27. song	5 <sup>1</sup>	0	14 <sup>3</sup>	11 <sup>1</sup>	33 <sup>4</sup>	0	0	28/197
28. pug.	3	1	1	1	1	0	0	22
29. viy.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	38 (3)
TOTAL	58	12	89	27	54	19	132	1751 [1820]
Quotes	0	0	0	1	7	0	25	152 [1972]

Numbers in round brackets ( ) indicate the number of quoted verses in that metre. The numbers in square brackets [ ] indicate totals inclusive of song and viruda verses.

## Uttaracampū: (page one)

Metre	Chapter											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. anuṣṭubh (8)	6	7	3	8	21	5	0	14	3	12	1	5
1a. anu-quotes	0	0	0	4	2	4	0	0	10	1	0	16
2. iadravajrē (11)	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
3. upendravajrē (11)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. upajñti (11)	0	2	1	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
5. śālinī (11)	2	0	0	0	4	0	1	2	0	1	0	0
6. svāgatē (11)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
7. rathoddhatē (11)	1	3	0	2	3	0	0	7	2	0	0	0
8. iadravapśē (12)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
9. vapśasthaviṣē	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0(1)
10. upajñti (12)	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0
11. drutevilambitē	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12. bhujaśgaprayñtē	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	0	0
13. praharṣiṇī (13)	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0
14. rucirē (13)	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15. vāsantā* (14)	1	3	0	1(1)	4	0	0	5	1	0	3	0
16. mālinī (15)	0	1	0	1	1	2	2	0	2	9	1	1
17. śikharīṇī (17)	15	1	0	6	5	1	0	5	1	0	1	26
18. mandākrāntē (17)	2	1	0	2	3	0	1	0	0	2	6	0
19. pṛthvī (17)	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
20. śārdūlā* (19)	8	5	4	7	15	0	2	5	2	11	3	18
21. aragdhārē (21)	2	10	19	9	5	11	1	4	0	6	1	2
22. viruda metres.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0
23. Īryē	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	5	11	1
24. udgītī	3	1	0	0	3	0	3	2	1	4	8	0
25. upagītī	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	3	8	0
26. gītī	5	0	2	5	3	0	2	1	1	6	13	5
27. song metres	0	0	0	0	11 <sup>1</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28. puṣpītīgrē	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
29. viyoginī	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	50	37	31	49	76	19	14	49	26	68	57	60
Quotes	0	0	0	5	2	4	0	0	10	1	0	17

Chapter 4 contains one verse in *prabhāvatī*.

V. six verses of the *viruda* type are included under *bhujaśgaprayñtē*.

Note: bracketed numbers indicate quotations in that metre. Songs and *virudas* are marked by a superscript figure indicating the number of songs or *kalikās*. The other figure indicates the number of verses.



# Appendix II: GC Metres

UttaracampII: (page two)

	Chapter													
Metre	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
1. anu	2	21	3	3	7	10	17	3	12	4	2	9	26	18
1a. /q	1	0	0	5	1	3	2	9	6	0	0	9	1	2
2. (11)	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3. (11)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
4. (11)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0
5. (11)	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
6. (11)	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7. (11)	0	3	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	3	1	0	0
8. (12)	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9. (12)	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
10. (12)	1	0	1	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	2
11. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	0
12. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
13. (13)	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
14. (13)	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
15. (14)	0	0	0	9	2	0	0	4	0	1	2	0	0(1)	1
16. (15)	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	1
17. (17)	2	1	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	2
18. (17)	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	5	1	2	0
19. (17)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	2	0
20. (19)	2	4	1	3	14	3	1	10	1	1	9	5	8	3
21. (21)	2	4	6	2	8	5	7	4	4	3	2	0	2	4
22. vir.	5 <sup>1</sup>	9 <sup>1</sup>	0	5 <sup>1</sup>	17 <sup>2</sup>	8 <sup>1</sup>	6 <sup>1</sup>	0	5 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	0	0	0	0
23. EryE	1	4	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1	2
24. ud*	2	0	0	3	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	1
25. upa*	1	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	3	0	1	1	3	5
26. gTti	2	5	0	9	3	2	0	2	1	1	2	2	2	4
27. song	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4 <sup>1</sup>	0	0	0	0
28. pug.	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	5	1	5	1
29. viy.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
TOTAL	20	52	14	45	55	32	31	41	27	16	45	33	56	47
Quotes	1	0	0	5	1	3	2	9	6	0	9	7	2	2

Chapter 24 has 1 verse in *harigT*.

Appendix II: GC Metres

Uttaracampū: (page three)

Metre	Chapter											TOTALS
	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	
1. anu	3	7	1	3	13	7	3	1	19	15	16*	309
1a. /q	0	0	64	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	1	152
2. (11)	0	0	0	0	0(1)	0	0	0	0	0	2	7(1)
3. (11)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
4. (11)	1	1	0(1)	2	1	0	4	1	7	2	3	32(1)
5. (11)	1	0	0	2	1	1	3	0	1	0	7	33
6. (11)	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	9
7. (11)	1	2	0	2	0	0	2	1	1	2	1	42
8. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	7
9. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4(1)
10. (12)	3	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	9	4	3	45
11. (12)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	13
12. (12)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
13. (13)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	4	0	0	16
14. (13)	0	2	0	0	0	4	1	0	1	0	1	19
15. (14)	3	1	0(1)	3	3	2	2	0	3	5	16	75(3)
16. (15)	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	5	19	8	67
17. (17)	0	1	0	11	6	10	2	1	4	4	12	137
18. (17)	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	39
19. (17)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	17
20. (19)	9	3	1(2)	8	12	4	8	0	15	16(1)	38	259(3)
21. (21)	2	1	1	15	3	5	4	0	7	9	19	189
22. vir.	5½ <sup>1</sup>	2½ <sup>1</sup>	0	5 <sup>1</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	90 <sup>8</sup>	20/163
23. ūryā	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	21	1	1	2	66
24. ud*	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	22	0	1	4	70
25. upa*	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	21	0	1	1	61
26. gIti	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	25	2	2	4	117
27. song	0	0	0	0	0	0	12 <sup>3</sup>	0	14 <sup>3</sup>	4 <sup>1</sup>	0	9/45
28. puṣ.	0	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	3	2	0	32
29. viy.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	8
TOTAL	28	21	5	58	47	40	41	96	88	87	157	1720 [1928]
Quotes	0	0	68	0	7	2	0	1	0	3	1	161 [2089]

Other metres: All in ch.37, *manthāna* (1), *vidyumanā* (1), *śāśāikā* (1)  
(subdivisions of *anupubh*), *pañcācāra*, (5).

## Appendix:

### Gopālacampū: Chapters one and two

#### Text and translation

##### Introduction: the text

In chapter two of this thesis, a general overview of the textual sources used in the study of Gopālacampū has been given. The two chapters of text given here are based on the two MSS. received from VRI, there named a<sub>1</sub> and a<sub>2</sub>, which according to the conclusions of that investigation, are the most accurate of the various available sources. Of these two, a<sub>1</sub> can be considered the more accurate. Variant readings are consistently given from the printed edition C, which was also based on a Vrindavan MS. The printed texts B, D, P and H were not used at all in this presentation of the text because of the flaws already outlined. On the other hand V, the most recent of the printed editions, has been used, if only to show the residual flawed readings which have been considered by its editor to be credible. In these cases, it may be assumed that if his reading does not derive from C, then it has come through the line B → D → P → V, i.e. originating with the flawed MS. B.

The text has been presented as found in the MSS., where there are no chapter headings, titles and chapter numbering given in the colophons to each chapter as is generally the practice in Indian handwritten MSS.

Much of chapter one is commentary on other verses. §§1-4 contain commentary on v1, §§21-79, the bulk of the chapter, is based on the

verses cited from BrS in §20. In order to facilitate understanding, all quotations including references back to these texts are given in italics.

The only punctuation in the MSS. is the *daṇḍa*. The single *daṇḍa* is used in prose for all the functions of punctuation in modern languages, the comma, period, colon, semi-colon, etc. Where possible, the appropriate modern punctuation has been used. Quotations ending in *iti* have been taken out of vowel *sandhi* wherever possible, as has any *sandhi* which would interfere with the use of quotation marks. The exception to this is where such a situation arises within a metrical passage (viz. 1.1v71).

The effort at punctuating the Sanskrit sentence has not been altogether successful. The lengthy sentences containing numerous subordinate clauses beginning with *yatra* have been problematic and not dealt with consistency as such would be impossible to achieve.

#### The translation

It was felt that a translation of a portion of the text would give a clearer illustration of the nature of JIva's writing in a way that no amount of citations possibly could. The first two chapters are particularly appropriate. They form a unit in themselves, making up the entire *Golokavilāṣacampū*, i.e. the first of GC's six divisions. JIva's style is illustrated particularly well in these chapters and almost all the types of writing discussed in the thesis (ch. 4) are found here. The rhyming prose in even the exegetical context have their best illustration in §§2-3 of the first chapter. An excellent example of Bāṇa-esque prose describing Govardhana is found in 1.51, while 1.68-79 is a delightfully difficult piece

of description of the layout of Nanda's city. Simpler "conversational" Sanskrit is found in 2.55-62, 68-97. Good examples of JIva's verse in a variety of metres are found throughout. A rather complex bit of the jester Madhumaṅgala's wit is found in 2.50, while other more conversational Sanskrit is found in both verse and prose from 2.99-114. The first chapter is of interest from the theological point of view and much of that which is essential to JIva's view in GC, particularly in its description of the relation of the earthly Vṛndāvana (1.6-16) to the eternal Goloka is found there (1.17-36). In the second chapter JIva gives the essentials of his vision of the daily activities of Kṛṣṇa in Goloka, the *aṣṭayāmalīkā*

Table of abbreviations used in the notes.

BhP = Bhāgavatapurāṇa

BRS = Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu (Rūpa Gosvāmin)

BrS = Brahmasaṃhitā

GC = Gopālacampū (i) Pūrvacampū, (ii) Uttaracampū

GLA = Govindalīlāmṛta (Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja)

HBV = Haribhaktivilāsa (Gopālabhaṭṭa Gosvāmin, Sanātana Gosvāmin)

KṛṣṇaS = ŚrīKṛṣṇasandarbhā (JIva Gosvāmin)

LBhāg = Laghubhāgavatāmṛta (Rūpa Gosvāmin)

MBh = Mahābhārata

PadP = Padmapurāṇa

S = notes found in Śacīnandana Gosvāmin's edition of GC (C)

T = Vīracandra Gosvāmin's *ṭīkā* on GC.

UN = Ujjvalanīlamanī (Rūpa Gosvāmin)

ViM = Vidagdhamādhava (Rūpa Gosvāmin)

VT = Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī (Sanātana Gosvāmin)

ŚrīŚrīRādhāraṇyā namaḥ  
ŚrīŚrīKṛṣṇacaitanya' namaḥ

ŚrīKṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇacaitanya Sasanātanarūpaka/  
Gopāla Raghunāthāptavraja Vallabha pāhi mām//1

[1] Tad evaṁ ārambhasambhavadantarmahasā sahasā vilikhya tad idam ullikhyate. Kim idam? Madiṣṭadevasya, madenviṣṭadayāśiṣṭatadbhakte-samudayasya ca kramataḥ smaraṇam āvirbhūtam. Kim vā, kevalasya madiṣṭa-devasya; kim vā, tadviṣiṣṭasya. Āṁ āṁ, tantrates tat trayam api svatantratayā labhyate. Tatra prathamam tāvāt prathamataḥ prathayāmi. Atra Śrī padam anyad anyad api kīncid anuṣṭupchandaḥparacchandatayā pūrvatra ca paraparatra ca yatra na dattaṁ, tatra ca sandhātavyam.

[2] Yathā: He ŚrīKṛṣṇanāmnātidhanya! Sarvamūrdhanya! He ŚrīKṛṣṇa-caitanya! Sarvasārmadakīrtanya! He mahitāŚrīSenātanasaḥitaŚrīRūpa-nāmadheya, manmūrdhany ādheya! He ŚrīGopālabhaṭṭākhya<sup>2</sup>pravṛddha-bhaṭṭāraṇakāśamṛddha! He ŚrīRaghunāthādāsa! Nāmadhāmatayātiprasiddha-paramabhaktibharāviddha! He teṣāṁ evāptavrajatāsiddhavarṇanasatkarṇa-garbhābharaṇaŚrīBhūgarbhādisaṁjñādhikaraṇa! He ŚrīVallabha! Prāg-bhaviyadurlabhasukṛtasandhiyamānamadīyaśaraṇapitṛcaraṇa! Kim vā, he ŚrīRaghunāthasyāptān vrajaty anuvrajati tattayā sarvavallabha! ŚrīVallabha! Mām pāhi! Nijacaraṇacchāyayā matpratipālakatām āyāhi.

[3] Atha dvitīyam api pratīyamānam nirmāmi: ŚrīKṛṣṇa iti. Śrīr ātra Rādhā. Eṣā hi Śrīpradhānatayā sādhaīṣyamānatāyāṁ nīrābādā. TadanantaraKṛṣṇa-sabdas cātra śabdabrahmagūḍhaperabrahmaNandanandanavācakatāyāṁ rūḍhaḥ. Tena, "he ŚrīRādhākhyaśvarūpeśaktiyuktaKṛṣṇa" ity arthaś ca nirvyūḍhaḥ.

Kṛṣṇa iti:

*Kṛṣīr bhūvācakaḥ<sup>3</sup> śabdaś ca nirvṛtivācakaḥ/*

*tayor aikyaṁ param brahma Kṛṣṇa ity abhidhīyate//*

iti pramāṇajñātacaraḥ Kṛṣṇasabdas tv ātra yogapureskṛtarūḍhitayā tatparaḥ. Bhūr iti bhāvakvibantatākarah. Sa cāyam bhāvasabdavad dhātvarthamāstratā-

<sup>1</sup>C 'candrāya; <sup>2</sup>C -ākhya-; <sup>3</sup>a1,a2 kṛṣī bhūr

dharaḥ. Dhātvārthas cātrākarṣaṇam, tad eva sphuṭam āptatayāptamanasām ākarṣaṇam. Tatas ca bhinnapadārthatayāvagatayor dayitayor iva taylor aikyaṃ yoga eveti tadyukta ānandaḥ sarvākarṣakānanda ity artha evāmandaḥ; paraṃ brahma iti, Narākr̥ti paraṃ brahma iti hi' prasiddhiḥ. Yogapuras-kṛtarūḍhatopagūḍhatayāpi ŚrīNandanandanam eva vakti tacchabdesaktir iti vyaktisiddhiś ca. Tad etad abhidhīyate cābhidhīyate iti. Tasmād eva tadīyasvabhāvaviśeṣabhāvanārtham eva punaruktir iyaṃ yuktiṃ yunakti.

Caityanya iti. "He sarvaprakāśake! Sadrūpatayā sarvāśreyasvarūpe!" Tadrūpatā ca vipaścīdbhir avagatā, saccidānandarūpāye Kṛṣṇāyāklīṣṭakarmaṇe iti Tāpanīyanāndīnīśamanāt. Tvayy eva nityasukhabodhataneu iti Śrī-BhāgavatīyaBrahmastave nigamanāc ca.

Saśanātanarūpeka iti, "He śanātanena sadātanena svasvarūpam anubhavadbhir api sunirūpeṇa<sup>2</sup>surūpeṇa rūpeṇa saha vartamāna! Tena svabhaktivittacittam anuvartamāna!"

Gopālaraghunāthāptavrajavallabha iti, "Gopāleṣu ye raghavo laghavo, ye ca nāthā mukhyā iti vikhyātagāthās, tair āptasya vrajasya bellavatallajavrajasya vallabha!" Kiṃ vā, "Gopālnām laghur iṣṭaḥ, sa ca nāthaś ca yas, tasya sambodhanam Triṣv iṣṭe 'lpe laghur iti nānārthavargalabdhabodhanam. Āptavrajavallabha iti "Āptavrajānām svajanasamūhānām vallabha! Pareṣām alabhya<sup>3</sup>satprabha!"

[4] Atha tṛtīyam api sambhṛtīkaravāṇi: he ŚrīKṛṣṇa iti. Śrīr atra ca paramapreyasīṣu śreyasī Rādhā, tatas "Tadyuktatayā madhuralīlīyām asaṃkīrṇa! He Kṛṣṇacaityanyākyabhaktāvatāra! Tādātmyāpennatayāvatīrṇa! He Saśanātanarūpābhyām paramānurektasubhaktābhyām saha vidyamāna! He Gopālaraghunāthābhyām tattannāmābhyām api subhaktābhyām āptaḥ prāpto yo Vrajaś, tasya vallabhatayā sarvavidyamāna<sup>4</sup>! Mām pāhi, matpālakatām yāhiIti.

[5] Tad evam maṅgalaṃ saṅgamayya kāryaṃ vicāryate.

<sup>1</sup> not in a2,C; <sup>2</sup>a1,C sunirūpeṇa surūpeṇa; <sup>3</sup> a2 ananya<sup>3</sup>; <sup>4</sup> C sarvadā vidyamāna;

Yan mayā Kṛṣṇasānderbhe siddhāntāmṛtam ācitam/  
 tad eva rasyate kāvyakṛtiprajñārasajñayā//2 [anuṣṭubh]  
 So 'haṃ kāvyasya lakṣyeṇa mano nirmāmi tādṛśam/  
 tan mahānto yad Ikṣerāṃs tadā hemni cito mañiḥ//3 [anuṣṭubh]  
 Pūrvottaratayā campūdvayī seyaṃ trayī trayī/  
 pṛthakpṛthag grānthatulyā yathecchāṃ sadbhīr Ikṣyatām//4 [anuṣṭubh]  
 Śrīgopālagāṇāṃ gopālāṇāṃ pramodāya/  
 bhavatu samantād eṣā nāmnā Gopālacampūr yā//5 [upagītī]  
 Yadyapi cīram antardhā jātā ŚrīGokulesthānāṃ/  
 tadapi mahātmesu teṣāṃ vyūhasamūhaḥ puraḥ sphuraṇa jayati//6 [ud]

[6] Asti kila Vṛndāvananāmadheyam bhāgadheyam iva subhagaṃ vanam  
 Avenīdevyāḥ. Yad aho, vanam apy avanīya kalpate sakalalokasya. Prasaṅga-  
 mātrataḥ pavamānam api tatra kṣipratāpratāpataḥ pavamānatām apy  
 atikrāmati. Paramatrivargadāne nirargalam api sarvadāpavarge<sup>1</sup>m  
 apaverjayati. Muktisandhasambandhagandham api sva<sup>2</sup>svaguṇair bandha-  
 nirbandhanibandhanam bhavati. Sadā sadāvalīśasya bhaktipradam api kedāpi  
 na dadāti tadbhaktim. Brahmanāṣṭmani yad anāñcitam api matvā janma  
 vāñchitam, tena tat<sup>3</sup> peram āñcitam matam iti nijahitamahitamahimārambham  
 upalambhayati. Tad evaṃ gahanacaryāparyākulatayā virodhālaṅkārevad  
 viruddhāyamānam apy artham anuruddhatayā paryavasānataḥ pariṇamayati.  
 Tasmin kavīnām akavitāyām api kavitā sambhāvitā bhavitā. Tasminn eva ca  
 paramodārasāratāvagamyate. Tadd hi taddhitatayā muhur avatīrṇasya  
 sarvasyāpy<sup>4</sup> ānandanasya ŚrīmanNandanandanasya servam ānandaparva  
 sarvadā parvati.

[7] Asti ceha ŚrīŚukasya<sup>1</sup>pi sukhacamatkāṛakāraṇaṃ padyaṃ:

Vṛndāvanam Govardhanam Yamunāpulināni ca/  
 vīkṣyāsīt uttamā prītī RāmaMādhavayor nṛpa// iti.

[8] Tatra Govardhanas tu purastād evaṃ prastūyate:

Yad Gokuleśvara iti prathitih Purāṇe  
 Kṛṣṇasya tad bhavati Gokulam asya dhāma/  
 govāsataḥ ca kila gokuletānidānam

<sup>1</sup> C,V add 'varga'; <sup>2</sup> C,V drop; <sup>3</sup> C,V add tat; <sup>4</sup> a<sub>1</sub> Śarvasyāpy



Govardhanas tad iha sarvanidhānam eva//7 [vasantatilaka]

[9] Tatra cāyam viśeṣaḥ:

Trijagati Mānasagaṅgā Govardhanam api vibhīdatī viditā/  
aham iha manye Kṛṣṇa- snehajādhārē tadantaram viśati//8 [gIti]

Kiṃ ca,

Tasmin ŚrīHarīRādhayor yugalītaṃ yad bhāti kuṇḍadvayaṃ  
saṃsaṅgena parasparam parimalān manye tayos tanmiṣam/  
premāsīt prakṛtaṃ yataḥ śvasanakalīḥ kampānvitaṃ jādyaug  
bhaktārdrasthītikṛc ca tad ghanarasākāraṃ darīdṛśyate//9 [śārdūla]

[10] Yamunāyāṃ cāyam atīśayaḥ:

Snāna-jātasukṛtān na kevalāt sphūrtidā Muraripo Raveḥ sutā/  
vīkṣaṇād api yato bibharti sā Śyāmadhāmavaramādhurīdhurām//10  
[rathoddhatā]

[11] Tasyāṃ cotprekṣante,

Svasnigdhavṛndaviṣayapriyatāmāhīmā  
svedāṃśa eva kim u Kṛṣṇatanor viśrī/  
vṛndasya Kṛṣṇaviṣayapriyataiva kiṃ vā  
tadbhāva bhāvitagatir bhavati sma Kṛṣṇā//11 [vasantatilakā]

[12] Pulināni ca tasyā mahāpremollāsam āviṣkurvanti. Tathā hi,

Adyāpi yāni vibudhān avalokamātrāt  
puṣpanti Kṛṣṇakṛtārāsaresaṃ vibhāvya/  
tāny atra kiṃ vararasaṃyana divyacūrṇair  
abhyāsataḥ svapulināni cinoti Saurī//12 [vasantatilakā]

[13] Bhāṇḍīras tu sa no mano vyākulayati. Tathā hi,

Bhāṇḍīrasya sphuṭam adhiHarī prema kiṃ varṇanīyam  
sāntardhānaṃ sthītavati Harau bādham antardadhe yaḥ/  
"Yāntu svāṃśena ca viṣayatām atra Govardhanādya  
loke snigdhā racayitum idaṃ na kṣamaḥ syām" itīva//13  
[mandākrāntā]

[14] Aho premagambhīryam asya paśya Vṛndāvanasya! Yataḥ,

Kutrakutracid agasya dambhataḥ stambham eti tad idaṃ Harer vanam/  
prāyasaś caladalasya kampratām aṅkurasya pulakāni sarvataḥ//14 [rath]

[15] Āvirvrajati ca tasmā saVrajavāsiṣṭījanavrajā Vrajaśāṣṭījanāṁ kim kim vā tadvyakhyāyāṁ nāvirvrajati? Tac ca yuktaṁ evotpāśyāmaḥ; vrajapadam hi sarvasamīcīnasamūham ūhayati. [16] Asti ceḥa ŚrīBhāgavatīyaṁ padyam,

*tata śrabhya Nandasya vrajaḥ sarvasamṛddhimān/*

*Harer nivāsātmaguṇai Rāmākrīḍam abhūn nṛpa!// iti.*

[17] Teṣāṁ āvirbhāvaś ca<sup>1</sup> Pāṇḍurāṣṭījanasandarbhānusāreṇa pratikalpam analpasukhākalkasampadudanta-Dantavakravadhānte sarvato 'py ekānte kānte yatra praveśanirdeśaḥ<sup>2</sup> prathayīṣyate, tasmād bhavajanamaṇaḥ-kāyanikāyasparśavirahitād Vārāṇasīsaṁkīrtitapravarakīrtikadambādīmayāt PāṇḍuSkāṇḍīgataṣaṁkīrtavarṇakāṇḍīgatatattatsanātanaśīlatārāmasaRāma-gogopagopālaśīlānīdhānād Vṛndāvanasyaiva vaibhavaviśeṣād aśeṣaṁ bhavati, prakṛtiśhitim atīto hi yaḥ. [18] BṛhadgautamīyasthaŚrīKṛṣṇavacanē tu tattatsaṁkṣepārthanikṣepaḥ prekṣyate.

*Idam Vṛndāvanam ramyaṁ mama dhāmaiva kevalam/*

*atra me<sup>3</sup> paśavaḥ pakṣimṛgāḥ kīṭā narāmarāḥ/*

*Ye vāsanti mamādhiṣṭhe<sup>4</sup> mṛtā yānti mamālayam//*

*Atra yā gopakanyās ca nivasanti mamālaye/*

*yoginyas tā mayā nityam mama sevāparīkṣyāṇāḥ//*

*Pañcayojanam evāsti vanam me deharūpakam/*

*Kāṇḍīyaṁ Suśumnākhyā paramāmṛtavāhinī//*

*Atra devās ca bhūtāni vartante sūkṣmarūpataḥ/*

*Sarvadevamayaś cāham na tyajāmi vanam kvacit//*

*Āvirbhāvas tirobhāvo bhaven me 'tra yuge yuge/*

*tejomayam idam ramyam adṛśyam carmacakṣuṣā// iti*

[19] Yaṁ khalu vaibhavaviśeṣaṁ sarvasāreṇa yathāsthānam prakāśayīṣyamāṇa-vyākhyāviśeṣāvatāreṇa ŚrīmadBhāgavatānusāreṇa gopānāṁ svaṁ lokam Varuṇālayād āgataḥ karuṇavaruṇālayaḥ svayaṁ bhagavān Akrūrīya Vaikuṇṭhaviśeṣalakṣaṇasvavaibhavavyākhyāyāḥ sukhaṇḍe Brahmahṛade majjanena tasmād unmajjanena ca tajjanakautukajanānād anantaram chandaḥ-stūyamānenātmanāvitṛṣṭi vicitram atraiva Vṛndāvane tadīyanarālīlāveśena sādharmaṇam anyebhyas tebhyaḥ sandarśayāmāsa; yaṁ prati sampraty api

<sup>1</sup> a2, āvirbhāvasya; <sup>2</sup> a2 praveśasya nirdeśaḥ; <sup>3</sup> V ye; <sup>4</sup> C mamādhiṣṭhe, V mamādhiṣṭhe.

prapadyamānā vidvāṃsāś cetasāpi sākṣād iva tallīlāḥ pratipadyante; yaṃ pari  
 Harivaṃśe Govindābhīṣekasampadaṃśe Mahendraḥ ŚrīmadVrajendratanūja-  
 tanuvad vyāpakatāṃ satyāṃ pratyāyayāmāsa; yaṃ punar Vṛndāvenastha-  
 samastasamabhyarṇam api tattadvarṇanānusāreṇa kecit prakṛtyāvarṇataḥ  
 paramaviyadūrdhvaṃ nirvarṇayanti; ataeva līlānurūparūpatayā bhūmānam  
 abhūmānam ca prapadyante yadbhūmayāḥ. Eṣa eva Śeṣanirviśeṣatayā brahma-  
 sākṣātkārātkāratayā ca Brahmasaṃhitādiṣu bṛṃhitāṃ bṛhadbhir varṇayāmāse.  
 Tatra ca prakatāprakatāprakāśamayasya Vṛndāvanasya bahuvidhasaṃsthāna-  
 tayā bahuvidhaśāstraśrutasyāprakatāprakāśamayavaibhavaviśeṣa eva samprati  
 varṇanīyāḥ. Sa ca Gokulapradhāna eveti svavivakṣitahitā Brahmasaṃhitānu-  
 saṃhitā kriyate. Tadvacanāni tu bodhakramāya kramam atikramyānu-  
 kramyante, yathā:

*Bhaje Śvetadvīpaṃ tam aham iha Goloka iti yaṃ  
 vidantas te santaḥ kṣitivilalacārāḥ katipaye/  
 Śrīyaḥ kāntāḥ kāntaḥ paramapuruṣaḥ kalpataravaḥ  
 drumā bhūmīś cintāmaṇigaṇamayī toyam amṛtam//  
 kathā gānaṃ nāṭyaṃ gāmanam api vaṃśī priyasakhī  
 cidānandajyotiḥ param api tad āsvādyam api ca/  
 sa yatra kṣīrābdhiḥ saratī surabhibhyaś ca sumahān  
 nimeṣārdhākhyo vā vrajati na hi yatrāpi samayaḥ//*

[20] Kiṃ ca, Īśvareḥ paramaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ ity upakramyāhe:

*Sahasrapatrakamalaṃ Gokulākhyam mahatpadam/  
 tatkarṇikāraṃ tad dhāma tadanantāṃśasambhavam/  
 tatkiṣkalkaṃ tadamśānāṃ tatpetrāṇi Śrīyāṃ api//  
 Caturasraṃ tatperitāḥ Śvetadvīpākhyam adbhutam/  
 caturasraṃ caturmūrtes caturdhāma catuṣkṛtam//  
 caturbhiḥ puruṣārthaiś ca caturbhir hetubhir vṛtam/  
 śūlair daśabhir ānaddham ūrdhvādhodigvidikṣu ca//  
 aṣṭabhiḥ nidhibhir juṣṭam aṣṭabhiḥ siddhibhis tathā/  
 manurūpaiś ca daśabhir dikpālaiḥ parito vṛtam//  
 śyāmair gauraiś ca rektaiś ca śuklaiś ca pūrṣadarṣabhaiḥ/  
 śobhitam śaktibhis tēbhir adbhutābhiḥ samantataḥ//*

Api ca,

*Cintāmaṇiprakaśasodmasu kalpavṛkṣa-  
 lakṣāvṛteṣu surabhīr abhipālayantam/*

*Lakṣmīśahasraśatasambhramasevyamānam*

*Govindam ādīpuruṣam tam ahaṁ bhajāmi// ity ādi.<sup>1</sup>*

*Ratnadhātumayaḥ śrīmān yatra Govardhano giriḥ/*

*ratnabaddhobhayataḥ Kāḷindī saritāṁ varā// ity ādi cānyatra.*

[21] Tad etadanuśreṇa prathamam tāvāt kāvyasya nidhānam vastumātram sa-  
premānam prakāśyate, citrasya phalakam iva. [22] Tathā hi: yasya khalu  
lokasya *Golokātayā* gogopavāsarūpasya, *Śvetadvīpātayā* cānanyasprṣṭa-  
paramasuddhatāsamudbuddhasvarūpasya tādṛśajñānamaya *katipayamā*traprameya-  
gātrātayā tattatparamatā matā, parama*Golokaḥ* parama*Śvetadvīpa* iti. [23] Tad  
eva yuktaṁ uktaṁ bhavati.

[24] Yatra hi evacchandatānandapradabahuvacanārthā gopīpadārthāḥ *Śrīyaḥ*  
śrayante. NānyaVaikuṇṭhavad tadekavacanārthatākuṇṭhāḥ. Tāsāṁ tat-  
padārthatā ca tanmahāvāgarthasārākerṣayantre mahāmantre ballavīvalabhatayā  
tasya japam upadiśantiIti sidhyati. [25] Atra na kevalam tasya dvivārṇa-  
padasya vṛttāv eva rūḍhim avalambāmahe, api tu dhyāne 'pi. Kintu, *Nāyam*  
*śrīyo 'nga* iti Śukānuvādaḥ sāmānyaLakṣmīvijayam vyanakti. *Lakṣmīśahasra*  
iti Viriñcivāṇī Lakṣmīviśeṣatvam urīkaroti, yasmād atra KuruPāṇḍava-  
śabdavad yathāvasaram khaṇḍākhāṇḍavācakatā matā. Tad evaṁ seti, tatrāpi  
Rādhā parameti PādmaSkāṇḍādiVārāhaviṁśīMātsye. GovindaVṛndāvananāma-  
tantre 'py abhāṣi yat, tat katham anyathā syāt?

Lakṣmīr abhitaḥ stritamā gopyo Lakṣmītamāḥ prathitāḥ/

Rādhā gopitamā ced asyāḥ<sup>2</sup> kā vā samā rāmā?// 15 [upagītī]

[26] Tad evaṁvidhānāṁ tāsāṁ api sarvāsāṁ eka eva ramaṇas, tata eva  
Gokuladhāmā Govindanāmā pratyekam ekām ekām Rāmāṁ ramayatām Rāmā-  
ramaṇanāmnāṁ purupuruṣāṇāṁ paramaḥ. [27] Yat tu madhye māyayā  
pratyāyitam aupapatyam, tat khalv avāstavatvāt parastād avadhvastam iti  
*Śrīparamapuruṣaśabdābhyām* pramitam. Kathāyām tu pramāṇa-  
viśeṣagrathanayā prathayiṣyāmaḥ. [28] Evaṁ śiṣṭaḥ ŚrīRāmo 'py atidiṣṭaḥ.

<sup>1</sup> C,D,P omit ity ādi, D,P add Bṛhadvāmane; <sup>2</sup> C reads ceha syāḥ

[29] Kiṃ ca, aśeṣā eva<sup>1</sup> taravaḥ kalpataravaḥ saṅkalpadānabalāt kevalān, na tu mānyatādhanayasāmānyaviśeṣāt. Teṣu ca jātyā kalpataravas tu vilakṣaṇa-  
tayaḥ kṛtalakṣaṇā eva.

[30] Kiṃ ca, ādarśanibhasvacchavibhavanānādarśasparśādīmayabhūmikā bhūmiś  
ca kānter uta kānter vṛṣṭisṛṣṭikāriṇī cintāmaṇīyate. [31] Āstāṃ tēvad  
uttaram anu tāratamyaramyatāgamyamahimā grhādīṣu mahācintāmaṇimayī,  
yasmād udbhinnās tadudbhidaś ca tadīyaśobhām ātmany udbhāvayanti. Yatra  
ca,

Dṛṣṭīśravaṇam ayātās tadgocaritās ca jātirūpābhyām/  
nagamṛgapakṣiviśeṣās tatratyānām ca citram ādadhati//16 [gīti]

[32] Kiṃ ca, toyam apy amṛtāyate, kim utāmṛtam? Kiṃ ca, kathāpi yathā  
gānam tathā karṇayoḥ pānakāyate, kim uta svayam eva gānam? Kiṃ ca,  
gamanam api nṛtyacāturīdhurīṇatām urīkaroti, nṛtyam punar atīvādrīyam.

[33] Kiṃ ca, vamsī yathā Kāmśārāter āśu sukhavilāsam śaṃsanti, sahāyatayā  
ca lasanti ca priyasakhīyate, na tadvad anyo dhanyo 'pi janaḥ sambhavati.

[34] Kiṃ ca, cidānanda eva kevalam svarūpānatiriktasaktivyaktivaśād vyakti-  
viśeṣatayā vyaktībhaven, Gokulaśabdabalabdhahloka<sup>2</sup>valī<sup>2</sup>kaivalyakalanāya  
puṣpavadādīlakṣaṇaprakāśakatayā tattatprakāśya<sup>2</sup>puṣpādīlakṣaṇāsvādyatayā ca  
prakāśate. Na tu martyalokavad viparītaparīṇatirītiparītatayā vibhatsitavya-  
dravyatām āpadyate.

[35] Tathā ca, Hayaśīrṣapañcarātre pañcatattvanirūpaṇe Vaikuṇṭhasthadravya-  
tattvaṃ nirūpitam.

Gandharūpaṃ svādarūpaṃ dravyaṃ puṣpādikaṃ ca yat/  
rasavad bhautikaṃ dravyam atra syād rasarūpakam//<sup>3</sup> ity ādi.

Tathāpi,

Prapañcam niṣprapañco 'pi viḍambhayasi bhūtale/  
prapannajanatānandasandohaṃ prathitum prabho//

iti Brahmavacanānusāreṇa kṛtaprapaṇcānukāre Itīśāre tasya  
tatprapannajanasya ca yathāveśaḥ syāt, na tathā nityākāre 'pīti labhyate.

<sup>1</sup> C,V add ca; <sup>2</sup> C reads prakāśaś ca; <sup>3</sup> D,P add Heyāṃśānām abhāvāc ca  
rasarūpaṃ bhavet ca tat/ tvag bījaṃ caiva heyāṃśam kaṭhināṃśam ca yad  
bhavet/ tat sarvaṃ bhautikaṃ viddhi na hi bhūtamayaṃ hi tat//

[36] Tataḥ pūrvatra tasya tasya<sup>1</sup> cāveśaḥ<sup>2</sup> syāt<sup>3</sup>. [37] Tataś ca, tadicchāveśāṁ  
Itiśaktiḥ paratra ca prāyaḥ<sup>4</sup> sarvaṁ vyaktīkaroti<sup>5</sup>ti vivektavyam<sup>6</sup>.

[38] Kiṁ ca, Muraḥinmuralīkalīkhuralī ca evamādhurīpradugdhāmugdhasurabhi-  
dugdhānām surabhīnām ūdhogiritaḥ saritaḥ prasārayantī paritaḥ pari-  
khāyamāṇaṁ kṣīravāridhiṁ viśphārayati. Tatra kāmādhenuṭayā nikāmam eva  
anuvaṭīnām kṣīravāhitāpi prācuryeṇaiva paryavasāyyate. [39] Tato nānāresā  
api tā nadyaḥ pratipadyante vidyāsvadbhiḥ.

[40] Kiṁ ca, yatra ca tatkaīśorānurūpārdhavārdhakasyauvanānavayauvanādi-  
vayasa eva tatpitṛbhrātṛsakhīprabhṛtayas te nikhilavargā nānyām avasthām  
āśritā bhavanti.

[41] Anyac ca, yasya ca Golokasya madhyam adhyāśya sphuṭatarānekasahasra-  
pitrīparicitam aśram eva khalv amalāṁ mahāmāṇikamalam Gokulāmatayā  
nījarūpaṁ nīrūpayati, "Gogopāśvasavrajārūpavraja evāham aśmi" iti. [42]  
Nyāyavinyastam eva ca khalv idam, rūḍhir yogam apaharati iti. Yathā  
jalajāśabdenāpsavyamātraṁ nocyate, kintu kamalam eva. Rūḍhitām eva khalv  
ākhyāgrahaṇam āviśkaroti. [43] ŚrīŚukadevenāpy etadapekṣayoktaṁ, Bhagavān  
Gokuleśvaraḥ iti. Varatpratyayaḥ khalv atra ślīārthatāparaḥ. Tad eva  
cāmṇātaṁ Gokulāṁ vanaVaikuṇṭham iti.

[44] Atha ŚrīmadVrajarājatanūjatāślīalīlasya mahābhagevatas tadīyakarpikā-  
madhyam adhikṛtya nānāvarṇadhāmatayā nirvarṇitamānimayamahādhāma  
nikāmam udbhrājate, yad eva svayam anantāṁśasambhūtam iti sphuṭam  
anantadhā prakāśate.

Yasmin kesarevisarān prācīrāḥgān samantataḥ samayā/  
sadayā dāyādāyāḥ sopāśInā vasanti gopālāḥ//17 [gItī]

[45] Gokulatābalatas tad api saṁvalate. Tathā hī,

Aṁśā bhāgā dāyāś taddhitayogena dāyavantaś ca  
tat kila jāter bhāgā Bakajīti te santi dāyavantaś ca//18 [gItī]

<sup>1</sup> C has only one tasya; <sup>2</sup> B,D,P add paratra ca praveśaḥ; <sup>3</sup> a2 omits syāt;  
<sup>4</sup> a2,D,P add tatprāyam; <sup>5</sup> a2 reads vivyektavyā; <sup>6</sup> BrS's reading is  
karpikāra. Jīva reads karpikā below also.

Tasminn aṃśo yeṣāṃ iti vā gamyo bahuvrīhiḥ/  
vrīhinibhas tatpremā teṣāṃ vṛttau tadāśrayo yuktaḥ//19 [udgīti]

[46] Tad evaṃ eṣāṃ tajjātitvam evoktaṃ ŚrīŚukena,  
*Evam Kakudminam hatvā stūyamānaḥ svejātibhiḥ*  
*viveśa goṣṭham saBalo gopīnām nayanotsavaḥ// iti.*

*Patrāṇi tatra kamale Kamalālayānām*  
*aṃśena kelivipināni bhavanti yeṣu/*  
*cintāmaṇiprakaśasāmasu kalpavṛkṣa-*  
*lakṣāvṛteṣu nibhṛtaṃ ramate Mukundaḥ//20 [vasantatilakā]*

Tatrādhirājyaṃ kila Rādhikāṃ anu  
prattaṃ priyeṇeti Purāṇaviśrutam/  
ahaṃ tu manye punaruktaṃ eva tad  
guṇena tasyāḥ sa ca yad vaśaṃ gataḥ//21 [upajāti 12]

[47] Iha ca pūrvaṃ yad eva Śrīparamapurusaśabdābhyāṃ adhyavasitaṃ, tad  
evādhyavasīyate. Tāsu kevalāsu Vrajarājasutavadhūbhāṣasya labdha-  
prasiddhitāṃ vinā Vrajakamalasakalapatrāvalyādhipatyam na prasidhyatīti.

[48] Atha kīncitkuñcitakamalapatravat unnatapāśavadvayāvayavatayā bahir  
durlaṅghaśṛṅgamaṇimayālavāśobhāmatrāṇāṃ patrāṇāṃ antarāleṣu keśarād  
avatīrṇāni vistīrṇāni prthak prthag upaniṣkarāṇi virājante. Teṣāṃ agrima-  
sandhiṣu sphuṭam adhimadhyamadhyam adhyastasaṃsteśagoṣṭhāni goṣṭhāni  
vibhrājante. Ataeva<sup>1</sup> tatparyantasya tasya Gokulatāvakalitā.

Tatrāpi dohasamayam samayā samena  
govṛndapālavalayena nivīśya paśyan  
cintāmaṇipracitasāmasu kalpaśākhī-  
padmāvṛteṣu surabhīr abhipāti<sup>2</sup> Kṛṣṇaḥ//22 [vasantatilakā]

[49] Yasya ca samīpagānām ālayarūpasya kamalasya sarvataś caturasraṃ  
bhavati, tad idaṃ sarvaṃ Vṛndāvanam iti vadanti. Tadbahirantaram  
samastadīpāyamānaḥ sa mahādvīpāyamānaḥ paramasuveśaḥ sarvaś ca deśaḥ

<sup>1</sup> s2 reads yata eva; <sup>2</sup> C abhiyāti.

Śvetadvīpa ity ācakṣate Goloka iti ca. Yas tu bahirbhāgaḥ sāgaravad  
 aparicchedyas tatra vigatasokā dhāritranibhavicitrālokāḥ salokā vidyante.  
 Patresthitāni tu vanāni kelivṛndāvanānīti bhāṇanti. Yathoktaṃ Pāñcarātre:  
*Mahāvṛndāvanam tatra kelivṛndāvanāni ca iti.*

[50] *Atha caturesam anu kamalāt patayālutayā paritah sravantīr<sup>1</sup>*  
*madhūdharāḥ pibanta iva punar aparatatpānāya vamenta iva ca dakṣiṇa-*  
*paścimayoh sāvataḥ parvataḥ<sup>2</sup> parvataṣaṭpadā drśyante. Yatra ca tatrāpi*  
*mahāmaṇimayakūṭaghanaḥ ŚrīGovardhanaḥ kuṭībhūtamahānidhivad akharvam*  
*ānandagarvam sarvādhipater apy āvirbhāvayati.*

[51] ŚrīGovardhananāmā cāyaṃ ramaṇīyamaṇīśīlābhīḥ samāśanam āśanam,  
 khagāvalikalitakākalībhīḥ svāgatam svāgatam,  
 śyāmākadūrvābja viṣṇukrāntāparyagākrāntatiryagnīryannīrjharibhir nīṣpādyam  
 pādyaṃ,  
 cañcanmṛgacaraṇanyaficadakṣataderbhānantānkuraiḥ samarghyam arghyam,  
 tīrasanīdajātīlavaṅgakakkolasaṅgatapallalair alam ācamanīyam ācamanīyam,  
 navanavanavaprasūtagavī-navīnasnutakṣīraparīṇatadadhi-tatprasātaghrīta-  
 śābalanais tarūpahṛtamadhuparkam madhuparkam,  
 śikharaśekharaśīlāsaraprakharadhārāpātair anukṛtesnapanaparicaryāprīti-  
 majjanam majjanam,  
 dukūlavadanukūlasaṃśleṣa-svarṇavarṇa<sup>3</sup>vṛkṣaviśeṣavalkalaiḥ kalitasukha-  
 vasaṇam vasaṇam,  
 svebhāḥvānubandhagandhasugandha-śīlāśetaperīṇatahari-candanagauregairikaś  
 carcātīśayam carcātīśayam,  
 prephullamāla<sup>4</sup>mālatīlatādibhir nandītasumanasaḥ sumanasaḥ,  
 gavyākhuravyāhatījātīgurudārudhūmair vyāhataservedhūpaṃ dhūpaṃ,  
 divāpi vidyotimaṇinikarejyotibhiḥ sarvasampaduddīpaṃ dīpaṃ,  
 mājūlaguñjāpīñchādiviñcholīvāñchitanirmāṇaiḥ kṛtasuṣamābharaṇam  
 ābharaṇam,  
 abhilāṣānukūlaphalamūlavalayaiḥ sarvasukhasamāhāraṃ samāhāraṃ,  
 puṣpavāśitaśītalaśālevalayitapunarācamanam anu vimalaperīmalātutulesikā-  
 pallavādibhir mukhavāśanam mukhavāśanam,  
 maruduccalasphuṭapuṣpasampaccampakadīpāvalyā sphuṭam ārātrikam ārātrikam,

<sup>1</sup> C, a1, a2 sravantī; <sup>2</sup> not in a1, a2; <sup>3</sup> a2 omits 'varṇa'; <sup>4</sup> a2 adds 'nala'.



maruduccalasphuṭapūṣpasampaccampakadīpāvalyā sphuṭam āṛṣṭrikam āṛṣṭrikam,  
ghanakīśalayavalayasamkulabakulamukhaśākhinikaraiḥ śobhāntaratamāṭapatram  
āṭapatram,  
malayamarullavacalatpallavaviśāśālair nanditabhavyajanaṃ vyajanaṃ,  
nijasvaravivekināṃ kekināṃ anekāṅgakekābhīḥ kalilalāśyaṃ lāśyaṃ,  
Harivenudhvanibhramadakīcakakalakramakṛtākarṣavenitānvitāśayyāyānā-  
pūṣpapāṭaparyāyaiḥ kṛtasarvāṭīśayanaṃ śayanaṃ,  
kākalīkalilakalakokilakulair labdhasaṃgānaṃ saṃgānaṃ api,  
Harim pari kalayan, pūrvapūrvasiddhaniḥHaridāsavaryatāṃ paryāpayann āste.

[52] KṛtaHaridāsavaryasaṅgā Mānasagaṅgā ca sarvasukhasthemaṇi  
Kṛṣṇapremaṇi mānasadravamayīti kila tannāmatayā tām varṇayanti.  
Upaślokeyanti ca,

SvalpenĀghajidaṃśaVāmanapadasparśena Gaṅgā sadā  
sarvāghaprasaṃsya abhūd api Śivasyārūḍhamūrdhājani/  
svenaivĀghajitā sadā viharatā BrahmEśaLakṣmījaya-  
prāśastyena saha Vrajena militā Gaṅgāparā kim punaḥ?//23  
[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

[53] Atha yatrāpy uttarapūrvayoh Kasyānandavrajaṛūpasya Vrajasyālindād  
adūrabhaveti kila Kālindīti nāmni Yamunā vilasati, yā khalu  
Kadācid dhārābhīr vāhati hariratnadraṇibhā  
kadācit stabdhāṅgī sphurati hariratnakṣitir iva/  
kramād veṇau tasmin na nadati nadaty Arkatanayā  
jalasthalyoh śarma prasavati Hareḥ sevanaṇidhau//24 [śikharīṇī]

Paśyanti jalajekṣaṇā ghanarasāvertasrutīḥ śṛṇvatī  
jighranti jhaṣaṇāśikā taralador āliṅgaṇaṃ kurvati/  
jalpantiIva ca haṃsacakraṇadanā nīrātmanā kṛṣṇabhāg  
yā Kṛṣṇā bata sātha kīdr̥g asakṛd devyātmanā ceṣṭate//25  
[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

[54] Yatra ca sarvatra sarāṃsi caivam utprekṣante:

Vrajavipinavibhāge niścalo yasya vāśaḥ  
svayam ayam apareṣāṃ poṣako jafjanīti/  
kalaya varasarāṃsi srotasāṃ atra vr̥ndair  
vidadhati Yamunādidvīpinī sphītatoyāḥ//26 [mālinī]

Yatra ca,

Kāścit pañcakajakairavāvalilasatsrotasvatīprāntagā  
nānāpuṣpavanīvirājadavanīmadhyasthitāḥ kāścana/  
kekājhañkṛtimatkuhūmadhuritāḥ kēntāṅgacarcācitā  
nāśāḍḍṛkśravasāḥ śadāpi sukhadā rāśāñkitā bhūmayāḥ//27

Kim ca,

[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

Bhāṇḍīras taraṇipadam samunnater na  
prāyātāḥ param iha kintu vistrīṭā ca/  
tacchākhāḥ pariviharann avārapāre  
Kāḷindyā muhur abhiyāti gopasāṅghāḥ//28 [praharṣiṇī]

Tathā,

Kvacit sadmābhāsaprakāṣavalavatkōṭaraghaṭāḥ  
kvacit palyaṅkābhaprathitaprthusaṅkhāśukhatamaḥ/  
kvacid dolāṭulyagrathitalatikāpālivalitāḥ  
śadāsau bhāṇḍīrāḥ kam iva Harikelim na tanute//29 [śikharīṇī]

Tad udīcīm anu deśāḥ prathayati saukhyāni Rāmagaṭṭāśkhyāḥ/  
yatra ca rāmaṁ kurvan sukhayati Rāmaḥ sarāmatām aścan//30 [gītiḥ]

[55] Atha tasya lokasya *lokapālair* varāṇīyāni vimānacāriṇāṁ varāṇy  
āvarāṇāni suravartmani varīvr̥tati. Yatra ca Vāsudevādīśaṅkṣaṁ svayam eva  
caturvyūhavyūḥdam lokapālīyamānam senāvyūhatām urarīcarīkarīti. Tatra tu'  
puruṣārthādayaḥ ke varāṅkāḥ?

[56] Tad evaṁ sati Golokaṇāmāyaṁ lokaḥ paramamānyaḥ samānyatayāpi kena  
varṇyatām? Yaḥ khalv amṛtasindhur ity amṛtāndhaseḥ, yaśaseḥ savayā iti  
kavayaḥ, vaicitrīdharmākṛtir iti Viśvakarmāṇaḥ, ānandānāṁ brahma sākṣād  
iti brahmānubhavināḥ, premā svayaṁ vyakta iti bhagavadbhaktā manyanta  
ity anekamataperāmr̥ṣṭatayā dṛṣṭāḥ. Kim ca,

"Kim tejaḥ kim nu citraṁ kim uta naṭakalā kinterāṁ ko 'pi lokaḥ  
kimvā premā sa sākṣād iha kalitavapur yaḥ Śukena pragītaḥ?"  
itthaṁ tallokapālāpramukhadivīṣadāṁ saṁhatis tarkayantī  
tasmin Govindadhāmnī pratidinam ayate sambhramaṁ ca bhramaṁ ca//

31 [śrāgdharā]

1 C.V ca.

[57] Tad evaṃ buddhipaddhatim apy atItavān asau lokaḥ prasabhaṃ  
buddhimadhyam adhyārohati. Yataḥ,

Ye ye prItim dadati viśayā ye ca tattadvidūrās  
teṣŭtkañṭhā mama na hi kadāpy atra satyaṃ karomi/  
Kṛṣṇe snehaṃ bata vitanute yaś ca yatrāpi Kṛṣṇaḥ  
śaśvallokaḥ sa tu sarabhasaṃ māṃ didṛkṣuṃ karoti//32<sup>1</sup>  
[mandākrāntā]

Yasyākarṇanam apy apŭrvam amītabrahmaṇḍakoṭivraje  
Vaikuṇṭheṣv api vāñchitaṃ kim aparaṃ yallāśaś ŚrIr api/  
Goloke sa tu bāndhavāgrimatayā vibhrājate sarvadā  
yeṣāṃ tanmadhurimṇi hanta mama hr̥ṇ majjan muhuḥ sajjeti//33  
[śārdŭlavikrīḍitā]

[58] Hanta kiṃ karavāṇi? Sahasaivārabdhavān etad varṇanam, nirvāhaṃ tu  
na paśyāmi, [59] yataḥ prathamataś caturasraṃ pari Haricaritacārutā-  
pranīdhāna evedṛśatā drśyate, yathā,

Gavāṃ kṣepaś cāraṃ prati sakhibhir ākrīḍeparatā  
muḥuḥ tāsāṃ dŭre gamanam anu sambhālanavidhiḥ/  
tadāhvānaṃ tāsū kramam anu viśṛṣṭiḥ savayasāṃ  
punaḥ krīḍāveśaḥ smṛtipadatayā kṣobhayati naḥ//34 [śikharīṇI]

Tatrāpi,

Kva cāpi KṛṣṇaRāmau tau karabaddhakarau mithaḥ/  
hasantau hāsayantau ca kurvāte cittam ākulam//35 [anuṣṭubh]

Kim ca,

Vṛkṣān ankurayantu vidrutadeśāṃ adrIn nayantu drutaṃ  
stambhaṃ cāmbhasi lambhayantu saritāṃ kiṃvā pratīcīnatām/  
veṇudhvānaghaṭṭa yato 'tinikaṭṭhā kasmād akasmād balāt  
karnābhyarṇagatā iva sphuṭam amŭn dhunvanti taddhyāyinaḥ//36  
[śārdŭlavikrīḍitā]

[60] Tadanubhāvināṃ sukhaṃ tu manasi sphuraḍ api na vaktum Iśyate,  
yataḥ<sup>2</sup>

yasmin Harir yāti vihārahetos  
tasmin mudā phullati cet kuṭho 'pi/  
na tatra prcchā na ca vaktṛtā tan

<sup>1</sup> a2 adds iti; <sup>2</sup> D,P,V yataḥ at beginning of sentence.

na prcchyam etan na ca vācyam asti//37 [upejāti]

[61] Idam ca sujanamatim atīvaṅkarṣati,

Gāyanti tatra dhavalāḥ paripālayantaḥ

pārśvatīm madhurarāgavatīm udayāḥ/

janmādiKṛṣṇacaritāni ciram gatāni

smṛtvā yataḥ sapadi muhyati sarva eva//38 [vasantatilakā]

[62] Aho! Kutaḥ kuto vā manaḥ samyamaniyam, yato goṣṭhāni ca tāni  
draṣṭum manaḥ prasabham utkaṇṭhayanti. Yathā,

Virājat kastūrIdyutiparimalair gomayamaya-

sphuraccūrṇaiḥ sadmapratikṛtivapurbhis taruvareḥ/

divā nūtnair vatsair niśi surabhiḥjadbhiḥ surabhibhiḥ

samantād goṣṭhāni pratimati disanti smṛtiśatam//39 [śikharinī]

Sandhyayos tu,

Vatsān mocayatām dhanāni duhatām dugdhāni sañcinvatām

gāḥ sambhālayatām gṛhān pracalatām Kṛṣṇam puraḥ kurvatām/

tallīlāḥ parigāyatām pulakitām asrāṇi cātanvatām

gopānām bata cittam uccitamadaṁ maccittam ākrāmati//40 [śārdūla]

[63] Sadā caitāni rājavartmāni tatkiṛtanacetvarāṇīva prasabham maccittam  
ākarṣanti. Tathā hi,

Rāmaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ Kṛṣṇa-Rāmau ca Kṛṣṇaḥ,

Kṛṣṇaḥ Kṛṣṇaḥ Kṛṣṇa ity eṣa jalpaḥ/

yātāyātām kurvatām sarvadāpi

svairālāpe śrūyate tatra tatra//41/[śālinī]

[64] ŚrīKṛṣṇapramadānām pramadānām pramadavanapātrāṇi patrāṇi tu  
varṇyamānāni kavīnām apatrapām eva bibhrati, yatas tatratyam sarvam eva  
citram iti duṣpratyāyatām prāpnoti; yeṣu hi

kvacit kufijāḥ sadmabhramakerarucas tair avayavaiḥ

kvacic citraiḥ sadmāny api tulitakufijāni śataśaḥ/

jalāni kvāpy udyatkemalavalitāni pratipadam

sthalāny apy evam kvāpy atha kim iva kim nirṇayapedam//42

[śikharinī]

Sakhīnām sāranyatridaśasudṛśām gānavalanām  
 muhuḥ proḍyanmūrcchām madhumadhurarāgapraṇayinīm/  
 Haripremārtastīprathamaracitām śṛnvati jane  
 sukhaṃ vā duḥkhaṃ vety avakalayitum kaḥ prabhavati?//43  
 [śikhariṇī]

Kvacid gānam sūkṣmaṃ kvacid api ca tauryatrikakalā  
 kvacit premṇā goṣṭhī kvacid api mahākelikalahaḥ/  
 iti sphāraṃ tābhiḥ praṇayamayasāraṃ viharāṇam  
 Harer dhyāyan nānā bhavati kaviccittam muhur api//44  
 [śikhariṇī]

Premā kāmāti tatkrīyā kalahati stambhādibhāvāvalī  
 sakhyāṃ sañcarati śrutam ca caritam sarvasrutam laṅghati/  
 ittham kelikalākalāpakalitam Vṛndāvanāntarvaṇe  
 dampatyor nikhilam vicārapadavīm uddhūya vibhrājate//45  
 [śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

Akuṇṭhām utkuṇṭhām vahati Harir āsu pratipadam  
 Harāv apy etā yad vyatimīlanasaukhyam vijayate/  
 aho yasmād asmin nirupadhi sakhīvṛndam ubhaya-  
 prakṛṣṭotkuṇṭhitvam viśati tad idam hanta kim iva//46  
 [śikhariṇī]

Api sunderatām prati tāḥ sunderatām kilā vahanti gopālyah/  
 yan nirdūṣaṇabhūṣaṇa- bhūṣaṇaKṛṣṇe vibhūṣaṇāyante//47 [udgītīḥ]

Na bhajati Lakṣmī tulanām iti kiṃ stutaye ghaṭeta Rādhāyāḥ/  
 yā Lakṣmīm api jetrīḥ svarucā gopīḥ prīthak kurute//48 [āryā]

[65] Tasmād asāmpratāya tu sāmpratāya madvidhāya svam varṇayitum kim uta  
 nirvarṇayitum

Ravyādidyutiḥṣṇudīvyadharaṇī-kṣaṇīruhāntargata-  
 prāsādashitasimhapīṭhamahasī cchannānyadrṣṭitviṣi/  
 spaṣṭātmīyadrśī prakīrṇakavikīrṇālīhitālīvṛtā  
 RādhāMādhavamādhurīvarasudhā trṣṇām mudhā yacchati//49 [śārdūla]

[66] Tad evam ānandasatrapatrādiṣṭhitānām upari sāndraśākhābhir alakṣya-  
 talānām analpekālpavṛkṣalakṣṇām adhimadhyam rājasaṃjavarīḍjamānām  
 varṇitamāṇjukiṇījalkekarnīkām adhivasataḥ sadā lasataḥ saṇḍivāravāra-

surabhīpālābhūpālākumārasya tasya sarvacintātītacintāmaṇimayam akṣāmaṇ  
 septakakṣyārāmaṇ dhāma nikāmaṇ dhāma vistārayan netrāṇi vistārayati.  
 Tatra ca bhāsamānaṇ tad āvāsam abhitaḥ satatam upaperārdhe gaṇanīyānāṇ  
 sajātīyānāṇ advitīyā vasaṭiḥ. Seyam abhisnihya vandibhiḥ sandihyate.

“Abjaṇ tad āliṅgitum abjabandhor

bandhur yayau kiṇ pariveṣa eṣaḥ/

gopālayānāṇ valayāvalīr vā

Gopeśaveśmābhita evam asti//”50 [Indravajrā] iti.

[67] Tadvāsīnas tv evaṇ stūyante:

Arthāḥ sarvejanārthanāṇ atigatāḥ kāmā nikāmāgrimā

dharmaḥ karmaṭhadeva'dharmamahitā mokṣās ca mokṣātigāḥ/

teṣāṇ tatra vasanti sevakatayā Kṛṣṇāya tṛṇājuṣāṇ

yaddhāmārthasuhṛtpriyātmātanayaprāṇāśāyāṣa tatkrte//51 [Śārdūla]

Netraṇ śrotraṇ cittam apy anyad anyat

tucchaṇ yasmin bhāti Kṛṣṇaṇ viṇā tu/

ghoṣe tasmimś cakṣuṣāś cakṣur evaṇ

śrautī vārtā paśya drśyā vibhāti//52 [Śālinī]

Vibhrājante sūtrasaṅcāravidyā

pāñcālyāḥ kiṇ viśvavismāyanāya?/

kiṇ vā gopāḥ svāntare Kṛṣṇabhāvair

baddhāḥ santas tatra tatra bhramanti?//53 [Śālinī]

Kim ca,

Pitāyaṇ mātēyaṇ pitṛsahajavargaḥ svayam esau

tathaivānye cānyaprethitahitasambandhamahitāḥ/

Vraje khyātir yaiṣā Bakaripugaṇe bhāti khalu tāṇ

kvacit tulyāḥ premā pathikam anu śaśvad bhramayati//54 [Śikharinī]

[68] Athānyad api kim api vibhāvya sambhāvvyate. Tad yadī satām  
 anubhavam apy anu bhavitā tadā bhavyam eva khalu bhavyam. Na cen,  
 navyakāvyatā tu na vyabhicāritā. Athavā, tathāpi yat kiñcid api teṣāṇ  
 vāñchitam syād eveti sarvam añcitam eva manyāmahe.

1 C,V has 'veda'

[69] Tat tu sambhāvanam yathā: Atha gopāṁśābhyaṁtare tādṛśam eva  
sabhāṇām labhyā sambhāvalir upalabhyate, yatra bhūṛivaicitrīdhurāṇi  
mahāgopurāṇi purāṇīva virājante yeṣāṁ panthānaḥ kila kīṁjalkabala-  
paryantāḥ samantād vibhṛājante;

yatra ca paraspāram abhīmukhāḥ sumukhā mahāntas te grhā mithaḥ  
prthulaśobhā lokasprhā iva vimṛśya drśyante;

yatra ca śiṁhasamphananāṁ puruṣaśiṁhāṇāṁ nīśalāṅghrīṇi mahāśiṁhā-  
śanāni vicitratayā netrāṇāṁ paribṛmhanatām aṁhante;

yatra ca parāvarakakṣyāṁśīlokalakṣāṇi samam eva samakṣāṇi santi, mithaḥ  
sukhaśatāni varṣanti;

yatra caikatṛāśīnāṇāṁ anyatrāpi rūpakakāvya iva pratirūpāṇi rūpāṇi  
pratīyante - na ca tāni kevalāni, api tu pratidhvanayaś ca dhvani-kāvya  
iva dhvanitayā vibhāvante, yataḥ svacchāntaḥkaraṇā mahāntaḥ khalu  
paraguṇāntarāṇy apy āyacchantīti prathitīḥ prathīyasī; yadā ca tathā  
prathīyante vibhāvante ca, tadā hy āgantukā nānājanāś tattadrūpāṇāṁ  
jñānāḥ paritaḥ parihasyante;

yatra ca kutrāpi yadā sadā paramānandasyandesandohadohanakāntikandalī-  
lambhitasukhatandraḥ ŚrīmanNandakulacandraḥ svayam ālokaśudhayaś  
lokacakṣuścakoravārapāraṇām āpūrayati, tadā tūtsavānām api mahān  
utsavaḥ sphurati.

[70] Atha sambhāvalayam antarā ca kakṣyāpāñcakatayā labdhabodhaḥ sarva-  
cittāvarodhaḥ sa tu Vrajanrūpāvarodhaḥ samudbhrājate. Tatra tam eva hi  
sahamātarapitarādivṛndaḥ ŚrīGovindaḥ svayam āvasati; yatra sambhā-  
valayāntarantaḥ paritaḥ parītāś catasro 'py antaḥ prthagavarodhalakṣāḥ  
kakṣyāḥ lakṣyante. Anyā ca pañcamī dhanyā sarvamedhyalabdhanāśatayā  
yatra citrīyate, yasyām tu mahāprāṅgaṇasaṅginyām pratīcim anu svāntar-  
aṅgam aṅgaṇam aṅgaṇam parito nikāyānām nikāyaḥ sarvato 'pi śreyasyā  
ŚrīmadVrajanaradevapreyasyā samāśrīyate, udīcim anu sukhamayūkharohinyā  
Rohinyā, prācim anu samastakṛtasevena ŚrīmadVrajanaradevena, avācim anu  
svajanasambhājanabhōjanāpavarjanaprayojanasāmagryā.

[71] Atha tadbahir bahirantaḥpuraprayutavibhāgapracurāṇāṁ paramasantuṣṭa-  
janapuṣṭānām catuṣṭayīnām ca kakṣyāṇāṁ paścānnīścitapaścimādikakubhāṁ  
śubhāṁ rītim avalambya sakalāśarmadrśvarī ŚrīmadVrajaśvarī, Rāmaghaṭṭā-

bhirāmaḥ ŚrīmadBalarāmaḥ, sarvalokagatiḥ ŚrīmadVrajādhīpatiḥ, sa ca Govardhanānandanāḥ ŚrīmadVrajādhīpatinandanāḥ patir atīva rājate.

[72] Tatra cāharahar avireharahaḥkelikalitatṛṇayo Rāma-Kṛṇayor vikhyāta-tattannāmasu madhyamakakṣyādvayadhāmasu paramaramāgaṇasreyasīnām preyasīnām āvāsaprāsādhāvalir udbhāsate; [73] yatra cāveśanam anu sāveśam nānākalākalāpam kelayantīnām āīnām<sup>1</sup> nijanījayūthavarūthapāyāḥ paramāpūrvapūrvapūrvānūrāgādikathānikāyam gāyantīnām madhumadhura-kākalīkulāni tatra kīyam sarvam tarvantam ādrīkurvanti, kim uta bahukaṣṭasṣṭatayā mithunībhuṭam tat tan mithunam.

[74] Tayor dvayor āvaranātayā lakṣye ye cānyatara kakṣye, te RāmaKṛṇayor yathāharitam bahirabahirupaveśasadeśarūpe bhavataḥ; yathānikaṭataṭam etayor abhimukhāni sarvataḥsukhāni tayor madhyamayor dvārāṇy adhiyanti.

[75] Eṣā ca sapṭakakṣyātulacāturīdhurīṇā purī pratyantarakakṣyam ekabhūma-dvibhūmatādi prakāreṇādhikabhūmikārecanābhir uccatararītikāyāḥ samāna-mānagrhasvasavāīthikāyā dhārīṇī Golokadharanīlokahārīṇī bhavati. Tatra sarvā tu grhalekhāmanībhattisambadhya-madhyarekhālabdhadvaividhyā samantād ubhayataḥsthitadvārātayā parasparasammukhatāśobhānandita-digantāḥ kaīmutyam āśādayanti.

[76] Yatra ca sarvamedhyamāvarodhasyādhimadhyam brhatprāṇaṇam adhikṛtyākhāṇḍapuṭabhedanamukūṭabhaṅgīlaṅginam nīreṇīreṇīmīśrāntaḥśvabhraśubhralaghulaghudvārasukhārohasaṅcāramervākāracārvaṅgakuṭṭimād uparī paritāḥ stambhavārasaṅgatam agāram ekaṁ sarvataś calatpatākam avalokyate. [77] Yadā ca tasya sarvakakudam udañcitasya dhiṣṇyasya purūparī cālaṅkariṣṇutayā ŚrīKṛṇaḥ svayam vartīṣṇur bhavati, tadā sarva-jiṣṇutadupericariṣṇujiṣṇunīlamanīr iva kaṁ vā talloka bhaviṣṇulokaṁ kāntikandalībhir na puṣṇāti?

[78] Yā ceyam karṇikāyām uparī purī, tadedhastād anyāpi samantād asti, kintu sā pratīKṛṇakāntādhāmany eva nījāṅganānībhapatrapaṅktisīmany eva cāyantritadvāraṇeti pareṣām ajñātā,

<sup>1</sup> a1, a2 both have āvalīnām



dyumaṇivan maṇigaṇasamujjvalāyakaḷāpā,  
vātānītasujātapuṣpajātaparimalasampātā,  
nirjanatājanitasvairatānārataratipradā,  
śayyāsana-chatracāmarādisāmagrīsamyaagrītibahuśatīprītīdā  
nānākrīḍābhāṇḍamaṇḍalamāṇḍitākhāṇḍamaṇḍapā,  
tattacceṣṭādhīṣṭhānanaramṛgapakṣipratikṛtilakṣavilakṣitā  
preyasīṣu vibhaktapradeśaviśeṣā śeṣālayāyate.

Yatratyena pathā yathāvat preyasīnām ānandaneḥ Śrīmān Nandanandanas  
tatra petrasamudyadudyānavṛndam amūbhir anuvindann atīva nandati.  
Tasmād udyānād antardvāreṇa caturāsaṃ praty udyānam api vindati.

[79] Evaṃ ŚrīBalarāmasya Rāmaghaṭṭākhyanijakrīḍāvanagamanam ca  
talavartmanaiva vartate, kintu saṃkṣiptatayā nihitena patrāvali-  
paryantālavālapihitena mantavyam.

[80] Tām etām uparigatām ŚrīmadVrajeśvarapurīm pari tu ślokāḥ parigīyante,  
Yasyām patākā mṛduvātakampitā  
nānāmukhībhāvam itāḥ punaḥ punaḥ/  
saurabhyam āyāti yadā yatas tadā  
vivṛtya paśyanti diśām amūm iva//55 [upajāti 12]

Nityam sudhādhāmajadhāmaseṅgataḥ  
purnāṅgatāmaṅgaleśaṅgatīm gatāḥ/  
yatrāpi kumbhā vidhukāntasambhavāḥ  
kūṭāntarantar'mukuṭā iva sthitāḥ//56 [indravaṃśā]

Yatrānvitā svacchatayā vibhātayā  
hīrādiratnacchadirālir Ikṣyate/  
bimbacchalākṛṣṭānabhaṣṭhatejasām  
śāyujyabhūmir vibhur ātmanām iva//57 [indravaṃśā]

Mayūrapārāvatakokilādyā  
vasanti yasyām tu vināpi yatnam/

-----  
1 C reads 'ratna'

śabdāyamānā vipīnasya tair ye  
vivādasamvādavad āceranti//58 [upajāti 11]

Vicitratatnāvalicitracarcitā  
sauvarṇabhittiḥ paritāś cakāsatI/  
GopālabālyādivilāsamādhurIḥ  
śākṣād ivālakṣayate śiśūn api//59 [upajāti 12]

Vistāritotsaṅganibhair alindaiḥ  
śliṣyanti Kṛṣṇaṁ bhuvanāni nityam/  
yeṣāṁ sadāntar nivasanti te tad-  
bhaktā amI tādṛśatāṁ vrajanti//60 [indravajrā]

Prāṅgaṇāni maṇidarpaṇacchevīny  
ullasanti sadanāvalīm anu/  
yeṣu nūtanavadhūr Bakāntakaṁ  
vrIḍanamravadanāpi vIkṣate//61 [svāgatā]

Candrakāntamaṇibaddhabhūtale  
pallalāni ca lasanti sarvataḥ/  
Rādhikādimukhakāntikandali  
yāni pūrayati hanta sarvadā//62 [svāgatā]

Lokaḥ ŚrInāthalokapratirucivijayI kānanam ŚrIspṛhājid  
vāśaḥ ŚrIrājadhānI nikhilāsubharucāṁ vāsīnas te ta eva/  
bhoktā Kṛṣṇaḥ sa bhogyah prañayamādhurimā śaśvad ity evam esmin  
pratyekaṁ sarvam antaḥkeraṇam atigataṁ kaś tadantaṁ labheta?/63  
[sragdharā]

[81] Tatpremaśarmaṇāṁ sarvātīśayidharmatāyām aham api marmavettā. Yataḥ,  
Harir gopakṣaṇIpatimithunam anye ca vividhā'  
na naḥ krūrāṁ cittāṁ mṛdulayitum Iśā lavam api/  
aho teṣāṁ premā vilasati Harau yas tu balavān  
Harer vā yas teṣu drutayati sa eva pratipadam//64 [śikharinI]

' D,P,V vibudhāḥ

[82] Atah sarvataḥ kṣemāṇāṃ sa eva premā sarvatra sphurati. Tathā hi,  
 Hariḥ premā sākṣād iva bhavati kiṃ vā Vraja-janas  
 tayoṛ ekasmiṃś ca sphurati sa hi śaśvat sphurati naḥ/  
 idaṃ vāraṃ vāraṃ VidhiŚivaSurarṣiprabhṛtayaḥ  
 sphuṭaṃ kartuṃ śaktiṃ dadhati natarāṃ yat kiyad api//65 [śikhariṇī]

[83] Sa tu paramāścaryacaryaḥ. Yataḥ,  
 Tadīyānāṃ premā yad api kṛticaryātigasukhas  
 tathāpy uccair hetur bhavati Harisāhāyakaividhau/  
 jagatkārye yadvac chrutimataparabrahma nitarāṃ  
 acintyo yo bhāvaḥ sa hi na hi vitarkaṃ viśahate//66 [śikhariṇī]

[84] Yasmād evaṃ sa eva cittam ākarṣati, tasmāt  
 Jñātvā karma svayam uta parāt Kṛṣṇatṛṣṇānukūlaṃ  
 tasminn antar bahir api sadā goparājāvarodhe/  
 yātāyātāṃ muhur atitarāṃ kurvatāṃ ādṛtānāṃ  
 apy utkanṭhācalitamanasāṃ mānasāṃ bhāvam Ihe//67 [mandākrāntā]

[85] Tatratyānāṃ samūhāvalokanaṃ tu paramaparamādbhutam. Tathā hi,  
 Udghūrṇante priyaperijanāḥ snigdhabhāvā yathāsvaṃ  
 gopakṣoṇīpatim anugatās tasya cātmadvitīyāṃ/  
 yau premākhya-prabalaraśanāyantraṇāt Kṛṣṇakānti-  
 jyotiścakre raviśaśitanū ye ca nakṣatrasaṅghāḥ//68 [mandākrāntā]

[86] Gāṇaṃ tu pretigaṇaṃ sādharmaṇaṃ api kañcid viśeṣaṃ vahati, yathā  
 Janmādyarbhakatā Hareḥ pravayasāṃ madhyesabhaṃ prāyaśaḥ  
 paugaṇḍādiṣu nirjarārivijitih prāyaḥ suhṛnmaṇḍale/  
 Kālīyādiṣu durjaneṣv api kṛpā bhaktavraje 'nalpaśaḥ  
 prāyeṇātmani rāgarītir abhitaḥ kāntāgaṇe gīyate//69 [śārdūla]

Tatra ca,

Saṅgāne ced bhajati Murajidbhaktamātraṃ vimohaṃ  
 śarmāśarmāpy anumitim iyāt tarhi na prekṣakāṇāṃ/  
 śāntir dāsyāṃ sahacaradaśā vatsalatvaṃ tathānyad  
 gacched eṣāṃ hṛdi katham iha kṣīravārvad vivekam//70

[mandākrāntā]

[87] Hanta, padyadvayam idam alole manasi udbhūya tad evāndolayati, yathā

“Mātar mātā janani mama tad dehi dehī”ti śabdair,

“Vatsāyushman suta vadasi kiṃ prāṇalāye”ti cārdrāḥ/

nānālāpaprāṇayavalitā māṃ balāt snehamudrā

tasmin goṣṭhe smarayatitarāṃ tau savitrīkumārāu//71 [mandākrāntā]

“Geheśi! tvam caritasukṛtā, hanta vatsas tvadagre

vakti pāṭi prathayati ruciṃ yācate jāhasīti/”

ardhād evaṃ sthagitavacanam snehapūrād Vrajeśam

dhyāyad vṛttiṃ bata na labhate manmano bambhramīti//72

[mandākrāntā]

Iti ŚrīGopālacampūṃ anu ŚrīGolokerūpanirūpeṇam prathamapūreṇam.

## IGOPĀLAPŪRVACAMPŪ

### Chapter One

#### 'A Description of the Form of Goloka'

*ŚrīKṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇacaitanya saṁśāntanarūpa/  
Gopālaraghunāthāptavrajavallabha pāhi mām/*

[v1] Oh, ŚrīKṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa Caitanya!  
Oh Rūpa, accompanied by Saṁśāntana!  
Gopāla! Raghunātha! All you other associates!  
Vallabha! Please save me!

[1] As I began this book, an inspiration seized me and I hastily jotted down the above words, which I now comment upon as follows. What was it? One after the other, the remembrance of my worshipful lord and then the remembrance of his learned devotees, whose mercy I seek, descended upon me. On the other hand, [it can be interpreted that] it was remembrance only of my worshipful lord, or only of the one who is imbued by him. Indeed, through analysis we can get any of these three interpretations independently. To begin with, I shall discuss the first of them. In the verse, [the reader] should himself supply the word *śrī* several more times, not only with the first, but with each subsequent epithet of Kṛṣṇa wherever I was not able to due to its conflicting somewhat with the constraints of the *anuṣṭubh* metre.

[2] 'Oh, you who are greatly blessed by the name Śrī Kṛṣṇa, you who are at the head of all! Oh Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, you who are glorified by all as the one who confers happiness! Oh you who, accompanied by the glorious Saṁśāntana, are named Śrī Rūpa; you who are to be taken on my head! Oh you who are honourably named Śrī Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, you who are endowed with the most venerable qualities of seniority! Oh you who are widely renowned for name and status, who have been supremely immersed in devotion, Raghunāthadāsa! Oh all you (*āptavraja*) who delight the ears of the virtuous with legends which came to me by virtue of the

incarnation in Braj of all these, you who are known by the names of Śrī Bhūgarbha and others! Oh Śrī Vallabha, you who became my sheltering father as a result of the fruition of the supremely virtuous acts of my previous lives!<sup>2</sup> Or, 'You (*Raghunāthāptavrajavallabha*) who became the beloved of all by following the devotees of Śrī Raghunātha (Rāmacandra), Śrī Vallabha! Save me, become my protector by giving me the shade of your feet.'

[3] Now I shall construe the second implied meaning of the invocatory verse [i.e. as referring solely to the worshipful Lord]. In the words 'Śrī-Kṛṣṇa', 'Śrī' should be taken to mean 'Rādhā,' for in this book it will be established that she is chief amongst the goddesses of fortune, without any rival. Following the word 'Śrī' comes Kṛṣṇa ('black one') which by convention<sup>3</sup> here denotes Nandanandana, i.e. the supreme Brahman, whose name is hidden in the Vedic hymns. Thus, the meaning is established as: 'Oh Kṛṣṇa, accompanied by your personal potency named Rādhā!'

The meaning of [the second] Kṛṣṇa is further explained by ancient authority<sup>4</sup> as follows:

'The word *kṛṣ* expresses a state (of attraction),

and *ṇa* denotes bliss;

their combination *Kṛṣṇa* means Supreme Spirit.'

Thus, the word 'Kṛṣṇa' is here understood to have this conventional meaning, preceded by this particular etymology.<sup>5</sup> The expression *bhū* indicates a zero suffix in the sense of a verbal abstract noun. Thus *Kṛṣ* has the simple meaning of the verbal root after the manner of verbal abstracts. Here the meaning of the verbal root is 'attraction'. It is quite clear that through special relation [with Kṛṣṇa] the minds of the elect are attracted [to him]. Hence their combination, perceived as involving separate sense-contents, constitutes a syntactic union, just as that of two loves a marital union. And so, bliss combined syntactically with such an 'attraction', i.e. universally attractive bliss, constitutes the clear meaning 'supreme spirit'. For it is commonly stated that Kṛṣṇa is the Supreme Spirit with the configuration of a man.<sup>6</sup> And the power of implication<sup>7</sup> has to be involved, for the word Kṛṣṇa has the power to evoke the sense 'Nandanandana', albeit overlaid [by the sense *param*

*brahma* due to the convention accompanied by the etymological meaning. It is the Supreme Spirit that the word means, i.e. denotes directly. Hence, this repetition [of '*Kṛṣṇa*'] is a device which evokes this specific [divine] nature.

[The word] *caitanya* [is interpreted as follows]: 'you illuminator of all, you whose person is the ultimate resort of all by virtue of the phenomenal nature!' This nature [of his] was understood by the wise, as revealed in the *nāndī* of the *Gopālatāpanī Upaniṣad* [1.1]: '...in *Kṛṣṇa* who has a form of eternity, knowledge and bliss, and whose activities are uncontaminated.' It was also taught in the panegyric of *Brahmā* in the *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* [x.14.22]: 'to only you who embody the experience of eternal happiness....'

The next words, *sasanātanarūpa*, here mean: 'You who have a form (*rūpa*) that is eternal (*sanātana*) and embellished by the eulogies even of those who have experienced the nature of the self, and who therefore conform to the conceptions of those who set store by devotion to you. *Gopāla-raghu-nāthāpta-vraja-vallabha*! 'You who are dear (*vallabha*) to the settlement (*vraja*) of the elect cowherd folk (*āpta*) attained by those famed in verse as humble or exalted (*raghu-nātha*) amongst the herdsfolk (*gopāla*)! Alternatively, that *gopālaraghunātha* is the vocative case of 'you who are dear to (*laghu*) and leader (*nātha*) of the herdsfolk (*gopāla*)' as indicated by the *Amarakoṣa*'s definition: 'as an adjective, *laghu* means "pleasant, small".' Then *āpta-vraja-vallabha* will mean, 'beloved (*vallabha*) of all your friends and relatives (*āptavraja*), you whose eternal glories are unobtainable by any others!'

[4] I must now provide the third interpretation [for my verse]: 'Oh *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*!' *Śrī* here means once again 'the best amongst those who are most dear to *Kṛṣṇa*, i.e. *Rādhā*'. Thus, 'you who, due to being joined with her, are wholly engrossed in your loving pastimes! Oh you who became incarnate as the devotee, *Kṛṣṇa Caitanya*; You who have descended by becoming one with the nature of *Kṛṣṇa* joined with *Rādhā*! You who remain with your extremely attached devotees, *Rūpa* and *Sanātana*! You who are always the beloved (*vallabha*) of that *Vraja* which was adopted

(āpta) by Gopāla [Bhaṭṭa] and Raghunātha [Dāsa] as their home! Deliver me! Become my protector!

[5] Having thus construed [the different meanings of the] *maṅgala* verse, I shall analyse the purpose [of the work itself]: [v2]

The conclusions compiled by me in the Kṛṣṇa Sandarbha  
can here be savoured by the palate  
which is learned in the poetic art.

[v3] Thus, I formulate my ideas in such a way,  
having poetry as my goal.  
Should the elect study them,  
then the jewel will be set in gold.

[v4] So, according to their pleasure, let them study this work  
divided into two *campūs*: the former and the latter.  
These are in turn further subdivided into three sections each,  
each of which is a separate treatise in itself.

[v5] May this book, which is called the Gopālacampū,  
be a source of pleasure to all the cowherds,  
the minions of the supreme protector of the cows:  
Śrī Gopāla.

[v6] Although the denizens of Gokula,  
have long since disappeared,  
all their reincarnations appear in glory to the elect.

[6] Tradition has it that there is<sup>6</sup> a forest called Vṛndāvana, as beautiful as if it were the entire fortune of the Earth goddess for, strange to say, though a forest (*vana*) it achieves the salvation (*avana*) of all people. Though it purifies (*pavamāna*) by one's merely hearing about it, it exceeds even the wind (*pavamāna*) in the speed and zeal [with which it does so]. Though unrestrained in the giving of the three primary goals of life, it [also] continually dispenses salvation. Even though the slightest relation with it leads to liberation, it becomes a persistent cause of bondage



through its attractive qualities.<sup>9</sup> Although it always bestows devotion (*bhakti*) to the lord of the pious, it never causes separation (*bhakti*) from him. Because Brahmā desired to take birth there even amongst the lowly species (i.e. grass, etc.)<sup>10</sup>, every creature there is now highly esteemed; thus does Vṛndāvana communicate the beginnings of its great glories through the celebrations of its beneficiaries. Therefore, on account of being thus filled with such mysterious magic, this forest is itself like the rhetorical figure of incongruity in that it takes apparently inimical values and transforms them into the ultimately favourable.<sup>11</sup> In Vṛndāvana, even the inexpert efforts of poets will be hailed as poetry; and only there can one perceive the essence of supreme munificence. Indeed, Vṛndāvana always contributes to Nandanandana's every joyful celebration, as he descends there again and again out of a desire to show his affection for it, giving pleasure to everyone.

[7] In this connection there is also a verse by Śrī Śuka which both astonishes and gives pleasure [x.11.36]:

'Oh king, seeing Vṛndāvana, Govardhana mountain and the sand-banks of the Yamunā, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa felt the greatest satisfaction.'

[8] Amongst these [three locations], Govardhana is [here] praised before the others: [v7]

As he has been called Gokuleśvara in the Purāṇas,<sup>12</sup>  
it is known that Gokula is Kṛṣṇa's abode  
The reason for its being so named  
is that it is the abode of the cows -  
for which reason Govardhana ['which causes the cows to multiply']  
is to be recognized as his supreme refuge.<sup>13</sup>

[9] Govardhana has the following special feature: [v8]

Throughout the three worlds, Mānasa-Gaṅgā is known  
to pierce her way through even Govardhana.  
In my opinion, however, she is a spring of Kṛṣṇa's love  
which enters this world through that mountain.

Furthermore: [v9]

Rādhā and Śyāma's two ponds appear there joined together;  
 their fragrance suggests that by means of their union  
 Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's love was made manifest in that guise;  
 for, motionless and yet rippling on account of the sighing breezes,  
 bringing about a moistened state in the devotees,  
 that love is seen in the form of these watery pools.

[10] There is this hyperbole<sup>14</sup> in the case of the Yamunā too. [v10]

Not only from the holy act of bathing in her waters  
 does the daughter of the Sun give one visions of Kṛṣṇa;  
 but from the mere act of looking at her as well [she does so],  
 for she possesses the superb beauty of Śyāma's black complexion.

[11] They speak of her fancifully<sup>15</sup>: [v11]

Is she, Kṛṣṇā (the black Yamunā),  
 Kṛṣṇa's love for his affectionate devotees,  
 which due to its greatness has manifested  
 as a stream of sweat issuing from his body?  
 Or is she their love for him [similarly manifested]  
 which has taken his blackish colour  
 due to emotional identification with him?<sup>16</sup>

[12] The sandbanks of the Yamunā also reveal the splendour of her great  
 love for Kṛṣṇa. For, [v12]

The mere sight of her sandbanks still acts  
 as a tonic to the cognoscenti  
 who associate them with the excitement of Kṛṣṇa's *rāsa*.  
 Does the Yamunā assiduously concoct them from the magic powders  
 which make up the elixir of life?

[13] But the banyan tree (*bhāṇḍīra*) pains our hearts, for [v13]

How is it possible to describe the great love  
 felt by the banyan tree toward Kṛṣṇa-Harī?  
 With Kṛṣṇa's disappearance he also became completely invisible;  
 it was as though he had thought,  
 'Let Govardhana and the others remain visible on earth

by their partial manifestations, for they love those of this world.  
I myself would not be capable of doing as they do.'

[14] Oh, just observe the depth of love that Vṛndāvana has for Kṛṣṇa!  
For [v14]

In some places, this Hari's forest is struck motionless  
in the guise of its trees;  
but in most, it is atremble  
in the guise of its fluttering leaves;  
while everywhere, it is athrill  
in the guise of its bursting buds.

[15] When the son of the King of Vraja becomes incarnate there along  
with all the other Vrajavāsīs, then what other entity would not appear  
out of a desire to embellish him? We see all this as being most natural,  
for the word *vraja* implies 'all things completely appropriate'.<sup>17</sup>

[16] In this connection the following verse from the Bhāgavatapurāṇa is  
applicable: [x.5.18]

Starting from this time [the birth of Kṛṣṇa], oh king,  
the pasturing lands of Nanda became filled with all opulence;  
and, through their character of being Kṛṣṇa's abode,  
they became the pleasure gardens of the Goddess of Fortune.<sup>18</sup>

[17] Of their [Kṛṣṇa's associates, etc.] manifestation, there is no end,<sup>19</sup>  
owing to the special glory of Vṛndāvana (*vaibhavaviśeṣa*)<sup>20</sup> into which  
isolated and beautiful spot they re-enter in every *kalpa* after of the  
death of Dantavakra, the news of which success was cause for great joy  
and which events shall be described herein in accordance with the account  
of the Padmapurāṇa.<sup>21</sup> That *vaibhavaviśeṣa* is completely devoid of the  
touch of any human being's materially conditioned body or mind; its  
kadamba trees and other flora are glorified as having the greatest  
wonders in the Varāha and other Purāṇas; the Skanda and Padmapurāṇa,  
etc. also give liberal descriptions of this place as the scene of Kṛṣṇa's  
pastimes with Balarāma and the cows, cowherds and cowboys, all of whom  
possess eternal qualities, for its glory exists beyond the natural situation.

[18] The following words of Śrī Kṛṣṇa which give a brief summary of the above statements are to be found in the Bṛhad-Gautamīyatantra:

Verily, this delightful Vṛndāvana is my only home.

My animals, both tame and wild,

the birds and insects, men and gods

who abide here, all go to my home when they die.

Those cowherd girls who live here in my abode

are all eternally joined with me,

for they are dedicated to my service.

This forest of mine, measuring five yojanas, is a form of my body;

this Yamunā river is the *suṣuṃṇā* nerve which carries nectar.

The gods and other creatures dwell here in subtle form;

I am the sum of all the gods and at no time do I leave this forest

I am manifest and unmanifest here in this wood in every age;

it is beautiful and powerful

and cannot be perceived by eyes of flesh.

[19] In an explanation which will follow in its proper place, based on the account of the BhP<sup>22</sup> and giving all the essentials on this topic, it will be shown clearly that upon his return from the abode of Varuṇa to 'his own cowherd realm', the original lord<sup>23</sup> (who is an ocean of mercy), plunged in and afterwards emerged from the felicitous Brahma lake where he would later reveal to Akrūra [another] special aspect of his glories as found in Vaikuṇṭha. By so doing he created a curiosity in the minds of his own folk [the cowherds and Nanda]; after which he showed them this manifestation of his glory (*vaibhava-viśeṣa*), rendered [more] miraculous by his own presence as the saviour being praised with Vedic hymns. That wonderful place in this very Vṛndāvana seemed to mortals to be the same as other earthly places due to Kṛṣṇa's playing the role of an ordinary human being. Indra, in the chapter on the coronation of Kṛṣṇa in the Harivaṃśa<sup>24</sup>, demonstrates his belief in the truth of the all-pervasiveness, like that of the body of the son of the King of Vraja, of this glorious manifestation which even now sages need only resort to mentally in order to participate almost personally in his pastimes. Some persons, following the above descriptions [of BhP and HV], depict it as being beyond the *paravyoman* or spiritual ether which lies outside the veils of matter -

even though it is situated in close proximity to everything that is in Vṛndāvana; its terrain therefore expands or contracts according to the nature of the sports [in which Kṛṣṇa is engaged]. This glorious manifestation has been described extensively by great ones in the *Brahmasaṃhitā* etc. as being non-different from Śeṣa-Ananta and as a direct realization of Brahman, the supreme truth. This invisible (*aprakāṣa*)<sup>25</sup> glorious manifestation of Vṛndāvana, which because it has both visible and invisible manifestations is referred to in various different treatises as having a variety of natures<sup>26</sup>, is now going to be described; and it is [to be described as being] primarily of the nature of Gokula. Such is the actual purport of the *Brahmasaṃhitā* and the present work, by promoting that purport, will constitute an appendix to the *Brahmasaṃhitā*. The order of the following citations from that text have been somewhat rearranged in order to make them more easily comprehensible.<sup>27</sup> [BrS 5.67-8]

I venerate the white continent [Śvetadvīpa] which is also known as Goloka to only a few rare holy persons in this world. There, the beloved girls are the goddesses of fortune, the lover is the supreme male; the trees are wish-fulfilling trees, the earth is filled with the philosopher's stone, and the water is ambrosia. All spoken words are songs, all movement is dancing, and the flute is the dear girl-friend. It is the light of spiritual ecstasy, which though beyond [mundane sensual perception] is also relishable. There, a great ocean of milk pours forth from the cows, and furthermore, not even half the period of time known as a *nimeṣa*<sup>28</sup> is ever lost in that place.

[20] Also, after starting with the verse 'Kṛṣṇa is the supreme [omnipotent] god', the following is written in the BrS [5.2, 5-9]<sup>29</sup>:

The supreme situation is a thousand-petalled lotus flower called Gokula. Kṛṣṇa's abode is in the pericarp which is the creation of a limitless portion. The stamina [of the lotus] are the abodes of his portions, while the petals are those of the goddesses of fortune.

Surrounding Gokula is the wondrous quadrangle known as the 'white continent'. This quadrangle, when quartered, is the abode of the four *vyūha* forms of the deity (Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Vāsudeva and Saṅkarṣaṇa) and is encircled by the four goals of life and the four causes. Above and below as well as in all the directions, this place is guarded by the ten tridents. It is adorned by the eight jewels and the eight perfections, surrounded by the ten protectors of the directions who have taken human form. The land is further beautified by the divine associates who are of black, gold, red and white colours, as well as the female energies who are wonderful in every respect.

And again, [BrS 5.40]

I worship the original person Govinda; amongst the houses decorated with philosopher's stone and shaded by desire trees, he herds the *surabhī* cows while being himself served by hundreds of thousands of goddesses of fortune. And so on.

It is also said elsewhere:<sup>30</sup>

...where stands the beautiful Govardhana hill which is filled with jewels and decorative earths, and the best of rivers, the Kṣīrī, both of whose banks are bound with gems.

And so on.

[21] In all the above citations, the subject-matter which is the framework of the poem is first of all revealed along with the evidence, just like the canvas of a painting.

[22] For, [in the verse 'I venerate, etc.'<sup>31</sup>], *Vṛndāvana* emerges as a realm to which by virtue of its tangible form being detectable only to 'the few' who are imbued with a sense of its being the highest Goloka and the highest *Śvetadvīpa* are ascribed the various supreme excellences, viz. the extrinsic form of an abode of cows and cowherds by virtue of being Goloka, and an intrinsic nature which is conjured up by a supreme purity, thanks to its lack of contact with other than these, by virtue of

being Śvetadvīpa. For it is stated [in BrS 5.68] that the supreme Goloka is [identical to] the supreme Śvetadvīpa.

[23] And that is rightly observed, for it is [24] a realm which is the haunt of Śrīs, meaning the gopīs, an infinity of Śrīs since this is indicated by the reference to a quality of spontaneous providers of bliss, unlike other Vaikuṇṭha realms where a non-infinity of Śrīs is indicated by (the normal use of) the singular number.

That these goddesses of fortune are gopīs is further confirmed in that the scripture enjoins one to chant the great mantra, the device that 'attracts' the essence of the Veda<sup>32</sup>, by referring to him as the lover of the gopīs. [25] In this work, we have adopted the customary usage of the two-syllabled word (go-pī) [to refer to them], not only as a matter of custom, but in our meditations also.<sup>33</sup> However, Śukadeva's repetition of Uddhava's words in the BhP [x.47.60] shows that these gopīs have conquered over the ordinary goddess of fortune, while Brahmā's words 'thousands of Lakṣmīs, etc.' [BrS 5.40] accept their being goddesses of fortune of a particular type. Hence, in this work, Śrī is to be understood in a partial or integral sense according to context, just as the word Kuru may or may not be understood to include the Pāṇḍavas.

Accepting all this to be truth, Rādhā is supreme amongst even all these gopīs. How can that which has been stated in the Padma, Skanda, Varāha and Matsya Purāṇas as well as the Tantra named GovindaVṛndāvana<sup>34</sup> be taken otherwise?

[v15] Lakṣmī is absolutely supreme amongst all women;  
amongst the Lakṣmīs, the gopīs are supreme;  
if then Rādhā is supreme amongst the gopīs,  
which woman, then, is her equal?<sup>35</sup>

[26] Now, of all these gopīs who have been described as above, there is only one lover. As a result of this very fact, it is said that he who is known as Govinda and whose realm is Gokula is greater than the many other persons who go by the name of 'Husband of the Goddess of

Fortune', but who enjoy with only one such goddess each. [27] However, the use [in Brahmā's verse] of the words *Śrī* and *paramapuruṣa* proves that the adulterous relation which is made to appear in the midst [of their eternal relationship] by Māyā is later obliterated due to its inherent unreality. In the course of our narrative we will demonstrate all this through the arrangement of specific proofs. [28] All this is applicable to the gentle Balarāma as well.<sup>36</sup>

[29] What is more, all of this abode's trees are wish-fulfilling trees, only by the virtue of granting wishes alone; nor because they are the same as the (heavenly) species which is so respected. However, among these trees too, the wish-fulfilling trees can be singled out as a particular species.

[30] Furthermore, the land there, being beautiful and possessing the lucid clarity of a mirror, is the scene of various sights and objects of touch, and because it rains forth beauty as well as the [fulfilment of] desires, it is like the philosopher's stone. [31] Let it go without saying, then, that the elements used in making the houses are of an even superior philosopher's stone, the greatness of whose beauty is perceptible by comparison, for the plants which sprout there reflect that beauty in themselves.

Moreover, there [v16]

Having never been perceived before by eye or ear,  
Goloka's unique trees, animals and birds,  
recognized by the senses through species and forms alone.  
bring amazement to its residents.

[32] Furthermore, when even water takes on the properties of ambrosia, then what can be said of ambrosia itself? And when even ordinary speech is like song and similarly acts as a cooling tonic for the ears, what can be said of song itself? And when any movement takes on the characteristics of superlative dancing technique, then dancing itself must be worthy of extreme praise.



[33] And when the flute announces the imminent advent of Kṛṣṇa's joyful activities, and in her function as a dear girl-friend<sup>37</sup> takes pleasure in acting toward that end, then no other human being, no matter how fortunate, could be as dear.

[34] Furthermore, spiritual ecstasy<sup>38</sup> reveals itself exclusively according to the particular forms it takes and does not exceed the powers of those particular forms, for in order to display the realm of pure 1/1/3 masquerading as the mortal sphere which is understood by inference from the word 'Gokula', it shines out with the qualities of both the sun and the moon, and with the relish of the corresponding flowers like lotus and lilies which bloom in their light. While so doing, it does not take on the ultimately unsavoury qualities as in the mortal sphere where everything is finally transformed into something undesirable, its opposite.

[35] In the Hayaśīrṣapañcarātra, in the course of defining the five principles, the nature of the elementary substances of Vaikuṇṭha is also so described:

The material derivatives which possess relish,  
such things as have scent, or taste, like flowers, etc.  
are here [in Goloka] relish itself.<sup>39</sup>  
[In the absence of undesirable portions,  
they are to be considered the essence of relish.  
Even the undesirable portions [of a fruit]  
which are its skin, the seed, the tough parts, etc.,  
all are derivatives of the material elements,  
for they do not consist of the material elements themselves.]

Nevertheless, according to Brahmā's statement [BhP x.14.37]:

'Although you are not of the five material elements,  
you imitate the activities of material nature on Earth  
in order to bring about great amounts of pleasure  
for those who have surrendered to you, oh Lord'.<sup>40</sup>

the [degree of] absorption which both Kṛṣṇa and his surrendered devotees feel in his essential sports, i.e. where they imitate the mundane cycle of existence, is not to be encountered even in the eternal activities.<sup>41</sup>

[36] From this [it can also be concluded from this statement of Brahmā's] that [the minds' of] Kṛṣṇa and his surrendered devotees are absorbed (āveśa) in the first place [i.e. the *prakaṣa*] [37] and that then, subject to his desires, Kṛṣṇa's pastime-potency (*īlāśakti*) manifests everything there [in the eternal world, i.e. Goloka] almost exactly as it is in the worldly Vṛndāvana.

[38]<sup>42</sup> What is more, the sound of Kṛṣṇa practising sweet songs on his flute causes streams of fragrant milk to flow from the mountain-like udders of the *surabhī* cows who are enchanted by the beauty of its sound, and thus fills the ocean of milk which encircles Goloka like a moat. Due to their being wish-fulfilling cows, the natural characteristic of bearing milk is greatly expanded. [39] From this it is established by the knowledgeable that rivers of various [different] liquids [flow there].

[40]<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, in Goloka, Kṛṣṇa's parents, brothers, friends, in short all his associates do not change their age, but remain either in middle age, late or early youth in corresponding relationship to his eternal adolescence.

[41]<sup>44</sup> Situated in the centre of this Goloka, pure and eternal, appearing like a great jewel, is a lotus of a thousand petals blooming profusely and which describes its own identity by the name Gokula, [saying as it were,] 'I am the settlement (*vraja*) in which the cows and the cowherds make their home.' [42] It is the teaching of the science of logic (*nyāya*) that the conventional meaning of a word supersedes its etymological meaning. For example, the word *jalaja* (born in the water) does not refer to any and every aquatic creature, but to the lotus alone. The use of a word as a name for something instances a conventional meaning. [43] Forestalling any controversy [about Gokula being a proper name applicable to Kṛṣṇa's residence], the lord (*bhagavān*) has been identified by even Śrī Śukadeva (x.10.39) as the master of Gokula (*Gokuleśvara*). In the word *Gokuleśvara*, the *varaḥ* suffix has the meaning 'characterized by'.<sup>45</sup> The same conclusion is reached by the statement, 'Gokula, the forest *Vaikunṭha*'.<sup>46</sup>

[44] The effulgent abode of the supreme god, whose humour is characterized as the son of the king of Vraja, is resplendent with many colours in the pericarp of this lotus. This abode is manifest in an infinity of ways, as stated in the BrS (5.2): 'it has been created in unlimited parts'. [v17]<sup>47</sup>

There, near the stomata of the lotus,  
which form the encircling wall, on every side  
the herdsfolk, possessed of compassion,  
Kṛṣṇa's kinsmen, reside with his worshippers [the brāhmaṇas].

[45] This too is arrived at by virtue of its being 'Gokula'.

[v18] The word *aṁśāḥ* means 'shares, portions';  
by adding a suffix (-aḥ) denoting 'associated therewith',  
one also gets the meaning *dāyavanḥ* 'one who possesses a share.'  
Thus, sharing with him his caste,  
they are partakers in the conqueror of Baka.<sup>48</sup>

[v19] Or, *tadaṁśāḥ*, 'those who have a share in him'  
may be read as a *bahuvrīhi* ('possessing a staple') compound.  
The [grammatical term] is appropriate for  
in their every action,  
their love for him is like their staple food.

[46] That they belong to the same caste as he does was also stated by Śukadeva in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, [x.36.15]

'Thus having killed the humped bull demon Ariṣṭa,  
being praised by these who belong to the same caste as he  
he entered the cow herd settlement with Balarāma  
giving a festival to the eyes of the gopīs.'

[v20]<sup>49</sup> The petals of the lotus  
are the forest-playgrounds of the goddesses of fortune  
(known as 'they who live in the lotus'),  
where, in palaces constructed of philosopher's stone

and surrounded by lakhs of desire trees,  
Kṛṣṇa privately makes love to them.

[v21] In that place Rādhā was crowned queen by her beloved Kṛṣṇa,  
so it is heard in the Purāṇas.<sup>50</sup>  
I, however, consider this to be redundant,  
for by her virtues, she had already made him her subject.

[47] That which was previously concluded herein from the words 'Śrī and  
'Paramapuruṣa' is again confirmed here, for if [the gopīs'] relation to  
Kṛṣṇa as wives had not become widely known, it would never been  
accepted that they were the queens of all the petals of the lotus known  
as Vraja.

[48] Now, the wide main roads descend separately from the stamina  
through the spaces between the lotus petals which, due to being like the  
two sloping sides of the petals of a lotus which is slightly contracted,  
are like insurmountable mountain peaks surrounded by basins of water  
made of precious stone. Situated in between these roads, along their  
first stages, are the pens where all the cows of the King are kept. It is  
therefore observed that this place is known as Gokula up to this point.

[v22] When Kṛṣṇa sees that the time for milking has come,  
he, with all the other caretakers of the cows,  
retires there to houses of philosopher's stone,  
surrounded by hundreds of millions of desire trees  
and watches over the *surabhī* cows.

[49] That quadrangle which lies on all sides of the lotus which is the  
dwelling place of those who are near [to Kṛṣṇa], is known as Vṛndāvana.  
Taken in its entirety, this beautifully structured land which is like all  
lamps taken together, like a great continent, is called Śvetadvīpa as well  
as Goloka both beyond as well as within [the quadrangle of Vṛndāvana].  
The outer portion of this Śvetadvīpa, however, is limitless like the ocean,  
and there live all sorts of wonderful people in a heavenly state [being in  
the same world as Kṛṣṇa], like unto their earthly counterparts except that

they are free from worldly distresses. The woods situated on the petals are known as *kelivṛndāvanāni*, as stated in the *Pāñcarātra*, 'There [in Goloka] are found the great forest of *Vṛndā* and the [other] play-forests called *kelivṛndāvanas*.'

[50] Within the quadrangle [of *Vṛndāvana*], mountain bees are visible everywhere on the south and west sides. Because they are flying out from the lotus, it seems as if they are drinking the honey which streams all around [the lotus], and then as if they are again vomiting it up to give it to others to drink. For it is there in that very place that the mountain Govardhana with its multitude of great jewelled peaks is manifest, like a great treasure piled up high, bringing a not-insignificant pride of joy even to the overlord of all.

[51] This mountain named Govardhana lives up to its previously established reputation as the best of Kṛṣṇa's servants<sup>51</sup> by providing him with all the articles of comfort: the jewelled rocks delightful to sit on are thrones; the greeting it gives is made by the clearly uttered songs and cries of all its birds; the water for washing [Kṛṣṇa's] feet comes out of the streams which zig-zag through the wild rice, *dūrvā* grass, lotus flowers and *viṣṇukrāntā* vines; it makes the reception offering with the easily found, limitless shoots of *kūśa* grass which are clipped by the feet of passing animals; the water from the pools was made fit for washing the mouth by mixing with the nutmeg, cloves and *kakkola* berries which grow by their banks; it offers the honey/milk drink (*madhuparka*) with the honey contributed by the trees and mixed with the yoghurt and clarified butter made from the milk given by young cows who have just recently calved for the first time; it bathes, imitating the service of an affectionate bath-attendant, immersing [him] in the forceful waterfalls which flow from the rocks on its very highest peaks; the clothes which it offers are the golden coloured special tree barks which fit to the body like silk and are therefore comfortable to wear; the extraordinary unguents which it offers to be smeared on the body are produced from red chalk, saffron and yellow sandalwood, and then ground by its stones which themselves are by nature endowed with a pleasant fragrance; with the *mālatī* and other vines like blossoming garlands, it makes flower

offerings which would give pleasure even to the gods; with the dust of *aguru* and *devadāru* ground up by the hooves of the cows it offers an incense which destroys all one's distresses; lighting up all of its riches, it offers the lamp with the effulgence of its many precious stones which glow even during the daytime; making the desired patterns with rows of coloured *guñja* beans and peacock feathers, etc. it offers ornamental jewellery of great beauty; with its many fruits and roots which suit his desires, it makes a food offering which brings complete satisfaction; after giving cold water scented with flowers to wash his mouth again, it then offers a mouth perfume chiefly scented with the pure smell of twigs of sacred basil, etc.; then until the falling of the night, it offers the light-ceremony with the *campaka* in full bloom which, blowing in the breeze, waves like the lamps held by a priest; it offers a parasol in the guise of another beauty, the protection from the sun given by the *bakula* and other trees with their rustling rows of thick shoots; with the branches of the great *śāla* trees gently stirring in the soft southern gusts, it fans in a way that gives pleasure to gentle-folk; [it offers] the dance of the peacocks who respond to their own note of the scale, their mouths filled with their multifarious variations on the call *ke-kā*, illusioned that the sound of the bamboo [rustling] is Kṛṣṇa's flute playing, the [cowherd]-women are attracted and come there to gather the flowers which fall and make a bed like no other; [and finally, it offers as] music the combined harmonies made by the koils' sweet voices.

[52] It is said that the Mānasa Gaṅgā received her name because, as a result of attaining the company of [Govardhana,] the best of Kṛṣṇa's servants, she personifies the liquified mental state achieved in the love of Kṛṣṇa, the most permanent form of happiness. Thus, she is described and glorified: [v23]

The river Gaṅgā, having received the touch  
of the foot of a mere portion of him who killed Agha, Vāmana,  
herself became forever a destroyer of sin  
and could thus also mount Śiva's crown.  
But when this other Gaṅgā joins  
the selfsame destroyer of Agha,  
who frolicks with the cowherd community,

[which itself is] more glorious than Brahmā, Śiva or Lakṣmī,  
then what can be said of her [greatness]?

[53] On the northern and eastern sides [of the lotus], the river Yamunā,  
also known as Kālindī, apparently because it flows not far from the  
terrace (*alinda*) of the cowherd community which is the essence of all joy  
(*ka*). She is described: [v24]

Sometimes flowing in streams  
    appearing like liquid sapphire,  
sometimes standing still,  
    like a terrain of sapphire.  
Depending on whether that flute of Kṛṣṇa's  
    does not play, or does,  
the daughter of the sun brings forth the joys  
    of both water and land  
in her desire to serve him.

[v25] She sees with eyes made of lotus flowers  
and listens with ears made of whirlpools of nectar;  
she smells with the noses of the water creatures,  
embraces with arms made of her currents  
and speaks with the tongues of the swans and the ruddy geese.  
Being made of water, her colour is black -  
her name too is Kṛṣṇā:  
how she constantly acts with the soul of a goddess!

[54] The poets make the following fanciful comments about her lakes,  
which are everywhere: [v26]

A person who resides without moving  
in the forested portions of Vraja  
himself becomes the constant benefactor of others.  
See how the lakes, who, apparently knowing this,  
by their many currents expand the waters  
of the Yamunā and the other rivers.

There too, [v27]

Some portions of open land come right to the edge  
of the flowing river, filled with red and white lotuses;  
while others are in the midst of wooded gardens  
where various species of [fragrant] flower grow.  
Made sweet by the *kuhū* cry of the koīl  
and the *kekā* cry of the peacocks,  
speckled by the cosmetics of his mistresses,  
the lands marked by the *rāsa* dance  
always bring happiness to the nose, eyes, and ears.

Furthermore, [v28]

The banyan tree *Bhāṇḍīra* has not grown so high  
that it can touch the sun  
but on account of its width it can act as a boat;<sup>52</sup>  
the cowherds, playing on its branches  
cross back and forth to *Kāṇḍīra*'s either shore.

It is also said about *Bhāṇḍīra* that, [v29]

Sometimes its many hollows, as big as caverns, appear like homes;  
sometimes it gives the greatest comfort by making  
what appear to be beds with its wide branches;  
sometimes it makes swings by means of the vines  
which hang from its branches;  
so, to which of Hari's pastimes does *Bhāṇḍīra* not contribute?

[v30] The terrain lying to the north of the *Bhāṇḍīra* tree  
is called *Rāmaghāṭa*, the source of many pleasures,  
where *Rāma* relaxes and feels pleasure  
in the company of his lady friends.

[55]<sup>53</sup> Permanently situated in the sky of this world are the exalted zones  
of gods who fly the aerial cars and are surrounded by the protective  
deities of that world. If the the four expansions of *Nārāyaṇa*  
(*caturvyūha*) called *Vāsudeva* etc. themselves take the role of the worldly



gods and act as a military phalanx, then what worthwhile part could the lowly four goals of life have to play?

[56] All things being so, this world named Goloka is worthy of the greatest honour, so who could possibly describe it by comparison to any other thing? The gods who subsist on ambrosia see it as an ocean of nectar, the poets as the companion of glory and the heavenly engineers as wonder given form. The *brahmajñānins* see it as *brahman* itself amongst ecstasies, while the devotees of the Lord see it as love for him itself become manifest. In this way it is seen in various ways by different people according to their attitude.

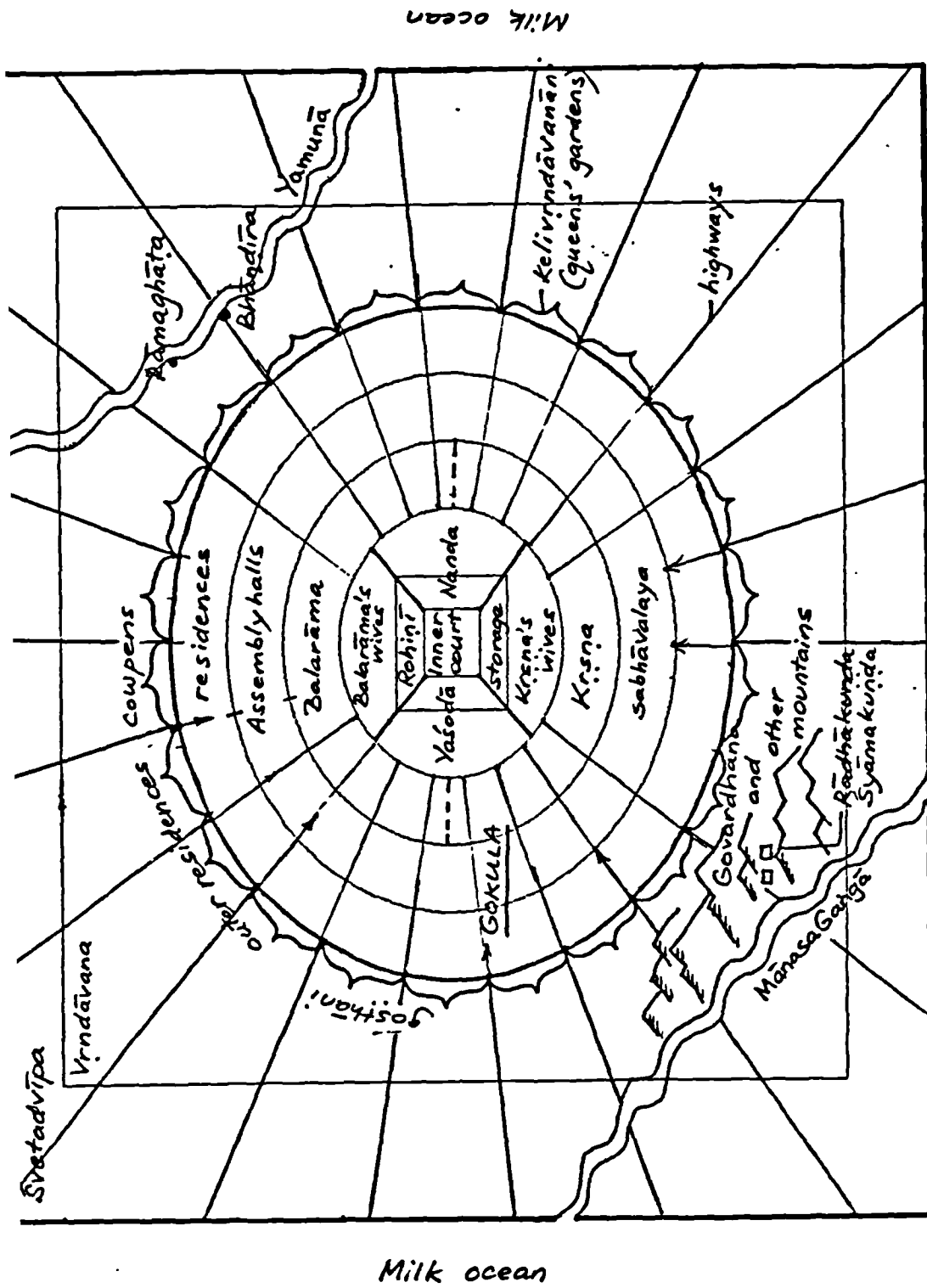
Moreover, [v31]

'Is it some power or some wonder?  
a dramatic art, or some unknown realm?  
Or is it that love which was described by Śuka  
appearing here directly in a physical form?'  
Thus conjecturing, every day the heavenly beings  
led by the protective gods of that world,  
become both respectful and confused  
in this, Govinda's abode.

[57] This world, which thus lies beyond the reach of the workings of intelligence suddenly enters within my understanding, for [v32]

Whichever sense objects bring pleasure  
and whichever are unattainable -  
I swear that I have no desire for any of them;  
but that eternal realm, which generates affection for Kṛṣṇa,  
and where Kṛṣṇa himself resides,  
forcefully creates within me a desire to see it.

[v33] In the unlimited universal systems  
it is unprecedented to even hear of Kṛṣṇa  
while being desired in the Vaikuṇṭha worlds.  
What is more, Lakṣmī herself is greedy for him.  
[Yet] in Goloka, the selfsame Kṛṣṇa always appears



Goloka/Vṛndāvana according to GC 1.1.20-79

as the foremost of the [cowherds'] kinsmen  
and it is in their affection for him  
that my heart has become absorbed and attached.

[58] Alas, what should I do? I impulsively started this description, but do not see how it can be completed, [59] for from its very beginning, it is observed that in the contemplation of the wonders of Kṛṣṇa's activities which take place in the quadrangle of Vṛndāvana, such [reactions take place]. For example, [v34]

Kṛṣṇa sends the cows out to graze  
beyond the area where he is playing with his friends;  
and when the cows have gone too far away  
he looks after them by calling them,  
or sending the cowherd boys amongst them, one by one;  
and then again he becomes absorbed in play -  
all this agitates our minds  
when it appears on the field of our memory.

There too, [v35]

How Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, sometimes holding each others hands,  
laughing and making others laugh, bring emotion to my mind.

Furthermore, [v36]

It may be true that [in Goloka] because of their proximity,  
the sounds of [Kṛṣṇa's] flute may make the trees sprout leaves,  
or quickly cause the mountains to turn to liquid,  
make the moving waters of the river freeze  
or make them flow upstream instead of down;  
but here [in this world], why do they forcibly cause  
all those who meditate on Kṛṣṇa to suddenly tremble,  
as though they had already entered their ears?

[60] Though happiness can be felt in the minds of those who experience this world, it cannot be expressed in words, for [v37]

If even the trees should blossom in joy  
in Vṛndāvana, which Kṛṣṇa enters to enjoy,

then there can be no questions and no speeches  
for there is nothing that one can ask  
and there is nothing that anyone can say.

[61] And the following, too, greatly attracts the mind of the pious person:

[v38] There, while they take care of the white cows,  
the cowherds sing the sweet-tuned songs peculiar to them,  
and shed tears;  
and so, because of remembering Kṛṣṇa's birth and activities  
which happened long ago,  
all become enchanted immediately.

[62] Oh! Why should I withdraw my thoughts, and from what? For the  
cattlesheds forcibly create a desire within me to see them. [v39]

Filled by the colours and smells of musk,  
the blown dust of dried cowdung all about  
and great trees shaped like large buildings;  
thronging with young calves in the daytime,  
and at night with cows superior to those of the heavens:  
all these cattle enclosures bring hundreds of memories  
to every mind.

But at sunrise and sunset, [v40]

the cowherds free the calves, milk the cows  
and then gather the milk;  
they herd the cows and drive them home,  
keeping Kṛṣṇa at their head,  
they sing about his deeds, thrilled and shedding tears;  
their deeply intoxicated minds overwhelm mine.

[63] The main highways [of Goloka] also attract my mind forcibly, for  
they are like the pavilions where songs about Kṛṣṇa are sung. [v41]

'Rāma [did this], Kṛṣṇa [did that];  
Rāma and Kṛṣṇa [did something together];  
Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa...' - this is the chatter forever heard

as the [people of Goloka], unrestrained in their speech,  
come and go on those paths.

[64] The petals of the lotus are the pleasure gardens of Kṛṣṇa's wives,  
who are also mad with love for him. These gardens shall now be  
described, even though they cause poets to feel shame: everything there  
being so wonderful, they are difficult of conception. In those gardens,  
[v42] the groves sometimes make one mistakenly think  
that they are houses by their parts [i.e. the vines etc.],  
while the houses too, in their hundreds,  
sometimes appear equal to the groves  
on account of their colourful pictures.  
There the waters are sometimes completely  
covered by numerous blooming lotuses,  
but the ground too sometimes appears that way -  
so what is the basis for discerning one from the other?

[v43] The songs of Rādhā's girlfriends and the forest sylphs,  
their swooning modulations  
and passionate melodies as sweet as honey  
were first composed by ladies  
who had felt the pain of love for Hari.  
When heard by the people, who can tell  
whether it was happiness or distress that they felt?

[v44] Sometimes trifling songs are sung,  
and on occasion, musical instruments accompany dancing;  
sometimes discussions are held with love,  
and again, on occasion there are great, playful quarrels.  
In this way, meditating on Kṛṣṇa's abundant amusements  
with these ladies, the essence of love,  
poets' minds are always spoiled for choice  
[unable as they are to decide which to describe].

[v45] Love [there] behaves like erotic desire,<sup>54</sup>  
its manifests itself like argument,

the ecstatic symptoms of dumbfoundedness, etc.

appear even in the *sakhīs*<sup>55</sup>;

even when heard, its character is

beyond anything ever heard of before.

Thus, in the inner bowers of Vṛndā's forest,

the endless varieties of this married couple's<sup>56</sup>

amusing diversions remain glorious,

after baffling one's ability to judge them.

[v46] At every step, Kṛṣṇa brings about in the ladies  
an uninhibited longing for him,  
and they produce the same effects in him  
so that the happiness of their mutual encounters is supreme.  
Oh, because the *sakhīs* are guileless<sup>57</sup> towards him,  
they feel the great eagerness known to both [Kṛṣṇa and his wives]  
to what then can such eagerness be compared?

[v47] These *gopī* ladies bring beauty even to beauty -  
for Kṛṣṇa, who is an ornament  
to the flawless ornaments on his body,  
is specially ornamented by them.<sup>58</sup>

[v48] 'Lakṣmī cannot be equal to her' -  
of what value are such words in praise of Rādhā?  
by her beauty, she casts to one side  
even the *gopīs*, who vanquish Lakṣmī.

[65] Therefore, an unworthy like myself cannot hope to properly describe  
or even to contemplate these *gopīs*, yet [v49]

Their palaces stand amongst the trees of that divine world,  
the effulgence of which is greater than that of the sun  
and other heavenly bodies.

Within them are Rādhā and Mādhava,  
sitting on a glorious lion-footed throne,  
its beauty unseen by those whose eyes are covered  
yet clear to those who are close to them.

They are surrounded by the sakḥīs  
who are engaged in various activities, including fanning.  
The sweet nectar of their beauty futilely increases my desires.<sup>59</sup>

[66] In the very midst of hundreds of thousands of huge desire trees situated on the petals, etc. of this joyous realm, their bases invisible due to the thick branches above, is the royal court constituting the pericarp of the lotus, surrounded by soft filaments as has already been described. It is there that the son of the king of the herders of surabhī cows permanently and joyfully resides with his family and kinsfolk. This immense abode of his is made of the inconceivable philosopher's stone, its seven sectors filled with residential enclosures, causing the eyes to widen as it expands its beauty. All around this effulgent dwelling are the incomparable residences of Kṛṣṇa's kinsmen, counted in numbers close to infinity. The panegyrists feel poetic doubts about this place, expressed affectionately as follows: [v50]

'The sun is the lotus' friend;  
can this be his companion, his halo of rays  
coming to embrace the lotus of Gokula?  
Or is it the many rings of the cowherds' homes,  
which surround the residence of the king?'

[67] Their residents are glorified as follows: [v51]

Their riches are beyond those that anyone could pray for,  
their enjoyments, foremost amongst all desires,  
their religious activities, glorified  
by the activities of the functionary deities;  
their liberation surpasses all forms of salvation:  
all the four goals of life remain as servants  
to those who desire Kṛṣṇa,  
to those whose homes, wealth, friends and wives,  
whose own children, nay, whose life and soul,  
are all dedicated to him.<sup>60</sup>

[v52] Their eyes, their ears, their minds and other senses  
seem insignificant to them if they do not perceive Kṛṣṇa;

thus in this cowherd community,  
the words of scripture, 'he is the sight of eyes'<sup>61</sup>  
has become manifestly visible.

[v53] Are these people puppets,  
whose movements are controlled by moving strings,  
astonishing the entire universe?  
or are these cowherds who wander here,  
bound by their deep feelings of love for Kṛṣṇa?

Furthermore, [v54]

This is his father, this his mother,  
and these, his father's brothers;  
similarly these others  
are glorified by other relations of benevolent service;  
it is this very glory,  
appearing in these associates of Kṛṣṇa in Braj  
which an equal love in a stranger  
can sometimes bring about forthwith.

[68] Now, after thinking about it, further details also appear to my imagination. If these become the experience of the saintly as well, then the result will be auspicious. If not, it would still be a new work of poetry, not a work of error. On the other hand, I feel that if any little part of it is even in the slightest attractive to them, then the whole of it will nevertheless be sufficiently honoured thereby.

[69] That imagining is as follows: found interior to the [ring of] homes of the cowherds is the circle of assembly halls which are suitable for such courtiers (i.e. the cowherds). There, great gates (gopuras) stand like citadels in themselves with their numerous decorations. The roads appear to lead from every direction up to the city gates which are like the filaments of the lotus. The great edifices with their attractive fronts, seen there facing one another, appear to be perceiving the desire of the world to see their abundant beauty. Within them, the great thrones of the sturdy nobles who look like living lions, stand with their feet



unmoving, causing one's eyes to widen on account of wonder. There the hundreds of thousands of residents of all the various residential areas meet and rain down great amounts of joy on one another. There, the forms of those sitting in one place are observed to be embodied elsewhere, as if in metaphorical poetry. Not only their forms, but the echoing sounds they make seem to reverberate as in the poetry of suggestion, for virtue is infectious and persons whose hearts are pure induce virtues in others. When [the courtiers] are thus erroneously seen and heard, the various strangers [are deceived and] become objects of laughter. And whenever the moon of King Nanda's family, whose good looks constantly radiate floods of supreme joy, personally breaks the fast of the *cakora*-like eyes of the townspeople by casting the nectarean rays of his glances on any part of those assembly houses, then a festival, great amongst festivals, takes place.

[70] Within this ring of assembly houses is the king of Vraja's dwelling place, which captures the minds of all. It is envisaged as containing five enclosures. Govinda himself resides in that very place accompanied by his mother, father and other relatives. There, in a ring interior to that of the assembly houses, are [the first] four [of these] enclosures, containing within them hundreds of thousands of private apartments. Another, fifth glorious enclosure is primary, being situated in the very centre of all the others. This enclosure, which has a great quadrangle in its midst, has a group of houses on its every side, each with its own courtyard; within those to the west resides the dear wife of Nanda, the best of all women. Rohini, whose glories spread happiness like the star which is her namesake, resides in those on the northern side. To the east dwells the King of Vraja, who is served by all. Finally, the buildings on the south are the storehouses where the paraphernalia necessary for honouring relatives and guests, the foodstuffs, as well as items for giving in charity, etc., are kept.

[71] Outside this central enclosure, are the four other enclosures which contain great numbers of residential apartments, both private and public, which are filled with highly satisfied people. They serve respectively, in a clockwise direction starting from the west, the queen of Vraja, who

enjoys every happiness, Balarāma, who bestows on Rāmaghāṣa its beauty, the king of Vraja, the shelter of all the worlds, and finally, the joy of Govardhana, King Nanda's son, Lord Kṛṣṇa.

[72] The residential palaces of all of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa's wives, the best of women, appear in the two middle enclosures [i.e. situated between those of Nanda and Yaśodā], which take the names of their husbands, who daily thirst for intimate association with them, never suffering the separation [which mars their loves during the time of the incarnation]. [73] There, in the auditoria of these palaces, the girlfriends of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa's wives practice their various arts with dedication, singing the various extremely novel amatory adventures of the leader of their *yūthā*<sup>62</sup>, and by so doing melt everyone present there, including the trees. It thus goes without saying that their honey sweet notes also made these loving couples, reunited after so much suffering, emotional.

[74] The two other enclosures can be seen as encircling the two of which we have just spoken. They are, according to their direction, [i.e. Rāma's in the north and Kṛṣṇa's to the south] fit to serve both as the inner and outer domains of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, [positioned so that] the convenient doors from the outer enclosures face inward to reach the closer edge of the inner ones.

[75] This city unequalled in the cleverness of its organization into seven enclosures, enchants all the inhabitants of the realm of Goloka by its possession, within every one of its sectors, of terraces each made to have higher levels by the construction of one, two or more stories although the houses are all of the same height. All the enclosures are demarcated by dividing lines formed by the decorative walls of the lines of houses, and they rival each other and gladden every point of the compass by facing each other with doors on both sides.

[76] Crowning the entire city, visible in the very centre of the middle enclosure, situated in the great quadrangle, is a single-roomed construction covered with fluttering flags and surrounded by columns, standing atop a charming raised building having a pyramid shape like

Mount Meru, within which, accessible via a little white door, is a staircase by which one can easily climb to the top. [77] When Kṛṣṇa himself ascends to this room which stands above the entire city, and remains there like the jewel atop the crown, then [he appears] like Indra's sapphire situated above it, conquering everything. What person is there living in that realm who is not nourished by the effulgent beauty which emanates from him?

[78] Just as this city stands upon the pericarp of the lotus, there is another [complete city] below. This one, however, is unknown to others for it is accessible only through locked doors in the apartments of the wives of Kṛṣṇa, and others at the limits of the lotus-petals which are their personal gardens. This other city contains houses made of jewels as bright as the sun; it is filled with the fragrant odours of flower pollen carried in by the breezes. Because of its seclusion, it gives a freedom to constantly indulge in amorous activities; containing beds and couches, parasols and fly-whisks and all other paraphernalia, it is equipped to provide all varieties of comfort in a perfect fashion; all the pavilions are equipped with everything needed for participation in a wide variety of sports; it is further characterized by thousands of statues of birds, animals and humans engaged in those various sports; like the abode of Ananta, it is divided into unlimited divisions, each a special sector for one of Kṛṣṇa's wives. Using the paths of this realm, the son of Nanda, to give pleasure to his wives, goes to the gardens situated on the petals in their company, and through secret entrances from those gardens he also gains access to corresponding four-cornered gardens.

[79] In the same way, Balarāma has access to his own pleasure garden named Rāmaghāṭa through this passageway, but being of limited size, it should be understood that it is hidden by the trenches which surround the encircling lotus petals.

[80] The following verses are sung in praise of the upper city of the King of Vraja: [v55]

[On its roofs] flags flutter in the gentle breeze,  
turning again and again to face a different direction;

it is as though upon detecting the fragrant odour,  
it turns to see whence it came.

[v56] From constant association with the effulgence  
of the ambrosia-rayed moon,  
the rounded pinnacles<sup>63</sup> appear to have attained  
the appropriate fullness of auspiciousness.  
Made out of moon-stone, they seem to be crowns  
interspersed amongst the [city's] towers.

[v57] Endowed with a clear sparkle, are seen  
the roofs of diamonds and other precious stones;  
the lights of the sky, the sun and the moon,  
appear to have attained oneness with them  
by guise of their reflections,  
like the supreme soul and the living beings.<sup>64</sup>

[v58] Peacocks, turtle-doves, koils and other birds  
have effortlessly taken up residence in that city;  
when they call out,  
it seems they are conversing and arguing  
with their counterparts in the forest.

[v59] Decorated with pictures made of jewels,  
a golden wall shines all around [the city],  
making Gopāla's childhood and other sweet adventures  
seem to come to life, even to little children.

[v60] Each house seems ever to embrace Kṛṣṇa,  
in its covered verandahs like a broad bosom,  
thus the devotees who live within them  
also behave in the same manner.

[v61] The courtyards are made with jewelled mirrors,  
within every single of the houses,

there, in every one, a young bride can see Kṛṣṇa  
even when she bows her head in shyness.

[v62] On the ground strewn with moon-stone  
little ponds appear all about,  
Ah yes, the rays of Rādhā's and the others'  
effulgent faces constantly fill them.

[v63] This realm defeats every single glory  
of the abode of Lakṣmī's husband;  
the forest is a residence which disappointed  
the hopes of Lakṣmī;<sup>65</sup>  
the dwellings are a capital city [i.e. a focus]  
of all that is good and lovely,  
and so are all the residents.  
The enjoyer is Kṛṣṇa, and the object of enjoyment  
is the sweetness of love;  
when everything there thus goes beyond  
the inner organ's [power to comprehend],  
then who could possibly attain to its limits?

[81] I am also privileged to know the surpassing excellence of the joys of  
his love and of loving him, for [v64]

Kṛṣṇa, the king and queen of the cowherd pastures,  
and its various other residents, are of themselves not capable  
of even slightly softening our cruel hearts;  
but even so, the love which they have for Kṛṣṇa  
or that which he has for them, is so strong  
that it melts them at every step.

[82] Therefore, [in Goloka] this love is manifest everywhere as the source  
of all auspiciousness. [v65]

Could Kṛṣṇa, or the residents of Vraja, be incarnations of love?  
for if either should appear to me,  
then simultaneously that love also becomes manifest.  
Though they may try again and again, it is clear:

neither Brahmā, Śiva, Nārada, nor anyone else  
possesses the slightest power to do this.

[83] It is the most astonishing thing of all, for: [v66]  
Even though their love gives pleasure  
beyond magic that ordained by specific actions,  
it is nevertheless above all the reason  
for the assistance of Hari himself;  
just as in the work of creating the universe,  
the supreme Brahman is said in the Upaniṣads to be the cause:  
there can be no argument about things said to be nconceivable.<sup>66</sup>

[84] And because it does so attract my mind, therefore [v67]  
Having learned from others those actions  
which are favourable to developing a desire for Kṛṣṇa,  
I desire only to have a mental attitude  
like that of those who constantly come and go  
to and from the inner and outer circles  
of that residence of the King of Nanda,  
those who though held exceedingly dear [by Kṛṣṇa],  
are moved by a burning desire [to serve him].<sup>67</sup>

[85] Seeing the people of that abode all together is a most amazing  
experience. In that way: [v68]  
Each of the dear associates goes around [in his own orbit]  
each imbued with his own individual loving mood;  
yet they are all loyal followers  
of the king of Vraja and his wife,  
for due to the control of the rope named love,  
these two [revolve] like the sun and moon,  
and they themselves are like the stellar constellations,  
each of them bestowing light upon the night sky named Kṛṣṇa.

[86] Although the songs sung by each group [of devotees] are similar,  
each has unique features of its own, thus: [v69]

Kṛṣṇa's early childhood from his birth  
is nearly always the subject in the gatherings of the elders;  
while generally, amongst his friends,  
it is the demon-killing activities of his later childhood;  
the mercy Kṛṣṇa showed even to Kāliya and other wicked persons  
is what substantially interests those devoted to his mercy,  
and those topics mostly glorified by his beloved wives  
show the ways of his love to them.

In those songs: [v70]

If while singing, any one of Kṛṣṇa's devotees  
should become faint;  
it would not be possible for an observer  
to tell whether he felt happiness or distress;  
the pacific feeling, the servitude, the companionship,  
the parental feeling and the other [erotic love] in their hearts  
could no more be distinguished  
than milk from a solution with water.

[87] Ah, two more verses have appeared in my calm mind and disturb it:

[v71] 'Mother, oh mother, mummy! Give me it, I want it!'

'My child, blessed child, my son,  
tell me what it is, my dear one.'  
the loving ways characterized  
by such affectionate exchanges of words  
forcibly cause my mind to remember  
that mother and that child in that cowherd settlement.

[v72] 'Mistress of my house, you must have performed pious acts

for your child speaks, eats, shows pleasure,  
asks for things and laughs here before you...'  
the King of Vraja stopped speaking here, overwhelmed by emotion,  
and my pondering mind too, unable to concentrate,  
becomes confused.

Here ends chapter one of the Gopālacampū, 'A description of Goloka.'

## Notes to GC 1.1

1. The first chapter of Gopālacampū contains the *maṅgalācāraṇa* in one verse, which is repeated again at the beginning of each of the six sub-campūs. It also is repeated at the end of some of these divisions. Jīva used it again at the beginning of Saṃkalpakalpadruma and Yadunandanadāsa used it in the introduction of Karṇānanda. Jīva then gives an explanation in prose of this verse. The entire verse consists of vocatives; Jīva's commentary also gives the glosses as vocatives, which I have followed in the translation. The reading of the verse given here is suitable for the first gloss (i.e. §2). For the second gloss, read: *ŚrīKṛṣṇa! Kṛṣṇa! caitanya! saśanātanarūpaka!// gopālaraghunāthāptaavrajavallabha! pāhi māṃ//*. For §4, read *ŚrīKṛṣṇa! Kṛṣṇacaitanya! saśanātanarūpaka!// Gopāla-RaghunāthāptaVrajavallabha! pāhi māṃ//*
2. That Jīva's father Vallabha was devoted to Rāma is mentioned by Kṛṣṇadāsa in CC iii.4.31-49.
3. *Rūḍhi* means the conventional meaning of a word, accepted by customary usage. It is accepted as a primary meaning of the word or *abhidhā* superseding its own etymological source (*vyutpatti* or *yogārtha*, Cf. §42), cf. SāhD 2.5ad. Thus here, the first sense of the word *kṛṣṇa* is such a conventional meaning, 'the son of Nanda' (Cf. *taṃśāśyāmaletviṣi ŚrīYasodāstanandhaye Kṛṣṇanāmno rūḍhir iti sarvasāstravinirṇayaḥ*, Nāmakaumudī, cited in CC iii.7.83)
4. The source of the verse cited, *kṛṣṇīr bhūvācakaḥ*, etc., is unknown. Jīva also quotes this verse and two similar to it in his commentary to BrS 1.1: *kṛṣṇīśabdaś ca sattārtho ṇaś cānandasvarūpakah/ sattā-svānandayor yogāt cit paraṃ brahma cocyate//* (Bṛhadgautamīyatantara) and *kṛṣṇīśabdaś ca sattārtho ṇaś cānandasvarūpakah/ sukhārūpo bhaved ātmā bhāvānandamayativataḥ//* (Gautamīyatantara)
5. The second 'kṛṣṇa' of the *maṅgala* verse is thus taken to mean 'the Supreme Spirit', i.e. *paraṃ brahma*. Once again this is a conventional meaning (*rūḍhi*) taken as the direct sense of the word (*abhidhīyate*). Here, however, this sense of the word is fortified by the accompaniment of an (artificial) etymology (*yogapuraskṛta*).



6. The expression originally appears in the Bṛhatsahasranāmastotra of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. A similar text (*yatrāvetīrya Kṛṣṇākhyam param brahma narākṛtī*) is found in ViP
7. *vyāñjanā*: the third semantic degree of a word (SāhD 2.11). Thus, the first usage of Kṛṣṇa directly indicates the person Nandanāndana. The second use of the word indicates the Supreme Spirit ('seductive joy'), <sup>but</sup> this very meaning itself <sup>also</sup> implies the Nandanāndana who is *commonly* identified as the human form of this *param brahma*.
8. *Asti kila...* This is the traditional opening of most prose and mixed works, setting first the location of the action to be described. See for example, Kādambarī or others.
9. The spiritual bondage of love is considered by the Vaiṣṇavas to be desirable.
10. Brahmā makes this prayer in BhP x.14.34.
11. *Virodhālamkāra*. This is of course the rhetorical figure (~~also called~~ also called *virodhābhāsa*) which has been used throughout the paragraph. Thus, the *vana* is contrasted with *avana*, which appears to be a negation of *vana*, but in fact has an entirely different meaning, i.e. that of salvation, etc.
12. BhP x.10.39, cited in Jīva's commentary to BrS 5.2. See also below, §43.
13. *sarvanidhānam* is to be translated here as 'supreme refuge', i.e. of Kṛṣṇa, rather than 'refuge of all'. If it is Kṛṣṇa's abode because it is the abode of cows, then the place which causes cows to proliferate must be even more dear to him. Thus *nidhāna* might also be rendered as 'treasure', a more widely used sense of the word.
14. Jīva again advises which type of figure he is using. *Atiśayokti*, 'exaggeration'. Hyperbole, of course, does not carry any negative connotation for Sanskrit poets.
15. *Utprekṣā* is another figure of speech, 'poetic fancy'.
16. *tadbhāṣavabhāvitagatiḥ*. According to Hindu thought, deep love leads to emotional identification which produces external similarities. Thus the gopīs imitated Kṛṣṇa's actions in ViP v.13.27 (see UN 11.29). Here, it is used to account for the devotees' having black coloured perspiration. The poetic fancy is, of course, that anyone's sweat

- should be black at all, or that anyone could produce enough of it to make a river.
17. Though the word *vraja* is used as a collective noun ('multitude, swarm, flock, herd, etc.' - MW), the sense of auspiciousness has not been noted by any lexicographer. The word's primary sense is 'cowpen or pasture', thus being more or less synonymous with Gokula. The *vraja* was not a fixed settlement, but one which moved as a nomadic tribe followed its herds to more suitable pastures. Because of the use of the term for the general area within which Kṛṣṇa and his kinsfolk lived, the area surrounding Mathurā has come to be known as Vraja, or Braj.
  18. This verse is generally used by Jīva as evidence of the incarnation of the gopīs, as well as their identification as goddesses of fortune, viz. GC 1.15.12.
  19. The word *śśeṣam* is here an adverb being used with *bhū*.
  20. This expression (also rendered subsequently as 'glorious manifestation') would seem to indicate an ontological pre-eminence of the earthly Vṛndāvana over the transcendental Goloka. Rūpa first uses the expression in LBhāg (1.5.498: *yat tu Golokanāma syāt tat tu Gokulavaibhavam*). Jīva uses the expression *prakāśaviśeṣa*, with apparently an identical meaning in KṛṣṇaS 116 (in Bhāgavatasaṅdarbha, ed. Śyāmalāla Gosvāmī: Calcutta, 1900, p.380; Jādvapur edition, p.60.) Jīva there clearly states that its implication is simply that 'Goloka is a luminous manifestation which gives Kṛṣṇa an opportunity to perform activities invisible to the materially conditioned souls'. But see below, §§35ff.
  21. This passage is found in the PadP vi.279.24-27 and is referred to several times in this and other works of Jīva, as well as those of Rūpa and Sanātana. As the paragraph indicates, this return to Goloka is the essential element in GC's structure.
  22. For the cowherds' vision see GC 1.20.42-47, based on BhP x.28.11-18. These verses are frequently quoted as evidence of the existence of another abode which is the destination of the cowherds after their departure from the earthly plane. For Akrūra's vision, see BhP x.39.39-57,

23. GC is curiously without much preaching about the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa, though explanation of this expression, *svayam bhagavān*, found in BhP 1.3.28, takes up an important portion of the KṛṣṇaS (§§1-80). Other than the few times it is mentioned in this chapter, however, it is not mentioned in the GC.
24. Harivaṃśa 62.29-35. Jīva Gosvāmī returns to this passage elsewhere in his discussions of the *dhāma*.
25. The words *prakaṣa* and *aprakaṣa*, meaning 'manifest' and 'unmanifest' are rendered here as 'visible' and 'invisible'. That which is referred to as being invisible to the mundane eye is the unmanifest aspect of Kṛṣṇa's abode or *līlā*. The manifest aspect is that activity of his which takes place in this universe, in Vṛndāvana. Goloka, for which the term *vaibhāvaviśeṣa* or 'glorious manifestation' has repeatedly been used, is to be the subject of the subsequent description.
26. *saṁsthāna*. Because Vṛndāvana has innumerable natures ('features, formations, existences', or even 'abodes, dwellings', etc.), it is not necessarily limited in form to that of the description given below. Different opinions imply different real existences. Jīva's version of Goloka, however, is based on BrS and is dominated by Gokula, which he clearly states elsewhere is identical with Vṛndāvana: *ataeva Vṛndāvanam Gokulam eva, sarvoparivirājamānam Golokatvena prasiddham*. (KṛṣṇaS, 106, p.48).
27. Jīva places the last half of the second verse first and then follows the normal sequence given in the BrS text. The verses are only comprehensible as a yugmaka, i.e. as being syntactically united. Jīva has merely placed the verb of the major clause at the beginning, no doubt to emphasize the name Goloka which appears there. Since the rest of the chapter is based on these verses, the lines have been numbered for easy reference.
  1. *bhaje śvetadvīpaṁ tam aham iha Golokam api yaṁ*
  2. *vidantas te santaḥ kṣitivilācārāḥ katipaye//*
  3. *śriyaḥ kāntāḥ kāntaḥ paramapurusaḥ kalpataravo*
  4. *drumā bhūmīś cintāmaṇigaṇamayī toyam amṛtam/*
  5. *kathā gāṇaṁ nāṭyaṁ gāṇam api vāṁśī priyasakhī*
  6. *cidānandajyotiḥ param api tad āsvādyam api ca//*
  7. *sa yatra kṣīrābdhiḥ sarati surabhibhyaś ca sumahān*
  8. *nimeṣārdhākhyaḥ vā vrajati na hi yatrāpi samayaḥ/*
28. The word is generally translated as 'a moment' or 'the twinkling of an

eye'. It is also an exact unit of some fraction of a second. Cf. BhP iii.11.7.

29. The Sanskrit for BrS 5.2 and 5.5 is given here for reference:

1. *sahasrapatrakamalaṃ Gokulākhyaṃ mahat padam/*
2. *tatkarṇikāraṃ taddhāma tadanantāṃśasambhavam/*
3. *tatkiñjalkaṃ tadamśānāṃ tatpatrāṇi śriyāṃ api//*
4. *caturasraṃ tatparitaḥ śvetadvīpākhyaṃ adbhutam/*
5. *caturasraṃ caturmūrteś caturdhāma catuṣkṛtam//*

30. The source of this quotation is given as Bṛhadvāmanapurāṇa.

31. BrS 5.68, cited above at the end of §19.

32. *mahāvāgarthasāra*. The four *mahāvākyas* are taken by the Vedāntists to contain the essence of the Vedānta. This is reinterpreted by the Vaiṣṇavas, with the final understanding that it is the personal Kṛṣṇa. The mantra being referred to in this paragraph is the ten-syllable mantra (*klīm*) *gopījanavallabhāya svāhā*.

33. Jīva stresses literal acceptance of the gopīs as the consorts of Kṛṣṇa.

34. The Govindavṛndāvanatantra appears to be a name for a part of the Bṛhadgautamīyatantra. Cf. KṛṣṇaS 106 (p.54). It has been published from Vrindavan by Haridāsa Śāstrī (1979).

35. This verse is found as Rādhākṛṣṇārcanādīpikā, v2. This undated work by Jīva would seem to predate GC.

36. According to the theology of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas, Balarāma is Kṛṣṇa's vilāsamūrti. Cf. KṛṣṇaS, 85 (BhP x.2.5 VT).

37. The *sakhī*'s function is to act as a go-between for lovers. Cf. UN 7.70f, 8.97ff.

38. The word *cidānanda* (Cf. note 27, line 6) rendered literally here as 'spiritual ecstasy' refers to the elements of which the spiritual world is made. This paragraph and the following quotation from the Hāyaśīrṣapañcarātra describe the points of similarity and difference between the material and spiritual elements.

39. The term *bhautika*, rendered here as 'derivates of the material elements', appears to mean 'the same in form as the things of the material world'. The fruits, etc. of Vṛndāvana, though having the same appearance as the fruits, etc. of the world, even to the possession of undesirable elements such as seeds, skins, etc. which cannot ordinarily be relished, in fact are not material and thus are relishable in their entirety. The statement here refers to both the

earthly Vṛndāvana and the transcendent Goloka. Only the first two lines of this quotation appear in the original text of GC; the entire quotation is found in KṛṣṇaS and several of the printed editions of GC.

40. The importance of this verse to Jīva is shown by his usage of it to conclude the GC (ii.37.98).

41. Comp. Sanātana's commentary (VT 14.37) 'Even though all the surrendered souls in the eternal *ITĪ*, which is not revealed on the face of the earth, and we in the non-eternal, experience ecstasy by our respective visions, nevertheless, a 'great amount' of ecstasy (*ānandasandoha*) is experienced through this *ITĪ* which consists of your birth, etc. and is visible to those on this earth. See comments on this verse under 7.23.

Also. Viśvanātha Cakravartī, on the same verse, adds: 'A lamp is not as beautiful in daylight as it is in darkness. Similarly, a diamond does not appear as beautiful in a container of white silver as it does in a container of blue glass, etc. In the same way, the spiritual activities of Kṛṣṇa do not appear as wonderful in the spiritual world of Vaikuṇṭha as they do in the world of material elements, which is dominated by the force of illusion.' Cf. Ch. 7 of this thesis.

42. The commentary moves on to BrS 5.68, i.e. line 7 of the verses cited in §27 above (note 20).

43. This paragraph explains the last phrase of BrS 5.68 cited in §27: *nimeṣārdhākhyo vā vrajati na yatrāpi samayaḥ*.

44. We now move to a detailed commentary on BrS 5.2ff, cited in §29 above.

45. This etymological postscript is evidently produced in an effort to distinguish Kṛṣṇa from Nanda, who is the de facto 'king of the cowherd community'. In itself, the function of the *varaḥ*-suffix is irrelevant to the word, which is a simple genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound of *Gokula* and *Īśvara*.

46. Vaikuṇṭha, the abode of Nārāyaṇa, is generally conceived of as a majestic city. In this phrase, it means simply 'heavenly abode'. This quotation (*Gokulaṃ vanavaikuṇṭham*) is also cited in KṛṣṇaS 106 (p.55); it originates in the Kṛṣṇopaniṣad (v.6). The next paragraph summarizes the statements made about Kṛṣṇa and Gokula in §§41-3.

47. The following section, ending §46, comments on *tatkīñjalkaṃ tadamśānām* [BrS 5.2]
48. This and the following verse contain a type of word play favoured by the author, in which he demonstrates his knowledge of Pāṇinīyan grammar. Cf. KṛṣṇaS 106 (p.50): *tadamśānām tasminn aṃśo dāyo vidyate yeṣāṃ teṣāṃ sajātīyānām dhāma ity arthaḥ*.
49. *tatpatrāṇi śriyām api*. This verse also uses the exact wording of a portion of BrS 5.40, as does v22 below.
50. This is the subject matter of Mādhavamahotsava, Jīva's earliest work (AḌ. 1555). The original source is given there (1.8-9) as the PadP (Kārttikamāhātmya). See also KṛṣṇaS 189 (p.112).
51. Govardhana is called *Haridāsavaryaḥ* in BhP x.21.18. The subsequent paragraph compares the various features of Govardhana to the articles used in the worship of the *arcāvighraha*. The number of articles given here is 21 rather than the usual 16, the classical *ṣoḍaśopacāra*. Cf. HBV.
52. This is a pun on the word *tarāṇipada* which can mean both 'the environs of the sun' or 'the state of being a boat'.
53. Here begins commentary on BrS 5.5b, *caturmūrteś caturdhāma*.
54. Cf. BRS 1.2.285, attributed to the Tantra, *premaiva goparāmāṇām kāma ity agamat prathām//*
55. The *sakhīs* are the girlfriends of the heroine or leading lady in Sanskrit drama. They play a particularly important role in drama connected with Kṛṣṇa. Thus Rūpa Gosvāmī has devoted an entire chapter of UN (8) to describing their activities. The idea that the ecstatic symptoms of the leading ladies (i.e. Rādhā) are experienced by her girlfriends is also found in GLA 11.137 (cited in BRSeṣ. 4.92).
56. Presumably referring to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa exclusively.
57. The term is *nirupadhi*, which here implies that the *sakhīs* have no sexual desire for Kṛṣṇa.
58. Jīva expands on a oft-cited BhP theme. Cf. BhP iii.2.12.
59. The prose and verse here form a single syntactic unit. Thus, one should read, *\*varasudhā madvidhāya svam varṇayitum tṛṇāṃ ya-chaṭi*. In order to keep the prose and verse separate, the translation is less true to the original than might have been possible.

60. The last line (*yaddhāmārtha-suhṛt-priyātmatanaya-prāṇāśayās tat-kṛtē*) is a direct quotation from BhP x.14.35. Jīva refers to this line frequently, elsewhere accommodating it, like here, into a verse in its entirety (GC ii.10v12).
61. *cakṣuṣām cakṣuḥ*. This expression is found in KeṇaU 1.2.
62. Rūpa Gosvāmī envisages groups of women or *yūthas*, like armies, competing with one another for the favour of Kṛṣṇa. They are headed by the *nāyikā* or *yūtheśvarī*, and consist of *sakhīs* of the various types. In theory there can be many such *yūtheśvarīs*, but in practice, only Rādhā and Candrāvalī's *yūthas* are encountered. Cf. UN, ch.6. The reference here is surely to Rādhā.
63. Pointed roofs are topped with a pinnacle made of a number of inverted large jugs with wide necks (*kalāśī*, or here *kumbha*), progressively smaller in size. These are usually made of brass, but here the poet fancifully says they are made of moon-stone.
64. The supreme soul is often compared to a heavenly body, reflected innumerable times in each soul like a container of water. Cf. BhP i.9.42.
65. Lakṣmī is often said to have performed penances in order to take birth in Braj, unsuccessfully. Cf. BhP x.16.36.
66. Cf. MBh, quoted in BRS (ii.5.93).
67. A prayer typifying the spirit of *rāgānugabhakti*, in which one seeks to follow the mood of the eternal associates of Kṛṣṇa in Braj. Cf. BRS i.2.291-4.

## Pūrvacampū, Chapter 2

ŚrīRādhāKṛṣṇābhyām namaḥ.<sup>1</sup>

[1] Atha kathāprethanāya grethanam idam ārabhyate. [2] Svabhajanalasan-  
mānesasanmānadajanmādīlīlābhavyāya bhuvy āvirbhāvitasya tasya nija-  
Vrajalokacakrasya Dantavakram hatavatā ŚrīBhagavatā tatra vigatasarvasoke  
Goloke punar api saṁśleṣaḥ sādḥita iti campūdvayasya pratisampūrti-  
vakṣyamāṇasapramāṇakathālakṣyatayā viviktaṁ eva vyaktīkariṣyate.

Siddhe tatra tu saṁśleṣe kutrāpi rātriviśeṣe śeṣe Golokādvandva-  
mahendradvāri hāri dundubhidvandvam unnanāda. Nādaviśeṣamiṣeṇānandam  
evedam ujjagāreti matvā, loko 'py ujjagāgāra. Na ca sa eva kevalaḥ, kintu  
Kṛṣṇāvalokatṛṣṇayā saha, yathā kamalasamūhaḥ parimaladhārayā. Atha  
nijanija<sup>2</sup>vṛndinaḥ sūtamāgadhavevandinaḥ ŚrīmanNandarājapuravirājamāna-  
br̥ṁhitasim̐hadvāri sarvordhvaṁ vindamānām candrasīlikām adhiruhya,  
nūtanāni PūtanādiDantavakrāntadurbuddhiŚakrāricakravadasambaddhāni  
virudādicchandāṁsi svacchandatayā naṭante ivāparyantaṁ paṭhantaḥ samantād  
eva janasandoham ānandadoham lambhayāmāsuḥ. Sānurāgarāgāvali-  
vibhāgalaṅgimasaṅgītaṅgītalīlākathākulam apy ākalayāmāsuḥ.

[3] Tadā muhur api Harer avadānagānato labdhatoṣapoṣā Ghoṣādhipati-  
dampatimukhāḥ paramasukhād atisastavastrālaṅkārabhāram tebhyaḥ svayam  
īhayā vihāpayāmāsuḥ. Kintu śravaṇe 'pi tr̥ptir na kl̥ptim avāpa, katham vā  
tatrāvaśyam eva vaśanīyā sātīḥ sātīm āsīdatu? Tad anu ca samudbhūta-  
premaraserāśir Vrajavārīrāśiḥ svayam eva nijanijahr̥dayaṅgamavraja-  
maṅgalaśyāmalāṅgasaṅgānataraṅgasaṅghasaṅgitayā viśvavismayakāritām  
saṅgatavān. Tatra ca, gīyamānatayā sannidhīyamānasya tadīyayaśasā  
candramasaḥ samatām anumimīmahe.

[4] Yadā tu ŚrīlaGopālālīlāgānagrahilā mahilā gātum ārabdhās tadā sarva eva  
satṛṇās tūṣṇīm āsan, Kṛṣṇamuralīkākalīm anu kokilā iva. Yad eva gānam  
vaidegdhīdigdhakaṅkanādihaṅkāraṅkārtamanthānenirghoṣaḥ svaratālīdīdānam  
iva kurvāṇaḥ svapoṣaṁ pupoṣa.

<sup>1</sup> C,V drop; <sup>2</sup> C,V read only one nija°.



[5] Tad evaṃ sati, sarvataḥsāreṇa sapramāṇavarṇayitavyānusāreṇāpagatā-  
parapatibhramāḥ sarvā eva Vrajaramā māravāṇadalitamarmāṇas tadekasevā-  
dharmaṃ nijanijaharmyeṣu samam eva labdhāgamanam tam ekam eva  
ramaṇam ramaṇatām gamayamānā na virāmam icchantīti sakhībhir eva  
prābhātikarāgamayagānanarmanā tasmād uparamayāmāsire.

[6] Tac ca na sahasā, kintu kramaśaḥ. Tathā hi,

Bāhū viślathitau, ślathīkṛtam uro, vaktraṃ daracyāvitaṃ,  
talpād utthitam ekadā vinimayenālambya yatnān muhuḥ/  
yābhyāṃ sparśasukhāgraho 'pi damitas tēbhyāṃ Haripreyasī-  
vyaktibhyāṃ bata soḍham atre sahasākraṣṭum na drṣṭiṃ mithaḥ//1

[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

[7] Hanta, tāsū ca sarvādhikā yā tu Rādhikā, sā khalu tadārambhasambhavād  
eva prāyaḥ sarvadā mūrcchām ṛcchati. Yatra ca,

"Pūrvānurāgalitām mama lambhane 'pi  
lokāpavādadalitām atha madviyuktau/  
dāvanalajvalitajātivanīsadṛkṣām

etām katham katham aham bata sāntvayāmi?"//2 [vasantatilakā]  
iti sadā bhāvayantaṃ, samprati cātivyagrībhavantaṃ Vrajayuvārājāṃ prati  
samāśvāsanayā viśvāsanayā ca tām vyavahitām kurvāṇāḥ, prāṇatulyāḥ  
paramālyas tadīyatāmbūlodgārādīsamvalanayā cetanām ālambayanti; samantād  
api sāntvitām atha pṛcchanti ca, "Hanta, keyam tava rītiḥ?" iti.

[8] Sā punaḥ sāśram āśrāvayati,

"Na mūrkhadhīr asmi na vā durāgrahā  
śarīrabhogeṣu na vātilālasā/  
kintu Vrajādhīśasutasya te guṇā  
balād apasmāradaśām nayanti mām//3 [vaṃśasthaviḷā]

[9] "Kiṃ kurmahe? Yayā marmapīḍayā kvacana ca śarma na labhāmahe  
vayam" iti.

[10] Atha punar vyākulībhavanti sā śubhṛdanti rasāntareṇa tēbhiḥ  
sāntvitīkriyate. Taddine tu tad idam ācacakṣe: "Aśeṣamaṅgala-  
saṅgatācaraṇānām ŚrīVrajesāgrhiṇīcaraṇānām ādeśapraveśa āsīt, 'Hanta, sarvā  
evārvācīnavayasāḥ samāgatāḥ, matprāṇādhikā Rādhikā katham adhunāpi  
nāgatā?' iti." Tad evam avadhāritavati ŚrīRādhāpi sāvadhānībhavanti,

śīghram eva prātar aucitīm vidhāya, sarvābhir evopaśāyaviśāyavalitābhiḥ  
kalyaṁ śkalya militābhir LalitāViśākhādisakhibhiḥ sārddham ŚrīVrajādhīśvaryā  
dhāma jagāma. Gatvā ca, paramakāntasvakāntikendalībhir antimagatābhīra-  
kāntāḥ samantād apy antarbahir api devayāmāsa. [11] Yatra tāsām  
nirnameṣatā ca jātā. Sambhāvanāvatī bhāvanā ceyam,

“Adhividhu nīlāmbujayugam api tilapuṣpaṁ sabandhūkam/  
yasyām kanakalatāyām seyam Kṛṣṇāṅganā citram//”<sup>4</sup> [upagītī]

[12] Atha bhaktitṛṣṇaśmanāḥ Kṛṣṇajananīm anu mānenīyatayā nijam ānenam  
avanīm avanīya nanāma. Sā ca tām sahasabhyānandam abhyanandat. Tatra ca,

Asau caraṇayor natā śirasi hastam ādhatta sāpy  
asau bhuvi tathā sthitā kacam ajighrad utthāpya sā/  
asau kucitavigrahaḥ bhujatale nidhāyātha sā  
sabāṣpakam udaikṣata dvayam aho dvayoḥ kiṁ bruve?//<sup>5</sup> [prthvī]

[13] Tad evam api Rohiṇīprabhṛtīnām ādarāya bhṛtanibhṛtasaṅkocām  
ālocayantī rājñī tām anujajñe, “Putri, vandasva vandanayogyāḥ” iti. Sā ca  
ramyaguṇā purunipuṇā bhaktipūrataḥ sarvā eva gurūr avanamya dūradeśa  
eva niveśam<sup>1</sup> vinatavaktram āsasāda. [14] Atha Lalitādis tadālipālir api tāsu  
guruvanitāsu tadvad eva kṛtavarivasyā tasyā eva sadeśam upaviveśa.

[15] Tataś ca ŚrīRāmaprasūḥ spaṣṭam ācaṣṭa, “Vrajeśvari, sarvasukharohiṇī  
Rohiṇītārādyā vidyate. Tad ādiśyatām: iyaṁ sadbhāvadhūtasarvadiśyavadhū-  
naipun्यā, pākādisādguṇyāya pūrvam eva Somābhānulatayā yā rasavatīm  
pratītāḥ samam anyā dhanyā Maṅgalādyā maṅgalārāmaRāmānujarāmās, tathā  
yāḥ parāperenāmānaḥ kalyāṇārāmaRāmarāmāḥ samantād apy amūr amūm  
evānuvantantām. Lalitādyāḥ<sup>2</sup> punar asyāḥ kāyanikāyarūpā eveti, na  
sāhāyakāyāsmābhir niyojanīyāḥ.”

[16] Atha tayāpi tathādiṣṭā śiṣṭāṅganāganaganeyaguṇā śiro namayitvā  
sakhīṣu tirobhūya tatkālam eva cacāla.

[17] Atha prasaṅgam anyam api saṅgatam prathayāmaḥ. [18] Atha dhṛta-  
praṇayanayasārā vayasā mahasā sahasā ca kṛtasavayasā<sup>3</sup> sabhānukārāḥ,

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<sup>1</sup> C.V viniveśaḥ; <sup>2</sup> az \*valitālyah; <sup>3</sup> D,P,V add iva.

svakulaparamparāgataparicārakaśūdrābhīrakumārāḥ svāvasaravisaraprāptā-  
vasaratayā prātar eva mohanāgāradvāresāram īvrajantaḥ samam virājante  
sma.

[19] Tataś ca snānīyādiramyakeraśaiḥ taiḥ kiṅkareir anugamyatayā sa tu  
varakīśoravayā nikhilatrātā Rāmabhrātā prātarācārācaraṇāya sadeśam  
upaveśapradeśam pūrvam eva viveśa.

[20] Tatra ca narmamayaśarmadapraṇayā vaiśyābhīratānāyāḥ sakḥāyāḥ  
Subalādayāḥ samam eva samagaṃsata. Taiḥ saṅgataiḥ saha tu vilamba-  
kathantā kathāvalambena mithaḥ parihāṣavilāśakautukī varāsanam adhyāśāmāsa.

Te<sup>1</sup> sarve premṇā paricaryāyām param āścaryacaryāḥ, yataḥ

Ādeyādhārādibhāvena bhedaḥ

prāṇā bhinnāḥ prāṇināḥ santi bhinnāḥ/

ye Kṛṣṇādyāḥ snigdhātāśarmabhājāḥ

prāṇā jñeyāś te mithaḥ prāṇināś ca//6 [śālinī]

[21] Prabhāte ca prabhāte, tādṛśānām madhye tādṛśasya tasya tu,

Śrīmadvaktrakarāṅghridhāvanakalā tailādibhir mardanam

snānam gātramṛjāṃśukadvayadhṛtiḥ saccāmapuṇḍrekriyā/

prātar dharmagakarma divyavasanaṃ ratnāvalīmaṇḍanam

vaṃśīśṛṅgaśikhandaṇḍakalanā maccittam ākarṣati//7

[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

[22] Teṣu ca keṣucid aṅgasevakeṣu viśeṣaḥ śeṣavacasām api Śeṣasya  
viṣayāyate. Yataḥ,

Saurabhyam śirasah padāmbujayugam bāhuprasārādikam

labdhvā<sup>2</sup>śleṣaviśeṣatām dadhati ye Kṛṣṇasya tṛṣṇānvitāḥ/

vātsalye pariṣevane sakhipade kānta<sup>3</sup>sthitāḥ apy amī

saukhyam yat tad aśeṣam eva dadhate premṇā tadabhyāṅgināḥ//8

[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

[23] Atha tasmāt taiḥ parivītaḥ pītavasanaḥ svāṅganapraveśam aṅgīkurvan  
sadeśasamavayaskābhiḥ samam, jananyā jīvanyāsa iva pratimayā labhyate sma.  
Tatra ca,

<sup>1</sup> C,V add ca; <sup>2</sup> C,V labdhvā<sup>2</sup>; <sup>3</sup> a2 kāntā<sup>3</sup>.

"Āgacchaj, jayatād aho madhuratā, nirmaññādravyatām  
gaccheyam, mama dṛgdvayasya bhavatād atrātipakṣmāsthitiḥ/  
itthaṃ kañjavilocanasya kalayann ākasmikīm āgatīm  
citram citrajanah sadā bhajati' ced āsām tu kiṃ tad bruve?//9

[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

[24] Atha guravaś ca tā rajanijanitatadvirahajvālākālitāsnehapūravaśatayā  
muhur agurutām āśādyānevadyāmodam āviṣkurvatyaḥ pūrvadīṇmukhamahā-  
mandirālindād avateruḥ. Tatra pūrvaṃ mātā vatsam iva mātā vatsam  
militavati, yatra Rohiṇy api rohiṇīvad ūhāñcakre lokacakreṇa. [25] Śrī-  
Govindaś ca dvayor api tayoh padāravindaṃ kramād vanditvā nanditvā,  
mānyānām anyāśām api yathānyāyaṃ mānam unnamayāmāsa.

[26] Tadaiva ca ŚrīNīlāmbaram anu samāgatikarāḥ sahacarāḥ Śrīdāma-  
Sudāmādayaḥ ŚrīHarisahavihārivitātayas, tathā sarvavidyāpaṭayaḥ purohita-  
baṭavas, tathā kāścid anyāś tatprasūsamānamānanīya<sup>2</sup>tanmānanīyādi-  
varāṅganāsu ganyāś, tathā sarvasukhadohāḥ svasṛsvasrīyādisnigdha-  
sambandhinīsandohāś tatpradeśaṃ viśanti sma. [27] Vāraṃ vāraṃ pratyekam  
utthānādyabhāvārthaṃ tathaiva hi sarvair maryādā paryāpitāsti.

[28] Atha khalu siddhānām pariṣadi Yogamāyeti prasiddhā bhaktisiddhānta-  
sadbhāvarate ŚrīmadBhāgavate ca *yogamāyām upāśritaḥ* ity ādinā bhagaval-  
līlādhikāritayā siddhā svarūpaśaktiḥ svābhiviyaktim antareṇa rūpāntareṇa  
tāpasīti vyavasīyate. yasyāḥ Paurṇamāsīti nāmavyābhāravayahāra<sup>3</sup> āsīti.  
Tasyām āgatāyām agarveṇa sarve 'pi sasambhramam abhramam namaḥ samam  
akurvata. Tayā cānandād āśīrbhiḥ sphuṭam abhyanandiṣata.

[29] Atha yaś ca sarvavidyāniṣṇātas tasyāḥ snātakaḥ ŚrīKṛṣṇasya rahasya-  
narmaṇi baddhatṛṇatayā tadvayasayatām vaśyatām āninye, yaś cāvidūṣaṇa-  
bhāvarūṣita eva Devarṣiprakṛtitayā tasya kautukakṛte vidūṣakatām api  
vibhūṣayati sma, sa khalu Madhumaṅgalanāmā narmaṇā marmasparśikutuka-  
racanair āśīrvacanaiḥ sarvān amandam ānandayāmāsa, nidhim iva Hari-  
sannidhim cāneñca.

[30] Tatas ca parasparaṃ karabaddhakarau sitāsita-kumāravarau mātṛbhyām

1 a1,a2,V read bhavati; 2 a2 saṃmānanīya; 3 a1 drops 'vyavahāra.

ubhayataḥ prasthataḥ pradattahastau smitavaśamvadavadanaśastau mandam  
mandam tad evāmandam alindam avindatām. [31] Suvarṇasvarṇakirmīrita-  
prayatnanirmītaprthuratnapīṭham abhi prthak prthaṇ niviṣṭavantau  
sudhāvṛṣṭim iva ca sarveṣūpaviṣṭeṣu dṛṣṭim sṛṣṭavantau.

[32] Atha pratimāsyā seyam āsyā janmatārāgamanamayīti ŚrīYaśodāyaśodātus  
tasya tadā tadācāryāṇām arbhakā darbhakāgrīyanīrābhīṣekam vivekātireka-  
vantaḥ śantamamantrapravacanasaśanayā racayāmāsuḥ. Tataś ca,

Mentrā gītāni vādyāny api ca jayaravāḥ Kṛṣṇaśobhāś tadīya  
preyovargāticitrapraṇayavilasitānīti parvaṇy amuṣmin/  
pratyekam tat tad ekībhavanam api tadā prāpa rucyatvam uccaiḥ  
śṛṅgārādyaś raso vā kavikṛtīr athavā śāḍavo vāpi yadvat//10

[śrāṅgdharā]

Tasmin nīrājanirmāṣicanabhavikapadārthālisamsparsānānām  
ājyādarśādidarśadvijānījanatārcaḍdikānām śubhānām/  
Kṛṣṇo gotrādir āsīt pravaravaradaśām tāni jagmuḥ samantād  
yebhyo 'nye ca prathante śubhaśatanivahasyānvayāḥ sarvaloke//11

[śrāṅgdharā]

Brāhmaṇyas tv adhikacam Acyutasya dūrvā  
pūrvāṇi nyadhiṣata tatra maṅgalāni/  
yady āśīrvacanam ihārurodha bāṣpaḥ  
kalyāṇam bata bhavatān manorathasya//12 [praharṣiṇī]

Dṛgambhaṣṭambharuddhāpi kurvatī tilekam prasūḥ/  
kuryāt kiṃ yadi sāhāyyam nākarīṣyata Rohiṇī?//13 [anuṣṭubh]

Mātuḥ pitus tasya ca tatra mātr  
bhāvanvitābhrātrvadhuśvasṛṇām/  
upāyanam puṇḍram itīyatī gīr  
āsīt tadīyārthacaye mitir na//14 [upajātī]

[33] Atha prācīgatadvitīyaprakoṣṭhād āgamya ramyakumārāḥ kaścid ācaṣṭa,  
yaḥ khalv etadartham eva pūrvam viśṛṣṭaḥ. "Śrīman Vrajarājakumāra,  
ŚrīmadVrajarājesabhāyām sarva eva parvaṇīha samvalitā vartante, kintu  
bhavadyaṭrādvāramātrāvalokināḥ. Yāni ca sarvārādhanaadhanāni Śrīmad-

Vrajarājacaraṇarājīvapariśarāya sajjitāni bhavadvisarjitāni tām̐būla-  
dukūlādīni, tāni cādhunāpi mūrdhānam dhunānā nopayujjate sma.”

[34] Atha so 'pi tad avadhārayann eva, tad evādhārayan mātaram anu  
kātara iva niṣkramaṇaklamasamanujñāyācanam anusandhāya, praṇāmādinā  
Paurṇamāsīm uṭajagṛhāya vihāya, ŚrīRāmam agre vidhāya, Śrīdāmādīn parito  
nidhāya, paścimāgrimapremadolāyamānasvāntas tato niṣkrāntaḥ; sahasā mahasā  
vṛtaḥ sabhyālibhir abhyālokaḥkare.

[35] Atha sodita'meghās cātakā iva, labdhacandrās cakorā iva, saṅgatajalā  
jalaṇamāna iva, samunmīlitaḥprāṇā dehā iva, sarve 'py ānandagarveṇa  
vandivṛndādikalitakolāhalena ca samam eva samuttasthuḥ. [36] Kintūt-  
kalikākalitamanaso 'pi aśvasvamarādayāparyāpitā iva labdhastambhārambhās<sup>2</sup>  
tatra tatra kevalam sthitavantaḥ. Yukta eva ca tat proktaḥ, yatas tasmin  
khalv asmākaḥ ŚrīNandavrajarājagrāme tattatpremaśiṣaḥItinItir eva  
grāmaṇīr iva vartate. [37] Tathā hi, kadācit kasyacit kañcit prati vacanam,  
“Tau śubhradyutinīradadyutiḥarāv indrāśmahemaprebhā  
hṛdvastrau sitakañjanīlekamaleśīcoricārvānanau/  
cañcatkhañjanagañjanākṣiyugalau dantīndrajīdvikramau  
tān astambhayatām janān yad akhilāms tan mitra citraḥ na hi//”<sup>15</sup>

[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

[38] Yadā ca dakṣiṇe sarvānarvācīnamāhātmyaguravo guravo babhūvuḥ; te ca  
sarve pūrvapūrvataḥ pūrvajā eva tasthuḥ. Yatra purohitāḥ svayam  
anargham arghyam dadhānāḥ servataḥ pūrve bhavantaḥ svanāmaniruktim iva  
vyaktīkurvanti sma, “Puro dhīyante” iti. Tad etad api yuktaḥ, śleṣeṇa ca  
prathamato hitās ta eva hi bhaṇyante.

[39] Atha tādṛśanījakulacandrapremānandāmṛtatundilitatayā kila Śrīmad-  
UpanandābhinandaNandaSenandaNandanādināmānaḥ prabalanandanasneha-  
madhura dhāmānas, tān anu ca premṇā samyagbandhutābandhinaḥ  
sambandhinaḥ parāparanāmānas tanmilanam anusandhāya sthitāḥ.

[40] Atha vāme<sup>3</sup> 'pi tathaivālaghupremṇā laghūbhavanto<sup>4</sup> laghaveḥ samava-

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<sup>1</sup> a<sub>1</sub> athāsādita<sup>2</sup>; <sup>2</sup> C,V add ŚrīmanNandādayaḥ; <sup>3</sup> D,P,V read Rāme; <sup>4</sup> a<sub>1</sub>  
laghu<sup>3</sup>, D,V read as 'alaghū<sup>3</sup>.

tasthire. [41] Sarve caite yathāpūrvam yathāyatham sarvacittārāmeṇa Rāmeṇa saha hāriṇā Hariṇā militāḥ samunmīlitabhāvā babhūvuḥ, candramasam vindamānāḥ kumudasandohā iva.

[42] Tataś ca kṣaṇakatipayād akṣiṇānandavṛndārpitasatvaraviṣṭvaramohād unmagneṣu teṣu tadīyaśrīmanmukhanīrikṣaṇalagneṣu Śrīmān Vrajarājas taṃ vyājahāra, "Tāta, tavādya vidyate sarvasampanmayī janmatārā. Tasmād Vrajadhāma svayam ā madhyāhnam adhyāsitavyam. Gosambhālanapālānāya punaḥ prātar eva mayā samayāsthītā yuktā niyuktāḥ santi. Svayam atha prathama<sup>1</sup> upaviśya dṛśyatām svajanavrajah" iti.

[43] Atha so 'py avācīnatāsamīcīnaśiraskatayā rājñām tām ājñām mālām iva śirasi nidhāya, ŚrīRāmamukhatāmarasam avadhāya, svajanavrajasahitatayā sahitaṃ adhiruhya catuṣkadeśagataṃ puṣkalam upaveśaveśma valitasmitaṃ tārāpatir iva pūrvaparvatam adhyāsitavān. Viprādisampradānatayā yathāyatham gavādikam api sātavān. Tataś ca tasminn upaviśya, punaḥ tāmbulādisamvibhāgasukhasamvalanayā sambandhibhir mitho narmasamvādasambandhisandhikutūhalaṃ kalayāmāsa.

[44] Muhūrtād atha kaścid antaḥpurasāraḥ kumāraḥ samāgamya sāmīyenopaviṣṭayor jyāyāḥkaniṣṭhayoḥ sambandhinivahārādhanāya dhṛtatṛṇayoḥ ŚrīRāmaKṛṣṇayoḥ karnābhyaṇam lagitavān, tābhyām anumataḥ punaḥ tadrūpetaś citrībhavituḥ ŚrīmadVrajadharitrīśituḥ. Tena ca "Adya Śrīvatsavatsaprasādalabdhasya vatsasya śubhasampanmayajanmarkṣam" iti vinaya-sandhena kevalenāñjījalibandhena vyākṣanayā bhojanāya yācitāḥ santo<sup>1</sup> ti-santoṣād vyativikṣya yugapad utthitavantaś cāntaḥpuraṃ.

[45] Athāgrataḥsareṇa tena sukumāreṇa kumāreṇa prāṅgaṇataḥ pratiruddhasaṅgamanāsu śuddhāntasaṅgatāṅganāsu praviṣṭāś te Kṛṣṇajidiṣṭā grhādiśobheḥkṣaṇasprhātaḥ kṣaṇam āviṣṭāḥ, kramaśo bhojanālayāya kalayāmbabhūvuḥ.

[46] RāmaKṛṣṇau tu gavālokanasatṛṇau tadarṅgaṇasaṅgatamervākāramahāgāraṃ āruhya, mahīmahitamāheyīsthāneṣu pīyūṣavṛṣṭīr iva dṛṣṭīr

<sup>1</sup> C,V prathamata.

vidhāya, vidheyair vidūradesān nidesāyāmśatuḥ, “Bho bho gopagaṇḍḥ, vartmanaḥ savyāpasavyayor eva pātavyā gavyāḥ” iti.

Athāvatīrṇābhyām ābhyām abhyāgatair api,  
 Agurujagurudhūpaḥ śubhratā ratnapīṭhā-  
 valimadaśanapātrāśaṅgibhṛṅgāśaṅghaḥ/  
 niyatasacivalokaḥ sāderaprema cāśīd  
 iti diśi diśi dharmyaṁ bhogaḥarmyaṁ vyaloki//16 [mālinī]

“Aṅghrikāśānamārjane iha bhavān jīyād” iti prārthanā,  
 samyag vijānam antarā pramadaśūhāsaprasūśūktayaḥ/  
 rucyānām pariveśaṇam Muraripor dr̥ṣṭiprasādāmṛtam  
 yatraivam suhr̥dām sabhojanavidhiḥ sūte na kiṁvā sukham?//17  
 [śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

[47] Tatrānupayukṭayukṭabhoktṛṇām viprāṇām pañktir ekatra, sagdhi-  
 digdhānām asandigdhasnigdhānām vaiśyavaṁśyānām anyatra. Tatra tatra ca  
 vṛddhamadhyamanavayauvanānām pṛthak pṛthag iti viyutāv api, mitho  
 yathāśvam parihāsavilāśena samyutir iva vīkṣyate sma. Na ca kevalena tena,  
 tadavalocanasamunmīlitalocanarocanavilāśālāpalīlārasavāridher  
 Vrajendrakulasudhānidher asakṛd anubhavayaugapadyena ca.

[48] Yatra ca sa eva sarvarasasatram amatram ekam āśīd. Tatra ca,  
 Parasparasya sphuṭahāsavārtām  
 sañcārayantaḥ parito Harau ca/  
 śaṇḍām rasānām pariveśakā ye  
 te septamasyāpi babhūvur atra//18 [upejāti 11]

[49] Yatra parihāsabījaṁ ca pṛthagdigdeśalokaprasiddhānām atraiva  
 cānyathāśiddhānām temanādīnām nāma nāmnaṣṭum śakyate, nāmāntareṇa  
 vāmnaṣyate, sadāmnāyajanmabhir api bandhusembandhibhir ity ādi lakṣaṇam  
 lakṣyate.

[50] Kiṁ ca, tatra Madhumaṅgalaḥ kautukena kenacit prahitena nijahitena  
 ŚrīmadVrajaśam sandideśa. “Rājavara, tad etad asmākaṁ brāhmaṇā  
 nivedayanti: ‘Śaukṣānāmādhyaṁ prathamam eva janma tāvad asmādr̥śām  
 bhṛśaśarmaṇe cakṛpe. Yad dvitīye sāvitrākhye janmani labdhasvakulaśīya-



vaiśyadvijatayā rājanyavad brāhmaṇabhojyapakvānnair api bhavadbhir vidūravibhaktapaṅktāḥ eva niveśitā vayeṃ na pratīmaḥ, tatra kiṃ kiṃ pariveśitam atra vā kiṃ iti. Tasmād goṣṭhādhipatinā svadṛṣṭiniṣṭaṅkitī- kṛtāny asmatkṛte punaḥ prathamataḥ sarvāṇy eva temanāni pariveśyantām. Yāny eva Vārṣabhānavyādisvāhastaprayastatayā paktāni paramaśastāny Uttaratāpanyanusāreṇa pūrvam Durvāsasāpi krodhadurvāsanām nirvāsayatā prasādam api bhāsayatā rasānayaḥbhyastānīti nikhilamiṣṭatāviśiṣṭatayā kila vartmany eva pariveśakais coraṃ coram urvaritāni, parāṇy api dṛśaiva bhuktapūrvāni santi, tāni ca bhuktvā Vaiṣṇavayajñīya śrutismṛtivyahitahita- pratīkāramayaṃ daikṣasamākhyam tṛtīyam api janma drutam urīkariṣyate' iti."

[51] Tad etad ākalayya kalitam hāsakolāhalaṃ, Gokulakuleśvarī grhād avakalayantī svayam analapakvatulitāni sūryapakvāni bahūny anupabhukta- carāṇi vihāpayāmāsa, yena bahulam eva sahāsakutūhalaṃ nikhilāḥ kalayām- babhūva.

[52] Tad evam udarapūraṇamāstreṇa tṛptā, na tu tattadbahularasapūra- kutūhalena, natarām tattadānandamūlena sadānukūlapīṭadukūlena prati- rucināvanavāsyamānatāhitatrāyatā, tathāpi balād iva parimalaramaṇīyam ācamaṇīyam dattam. Gatyantareṇāsamāpanīyasprhaṇīyatā<sup>1</sup> hi tatra brhatī. Tatas ca,

Divyatāmbūlacārcikya- vestramālyavibhūṣaṇaiḥ/

arcitā bandhavaḥ sarve dakṣiṇābhis ca bhūsurāḥ//19 [anuṣṭubh]

[53] Lakṣitāyām ca dakṣiṇāyām, Madhumaṅgalaḥ sa tu narmaśarmāmṛtam adugdha. "Bho Vrajamahanīyāḥ, nāsyām akṣiṇāyām api dakṣiṇāyām Irṣayā vayeṃ vīkṣaṇīyāḥ. Bhavatām bhujjānānām ekaikavyaḥjanamūlyatulya- tayāsmākaṃ samastāpi sā na praśṭāvayati."

[54] Tad evam bahalahāsakolāhalaḥkutūhale nivṛtte piteram upetya sarvasukhapālāḥ ŚrīlaGopālāḥ śanaiḥ sanim praṇayan savinayam ālāpa, "Arvāḡ eva sarvān ādāya sabhālayavalayaṃ svayam tatrābhavantaḥ samayantu. Vayeṃ tu ŚrīRāmaDāmaSudāmādayaḥ samāgataprāyāḥ." Tad evam mātrgrham

<sup>1</sup> C 'sprhayatā

upetya tām apy uvāca, "Mātar, mātṛṇām sambhālanārtham anuyāstṛṇ asmān anumanyasva."

[55] Mātā ca kṣaretkṣīrakulakucamukulam ālalāpa, "Āyusman, yuṣmadekaprāṇā vyaṃ, tasmān na vilambanīyam" iti.

[56] Tataś ca tasyāḥ savayasah pravayasas ca sarvāḥ saṅghasah sāsram ūcuḥ, "Vatsa, nāmaiva tē mātaraḥ, eṣā tu tava mātāiva, tasmād asyāṃ katham na vilakṣaṇaṃ pakṣapātam āpātayasi?" Sa ca natavadanaḥ sāsrasmitavācam uvāca, "Mātaraḥ, kiṃ kurmaḥ? Tās tu paśujātayo na vivekam ekam api labhante, yato māṃ vinā tṛṇam api na tṛṇvanti<sup>1</sup>."

[57] Mātovāca, "Samyag āha vatsaḥ, yato dharma evāsmākaṃ marmabhedī babhūva, yeṣāṃ dhanāni tanayās ca sadā vanāni nilayān kurvanti."

[58] Kṛṣṇaḥ sahāsam<sup>2</sup> āha sma, "Mātar, atra vane na ko 'pi trāsah. Sa tu samūlakāsam kaṣitānām Keśiprabhṛtīnām saṅgata eva gataḥ."

[59] Mātovāca, "Tarhi kim ākarnyate, yad adyāpi kiccit teṣāṃ suddhatyaṃ vidyate, pretānām api tattadākāratayā sadyaḥ pretatāṃ prāptānām iva."

[60] Kṛṣṇaḥ sahāsam<sup>2</sup> āha sma, "Mātar, na te pretajātitām avāptāḥ. Kintu, bhavaccaraṇareṇugareṇagunitabhūmim anu maraṇapratāpavargād apavargam eva gatāḥ. Vayaṃ tu māyāmayatatpratīkṛtiprapaṇcisaṇcayam aṇcantah sukhasantānāya madhye madhye līlām adhyasyāmaḥ; yathā *nilāyanaiḥ setubandhair markaṭotplavanāḍibhiḥ Kauśalyeyalīlām*."

[61] Tataś ca sarvāsu gatasandehāsu snehātīsayāt Kṛṣṇamātā savyena pāninā prṇtham, apasavyena cibukaṃ sprṇtvā Kṛṣṇajyeṣṭhaṃ prati sabāṣam ācaṣṭa, "Vatsa Nīlāmbara, taveyam ambā mama samakṣaṃ bālyād eva tvayi nātīva vātsalyam ullāsayati, kintu svayam udāsīnavad āsīnā bhavati. Tat khalu mama tārāyaṃ katham iva vairalyāya kalyatām<sup>3</sup>? Tasmād aham eva tvām upadiśāmi: Pītāmbareṇa samam avilambam evāmbanīyaṃ Vrajavartma" iti.

<sup>1</sup> a1,a2,C have tṛṇvanti; <sup>2</sup> C,V sasmitam; <sup>3</sup> a1,C kalyatām.

[62] Atha Rāmānujaṃ hitavatī Rohiṇy abhihitavatī, "Tāta, Yaśodāmātā', bālyād eva lālyabhāvān mātur upadeśaṃ jātu na ca manyase. Mama tu taṃ na matāntaram ātenoṣi. Tataḥ sakṛd api mama nideśaṃ asakṛd iva manyasva. Mātur manastāpavistārān nistārāya nijavadanāṃśusudhāṃ vistārāya tvaritam" iti.

[63] Atha tāsāṃ ceraṇapātāceraṇāya kṛtarocane nirmalakamalalocane sarvābhīr anarvācīnābhīḥ saha grhaṃ hitvā tatpāṇiṃ grhītvā prāṅgana-saṅgitāṃ gatāyāṃ Gopapatipativratāyāṃ, sarvataḥ śreyasyas tatpreyasyaḥ sagavākṣabhittibhittīkṛtanijavilokanā vilokayāmāsuḥ. Tathā hi,

Autsukyaṃ priyamādhurīmadhumadaṃ premātipātābhramaṃ  
viśleṣāgamabhītim apy anugatā lajjātiparyākulāḥ/  
gocārāya vanāya gacchati Harau tasyāṅganānāṃ gaṇāś  
citrāṇīva nirīkṣya tasthur abhito dvitrakṣaṇaṃ bhittiṣu//20

Tatra sati,

[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

Acyutasya nayanadvayam āsāṃ  
trṣṇaḥ apy atihriyā nimimīla/  
asya mānasam amūr atigūḍhaṃ  
paśyatīti milituṃ tad ivecchu//21 [rathoddhatā]

Yadā ca tāsāṃ sphuraṇaṃ jagāma ten-  
manas tadāśaṅkata tāsū Rādhayā/  
"Aho gurūṇāṃ pureto vikāritāṃ  
labheya cet kiṃ karavaitarāṃ" iti//22 [vaṃśasthaviḷā]

Tatra mātrgeṇataḥ krama<sup>2</sup>pūrvāṃ  
prāpya yaṃ Bakaśamaṇaḥ samanujñāṃ/  
ambakāny aharata pratibimba-  
vyājataḥ svatanugāny akhilānāṃ//23 [rathoddhatā]

[64] Athāmeradurlabha-cchatracāmarapaṭapuṭa-tāmbūlasamputādighaṭitekarāḥ savayasaḥ karmakerāḥ ŚrīRāmaDāmādhībhīḥ saha gacchantāṃ tam anvagacchan.  
Atha tatabhāyāṃ paramasabhāyāṃ pīṭmukhalokān sphuradevalokān/

<sup>1</sup> D,P,V add visarga; <sup>2</sup> az reads sa tu.

sukhayitukāmaḥ sahasakhiRāmaḥ samadhuraveśaḥ sapadi viveśa//24

[kusumavicitrā]

Tattadvṛndaiḥ kṛtapariveśaḥ kṣaṇIprṣṭhasthitavidhur eśaḥ/

kramato drṣṭibhramaṇābhreṣa- sthitikṛtam akhilān api viśiśeṣa//25

[mātrāsamaka]

rahitanimeṣaprathitonmeṣa- svakadr̥kpreṣapracitānveśaḥ/

abhavad aśeṣacchavisaviśeṣa- svatanuśleṣaḥ ŚrīHarir eśaḥ//26

[mātrāsamaka]

[65] Tad evaṃ labdhaparamānandamajjaneṣu sarvasajjaneṣu kulaparamparā-  
varāvāryaḥ kaścana sūtācāryaḥ katicid ātmīyān parivārya peśalaveśau  
kākapakṣakeśau kaucid bālakau purataḥ sandhārya tatra prāṭa, pāṭhayāmāsa  
ca tāv āśīrvādevirudam. Tau ca cātākānām antastaditventam iva sāgarāṇām  
vārinidhim iva, dhanacintācitānām cintāmanim iva, jyotirmaṇḍalānām  
vyomamaṇḍalam iva, teṣām āsrayaṃ tam ekaṃ ŚrīVrajarājakumāram ālokayām  
āsatuh. Tataś ca tau separivāram eva taṃ pārāvārarahitaśobhāvāravārām-  
nidhim nidhyāya kṣaṇakatipayam anudhyāya ca svajanastambhitapatanā-  
rambhau mūrcchāprāyam ṛcchataḥ sma. Tadupariṣṭād eva kathācid  
viśiṣṭatām āviṣṭau sagadgadaṃ jagadatuh, “Jayāśeṣacintāratnanīlaratnākara  
Vrajadharaṇīdhara! Jaya Dharāṇībhārvatāravatīrṇa-dharāṇīdharaśeṣa-  
paryantāśeṣasukhasamāja Vrajayuverāja! Jaya Nijavaṃśāgravraja-kīrtidhvaja-  
samānaśubhradhāma ŚrīBalarāma! Jaya jaya!” iti.

[66] Punaś ca Kamalalocanaṃ vilocantāv ūcatuh,

“Rohiṇyudyadvidhuh pakṣa iva Kṛṣṇaḥ svajanmanaḥ/

So 'yaṃ yaśodānandaḥ saṃ YaśodāNandanandanah//”27 [anuṣṭubh]

[67] Punaś ca sāścaryam,

“Yaśaḥ praśamsanti budhā mudhāgiraḥ

sarvatra śaśvad viśadaṃ bhaved iti/

aho, Yaśodā yad asūta sā yaśas

tat Kṛṣṇarūpaṃ purato vilokyatām//”28 [upajāti 12]

[68] Tataḥ Śrīmān Vrajarājaḥ supralāpaṃ lalāpa, “Sarvasūtacūḍāratna,  
Ratnacūḍa, kāv etau sukumārau kumārau?”

[69] Ratnacūḍa uvāca, "Sarvasampadvirājamāna, ŚrīmadVrajarāja, mama bhāḡineyau."

[70] Vrajarāja uvāca, "Katamāyā bhāḡinyā bhāḡadheyarūpāv etau?"

[71] Ratnacūḍa uvāca, "Asapatnaratnagarbhāpate! Ratnavatyāḥ. Sā caiṣā bhavad-apūrvapūrvapurusaḥpunyadarśanāya kṛtaparāmarśā samāgatāsti. Namaskaroti ceyam."

[72] Vrajarāja uvāca, "Bhāḡini, bhāḡadheyena vardhasva."

[73] Ratnacūḍa uvāca, "Deva, mama bhāḡinīpatir apy ayaṃ Sumatināmā."

[74] Vrajarājāḥ sasmitam uvāca, "Bālye dṛṣṭo 'yaṃ nātIva niṣṭaṅkituṃ śakyate." [75] Taṃ ca satkṛtyuvāca, "Mānya, svayam agrataḥ samagram ehi" iti prṣṭavāṃś ca, "Samprati bhavatāṃ kutra bhavanam?"

[76] Sa uvāca, "Rājavīra, nīradhitīra eva."

[77] Upananda uvāca, "Tarhi dūrād abhyāḡato 'yaṃ abhyāḡataḥ."

[78] Atha vadanāsudhākarāṃśusudhāśnapitadr̥gantāḥ<sup>1</sup> smitemadhurādhara-vṛtakundakorakadantāḥ ŚrīKṛṣṇaḥ satṛṇam iva prṣṭavān, "Kiṃnāmānāv etau?"

[79] Ratnacūḍa uvāca, "Prāṇakoṭinirmāñchanīyanakhakoṭe, Madhukaṇṭha-Snigdhaḥkaṇṭhanāmānau."

[80] Kṛṣṇa uvāca, "Samānanāmānau dṛśyete."

[81] Ratnacūḍa uvāca, "Sahajāv etau sahajāv eva."

[82] Upananda uvāca, "Ratnacūḍa, kiṃ khalu bhavadvidyāṃ anavadyā<sup>2</sup> adhītavantāv etau?"

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<sup>1</sup> a2 'digantāḥ; <sup>2</sup> D,P,V anavadyām.

[83] Ratnacūḍa uvāca, "Atha kim, śkasmikatayā vismāyakaḥ guṇaviśeṣāḥ  
apy anayoḥ staḥ."

[84] Upananda uvāca, "Kau tau?"

[85] Ratnacūḍa uvāca, "Sarvajñatā tadavitā kavita ca." iti. [86] Tataś ca  
sarve sāścaryam paśyanti sma.

[87] Vrajarāja uvāca, "Mānya Sumate, kuta etatprabhābhāvitav etau?"

[88] Sumatir uvāca, "Viśvapāvana, svacchakīrte, prcchyetām etāḥ eva."

[89] Vrajarāja uvāca, "Āyusmantau, yuṣmadvṛttenāsmākaṁ cittam vismayam  
evāviveśa, tasmād apanīyatām ayam."

Tau ca sāñjalivacasā vyānañjatuh, "ŚrīGolokalokadeva, śrīguruprasāda eva  
sarvatra durvāram kāraṇam iti tatrabhavanta evānubhavanti."

[90] Vrajarāja uvāca, "Ke khalv Idṛśamahāmahimānas te?"

[91] Atha tau punar ghaṭitakerapuṭāḥ ūcatuh, "Sugṛhītanāmadheyā  
madvidhabhāgadheyarūpāḥ sarvasukhavarṣi-ŚrīDevarṣicaraṇāḥ."

[92] Atha sarve 'py ūcuḥ, "Tarhi nāścaryam idam."

[93] Punaḥ<sup>1</sup> tāv ūcatuh, "Samprati ca yadupadeśād Vṛndāvanadeśam āgatā  
vayam. Nūnam yatprasādād eva devavargadurgamasamadhigamasya  
bhavābhibhāvabhāvana-bhāvanasya tad etad bhavadīyavaibhavapradeśasya  
praveśe sadeśarūpatām yātāḥ sma." [94] Punaś ca sarve sāścaryam idam  
paśyanti sma.

[95] Tataś ca ŚrīKṛṣṇas cintitavān, "Āṁ āṁ, cirān mamāpy anayor  
āgamanam sphuraṇamayam āsīt" iti.

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<sup>1</sup> D,P,V Punaś ca.

[96] Atha ŚrIKṛṣṇānumatānugatataḥ ŚrIRāmas tu samīpam āgamyā Vrajarājā uvāca, "Bṛhattāta, tayoṛ anayoḥ kautukaṃ draṣṭum utkaṇṭhitāḥ smaḥ."

[97] Tad anumodya punar Vrajarāja uvāca, "Ratnacūḍa<sup>1</sup>, adya dinam āruḍham. Prāghuṇāś ca ta ete ghuṇākṣaranyāyenopalabdhāḥ, tad eṣāṃ ātithyavastubhir avitatham ātithyam evādya vidhīyatām." Pārsavartinaś cādiṣṭavān, "Dīyatām ebhyo varṣaṃ yāvad bhogyā varīyaśī samagrā sāmagrī, sā ca yathaivāsmākaṃ tathaiva. Prātar ārabhya tu sabhyaḥ samāhūyantām kautukāvalokāya<sup>2</sup>."

[98] Atha puraskṛtOpanandeṣu Vrajaṇavṛndeṣu tatra jñāpitanijñāndeṣu tathā teṣu sūteṣu ca kṛtasarvakleśavarjaneṣu bhojyabhogyayogyavastubhiḥ prastutavīsarjaneṣu madhyāhnaḥ so 'yam ahaṇya vyatīta iti rājñe vijñāpya vijñātasakalatattvaḥ Śrīmān Mahāsettvaḥ Śrīpatir api ŚrIRāmādisahitagatis tattannamanādikramān niṣkramya prasthitavān. Tatra ca,

Buddhir eva suhrdām anumene  
taṃ gavānugataye na manas tu/  
sā hi mantresacivaṃ suvicāraṃ  
pāti tat tu rahitārgalakāmam//29 [svāgatā]

Atho vanam prati calitaḥ sahāgrajāḥ  
samitrakaḥ prthu muralīm anādayat/  
yataḥ śrutād bata puratas tu tathuṣṭam  
supūrṇatābhavad atisūnyatānyataḥ//30 [rucirā]

Tadā guruvyavahitam āgatā mudā  
parasparam paśupasutāḥ karair yutāḥ/  
sabhāgatam jahasur adhītya kasyacid  
vacas tadā skhalitam anūdya cāpare//31 [rucirā]

[99] Hāse coparatābhāse Rāma uvāca, "Bhaṅgura, Madhumaṅgala, mātṛbhir asmāsu vinīyamāneṣu bhavān kim avispaṣṭam ācaṣṭa, 'Vrajesvari, kathayiṣyāmy ahaṃ rehaḥ' iti. Kintu tābhir āveśavaśān nāvakalitam."

<sup>1</sup> D,P,V Rāma; <sup>2</sup> C,V 'lokanāya.

[100] Madhumaṅgala uccair vihasya nimīlya ca meunam ālālambe. Kṣaṇād uvāca ca, "Hanta, śantamam api tad vismṛtam iva."

[101] Rāma uvāca, "Priyasakha, śapatham prathayāni<sup>1</sup>, tathyaṁ kathyatām: kim tat?"

[102] Madhumaṅgala uvāca, "Yajñopavītāya śape, nānyathā prathayāni.<sup>1</sup> Yataḥ,

"Dāntena damitaḥ so 'haṁ śamitaḥ śāntacetasā/  
jñaptena jñapitaḥ pūrṇenācāryeṇāsmi pūritaḥ //32 [anuṣṭubh]  
Tena channena cābhūvaṁ chāditānṛtavāk punaḥ/  
katham vā spāśitān kuryām guṇāṁs tān spaṣṭam iṣṭadān//"<sup>33</sup> [anu<sup>1</sup>

[103] "Kintu yuvayor vadhūnām cājñām ājñāya param vijñāpēnīyaṁ tāsū, tan na cen na."

[104] Kṛṣṇa uvāca, "Unmatta, prathamam āvayor āvedaya."

[105] Madhumaṅgala uvāca, "Yadi na khidyāthe."

[106] Ubhāv ūcatuḥ, "Nahi nahi."

[107] Madhumaṅgala uvāca, "Evam uccaiḥkēram api vivakṣāmi, taylor anayor yathāsvaṁ preyasībhiḥ saha sā sā śreyasī vidyā nādyāpi vicchidyamānā vidyate, yan muhur ārabhyata eva vanābhyantare kelikalahapralāpakalāpaḥ" iti.

[108] Tataś ca Kṛṣṇaḥ savyena pāṇinā tadapasavyaṁ bāhuṁ grhītvā dakṣiṇāṅguṣṭhamadhyamābhyāṁ tadedharapuṭaṁ mṛdu niṣpīḍya smayamāna uvāca, "Suṣṭhu ghuṣṭa<sup>2</sup>paṭṭaḍorekeṇa tad idaṁ sīvyate cen, munitām āpadyate viprakīrṇa<sup>3</sup>buddhir ayaṁ yan mitravipraḥ." Madhumaṅgalas tu tadvan mudritamukha evāmbūkṛtānirastagrastavacanatayā vyaktavān, "Tathā ced antarlobhanam anyatra tu durlabhaṁ nijagrāhān matsyaṇḍīkhaṇḍacayam ādāyāḥkhaṇḍakālam eva manmukhaṁ pūrayathaḥ. Tataḥ katham vā kimarthaṁ

<sup>1</sup> C,V prathayāmi; <sup>2</sup> D,P,V ghrṣṭa<sup>2</sup>; <sup>3</sup> C vikīrṇa<sup>3</sup>.



vā vāṇīvyayaṃ karavāṇi? Tad etad api sevanaṃ eva bhāṇyate."

[109] Rāmaḥ sasmitam uvāca, "Utkośaś cāmiṣaṃ eva bhāṇyate, tad api brāhmaṇāḥ kāmayeran?"

[110] Tad evaṃ sakhisabhāṣatsu haṣatsu svayaṃ sa tu narmapaṭur baṭuḥ satṛṣṇaṃ Kṛṣṇaṃ kṣaṇaṃ āliṅgya preṅkholayan prakṛtaṃ jahāṣīti sma.

[111] Atha sarvagunaśāī Vanamāī bahalakutūhalakalitacittatayā calitaḥ, sakhibhir valitaḥ, phalitaśākhīśākhāśikhālālitenaḍdhvanā dhenūr labdhvā veṇudhvanim udbhāvayāmāsa.

[112] Tataś ca dhenūpalakṣaṇatayā sarvāṇi yadākṛkṣanta, tadā śāścaryaṃ nabhasthaḥ kaścid āha sma,

"Sarvaḥ pravāhaḥ sarvatra svānukūlyena karṣakaḥ/  
veṇudhvanipravāhas tu prātikūlyena karṣati."//34 [anuṣṭubh] iti.

Anantaraṃ ca,

Gāvaḥ svān ṛṣabhān, bhujaṅgamabhujāḥ ṣaḍjān, pikāḥ pañcamān,  
anye ca pratipadya tān nijanijān suṣṭhu svarān veṇutaḥ /  
śāścaryeṇa vikarṣaṇaṃ muhur aho moḥaṃ tathā bhejire  
sarve ced asakṛt kva śāntvanavidhiṃ kurvantu ke vā tadā?//35

[śārdūlavikrīḍitā]

Svayaṃ api moḥaṃ bheje yadi nijaveṇudhvanau Kṛṣṇaḥ/  
syād urvaritaḥ ko vā, jīvaḥ sa hi sarvajīvasya//36 [upagītī] iti.

[113] Kintu hanta, veṇuravaśravaṇasukhavistāra eva tatra nistārāya babhūva. Yataḥ,

Mohe 'pi svapnakalitaṃ niśamya muralīkalam/  
parasparaṃ jāgratas te paśyanti sma savismayam//37 [anuṣṭubh]

[114] Tataś ca svasthībhuṭeṣu teṣu samutthiteṣu gāḥ prati prasthiteṣu ca Madhur madhurasmitam uvāca, "Brāhmaṇān prati duranudhyānasya phalaṃ sadya eva jātāṃ nidhyātāṃ. Yad aho mama mūkatvam anudhyātāṃ sarva-madhyam adhyāśīnenaikena, sarvasyaiva tu mūkatvaṃ jātāṃ."

[115] Evam eva tena saha hasantas te Māthuradeśadeśarūpagonideśa-  
vacanatayā,

Sambodhane hihīty ūcuḥ kṣepe jihijihīti tu/  
dhīrītha iti viṣkambhe gāṃ netuṃ Yamunām amī//38 [anuṣṭubh]  
Cokāraṃ pāthasaḥ pāne jhīrikāraṃ viyojane/  
tasmāt payasa utthāne cakrus tiritirīti te//39 [anuṣṭubh]  
Stambhayitvāmbhasas tīre gosāṅkhyā gogaṇān atha/  
sambhālye sambhṛtānandāḥ kṛtasnānādikā jaguḥ//40 [anuṣṭubh]

Prahāpitaṃ pratiśīśu mātṛbhis tadā  
subhojanaṃ surabhitayojanaṃ mudā/  
Hariḥ sakhīn pari pariveśayan hasan  
parīkṣitaṃ sakṛd akṛta svajihvayā//41 [rucirā]

[116] Tatas cācaritācāmaḥ ŚrīdāmaDāmaSudāmaVasudāmādhībhīḥ saha  
karpūrapūrita-khapurānukūlasvarṇavarṇaparṇa-sūbhratāvakīrṇacūrṇamaya-  
tāmbūlapūrṇakapola-lolakunḍalamaṇḍanānanalakṣmīkaś cakṣurvijitanālīkaḥ  
svajanāvalokanābhīkaḥ ŚrīlaGopālāḥ svālayāya cacāla. Yathā,

Śanaiḥ śanaiḥ sarabhasam anyavyanyayā  
sa tarṇayan surabhitṛṇāni saurabham/  
Vrajasthitān prati virahākulībhavan  
Bakāntakaḥ praticalati sma taiḥ saha //42 [rucirā]

Vidhāya gā Gokulasammukhīnā,  
mahātarucchāyam upāśya Kṛṣṇaḥ/  
devopadevastutigītavādyam  
śṛṇvan muhuḥ prāpa tatam Vrajasya//43 [upajāti]

Gīrvāṇair divyayānaiḥ pathi pathi munibhir mantrayogādisiddhair  
gavyābhir ghrāṇadr̥gbhis tadanugatanarair dr̥ṣṭideśe saradbhiḥ/  
goṣṭhasthair unnatasthaiḥ prapīhitavadanaśrīmayūkhaḥ samantān  
netrābjaprāntalakṣmīkalitasukhakulaḥ pūrṇavenur viveśa//44

[srāgdharā]

Hambārāvaḥ paśūnām pramadakalakalaḥ pāśupālyavrajānām  
stotrāsāraḥ surāṇām nigamasamudayāvṛttighoṣas tv ṛṣīṇām/  
itthaṃ sāmṛāviṇāntabedhīrasamadaśām āgate sarvaloke

veṇoḥ sūkṣmo 'pi nādeḥ sa jayati nitarāṃ yaḥ samastam bhinatti//45

[srāgdherā]

[117] Atha vanakulagokulābhyāṃ mithaḥ sukham abhimukham āgatayor mahatāṃ samūhayor mahodadhitulyayoḥ saṅgamaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ; yathā nityam eva tathānubhavināṃ api divaukasāṃ camatkṛtir ajāyata; yatra ŚrīGovinda eva svayam indavati sma, svayam eva ca veṇusikṣayā dhenūḥ pṛthak pṛthag avātastambhat.

[118] Tatra goṣṭhād bahir lambhitamuhurupaṣṭambhānāṃ dohanādikarmaṇā gavāṃ tarṇakādīnāṃ api śarma nirmāya, dugdhāya janān puro vidhāya, savayobhiḥ savayobhir āvṛtau sarveṣāṃ madhyavṛttau suvṛttau gopuram āvrajantau grhāya vrajantau, svakulaYaśodādipurandhrīrājīnīrājītau rājītau lājādibhir abhivṛṣṭau samam eva samastanayanadrṣṭau, goṣṭhābhyantaram praviṣṭau samam eva nijanija-preyasīsamākṛṣṭipaṭudrṣṭiviśiṣṭau nihataḍanujau RāmaRāmānujau caraṇamārjanavījanādibhir viśaśramatuḥ.

[119] Tatra kṣaṇakatipayam jananījanitalālananirmāṇasarmānubhūya, snānadhāmani sambhūya nijasevākṛjjanakāritamajjanādibhiḥ, suveśatayā vibhūya, punar jananīsanīḍam evājagmatuḥ.

[120] Tataś ca sandhyāṃ gamayitvā janakādibhiḥ saha bhojanalīlāṃ janayitvā bahiḥsabhābhāgam āgamyā nānābandhujanatayā samāgamya tadviśiṣṭau sūpaviṣṭau babhūvatuḥ, [121] yatra nānāguṇīśateṣu samāgateṣu tābhyāṃ sukumārātā-prabhūtābhyāṃ kumārasūtābhyāṃ saha Sumati-Ratnacūḍāḥ āvavrajatuḥ.

[122] Tataḥ Śrīmatā Golokasāmrājyavatā bhojanādikaṃ pṛṣṭayos tayor paramahrṣṭayoḥ, ŚrīyutaRāmānujas tu nijānujavad eva tau sūtatanūjāv āhūya bhūyasā snehena sadeśam upaveśayāmāsa. NijaVrajavāsisūtādīnāṃ prabhūtānāṃ bhavyāni kāvyāni tair eva śrāvayāmāsa ca. Tataś ca tau paramahrṣṭau santau svaguṇakalāpam saphalayitum balavad utkaṇṭhitavantau.

[123] Atha preharamātrāyāṃ rātrāv ācaritayātrāyāṃ nanditasarvasamājena ŚrīVrajarājena samajyāpradhāneṣu prātar navyakāvyaśravaṇanimantraṇam

apevarjya visrjyamāṇeṣu<sup>1</sup>, taṃ nijajanakam anujñāpya kanakavasanas tau  
sukumārau sūtakumārau kare grhItvā sprhāntaraṃ hitvā mātṛgrhāntaḥ  
saṅgatavān. Mātaraṃ prati tayoh prasaṅgaṃ saṅgamitavāṃś ca.

[124] Tatas tu tāṃ sarvastutāṃ tau kumārasantau suhasāraṃ sambhavantau  
vividham evaṃ vicāritavantau, "Kim iyaṃ aśya Gokulakulacandrasya  
kṣīraṇīradhigambhīravelā? Kim vā pūrṇatadudayākararākṣākṣatayā  
labdhamadvidhadṛṣṭimelā? Kim vā prācī dig evaṃ ānandanayā racitatanayā?  
Vastutas tu tanayaviśayadayā<sup>2</sup> kila sphuraḍ evaṃ udayatayā śītalīkṛta-  
lokasamudayā" iti.

[125] Atha sā ca paramaramaṇīyacaritā madhureṇa vyavahārādīnābhy-  
avahārādīnā vastrālaṅkāradīnā ca pracurataram eva snehaṃ tayor  
ācaritavatī.

[126] Tatas ca tayor maṅgalāya mātaram āśiṣaś citvā, vāsasam āsādanāya  
cānujñāvitaraṃ yācitvā svayam api snehāveśamayatanndeśavaśatayā  
viśramāya saṃveśaveśma praviśan sarvasukhasāraḥ ŚrīGopādhīpatikumāras  
tau sūtasutau svena yutau vidhāya ŚrīRādhikāśadeśam āsāditau cakāra.

[127] Āsannau ca tau vidyudāvaliṣu tadadhidevatāṃ iva, kamalinīṣu  
Kamalālayām iva, sarvasampattiṣu sadanukampām iva, guṇaśreṇiṣu  
savinayanītim iva, Hariratijātiṣu mahābhāvasampadam iva, nikhilasakhīṣu  
ŚrīRādhām Ikṣāmāsatuh.

[128] Atha tāṃ paśyantāv eva premaveśyaṃ tāv ātmānam ajānantāv ātmanā  
Kṛṣṇa eva sāntvayāmāsa, sāntvitau ca tau taṃ ca tāṃ ca nicāyya  
cintayāmāsatuh,

"Indranīlarucijīvanam mahah

svaṇṇavarṇanīkarākaraṇprabhā/

yac ca yā ca cayanam tayor idaṃ

dvandvam ādirasasārakāraṇam//"<sup>46</sup> [rathoddhatā] iti.

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<sup>1</sup> a2.D visarjyamāṇeṣu; <sup>2</sup> a2 \*viśayatayā.

[129] Atha Kṁsaripuṇā paricāyitayoś ca tayoṛ eṣā sakautukaṁ  
bāladevarayor iva kumāravarayoḥ saśarma sanarma ca puraskāraṁ cakāra.

[130] Tataḥ saṅginaḥ pradāpya mātulaḡṛham eva tau praṣṭhāpya  
ŚrīGovindaḥ svamohanamendiram praviveśa saṁviveśa ca. Tatra,

Āyāte ramaṇe sasambhramam upāgamyāsanādikriyāṁ

ācārya vyajenāḍibhiḥ sveyam asau sevāvadhānaṁ dadhe/

śayyāyāṁ tvaṛitaṁ gate punar iyaṁ līnā sakhīyācitāpy

āsīt "kvāpi kadāpi tatparicitā nāsmī"tived' vyāñjetī//47

[śārdūlavikrīḍita]

[131] Tatra sakhīnāṁ vacanam,

"Adṛṣṭe darśanotkaṇṭhāṁ dṛṣṭe tu tvam apahnutim/

sarvadā kurvati Kṛṣṇe kīdrśīti na lakṣyase//"48 [anuṣṭubh]

Tataḥ sakhībhyāṁ sugṛhītabāhur

nītāpi madhyeḡṛham āyatākṣī/

stambhena bāhyena tathāntareṇa,

kṛtāvalambā cakṛṣṇe priyeṇa//49 [upajāti 11]

Balena kṛṣṭā Hariṇāpy analpaṁ

talpaṁ gatāsīn milituṁ ca lolā/

tathāpi nāyād ṛjutāṁ tu kintu

karākariprāyatayā sasañja//50 [upajāti 11]

Amilenahatḥakṛd yadāmilad vā

Harim atha bhedayiteyam āśu kena/

dvayam api caritaṁ na citram asyā

yad alam asau rasarūpatāṁ ayāsīt//51 [puṣpitāgrā]

ŚrīKṛṣṇa KṛṣṇaCaitanya saSanātanaRūpeka/

Goṇḍa Raghunāthāpta- Vrajavallabha pāhi mām//52

Iti ŚrīGopālacampūṁ anu Golokavilāsavikāśanam dvitīyaṁ pūṇam. Pūṇaḥ  
ŚrīGolokavilāsaḥ.\*

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' D,P,V tad'; \* a1, a2 add ŚrīRādhāKṛṣṇābhyāṁ namaḥ; a2 adds the following  
colophon: Saṁvat 1741 varṣe āṣāḍhe kṛṣṇe pakṣe trayodaśyāṁ ravivāsaṛe  
pūṇam.

[Chapter two

The revelation of Kṛṣṇa's acts in Goloka]

Salutations to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. [1] To begin our story, we will start with the following account. [2] After killing Dantavakra, Kṛṣṇa once again achieved in Goloka, the place which is free from all lamentation, the embrace of the circle of Vraja residents whom he had made incarnate on earth to realize his life's activities from birth onwards, all of which give true honour to those whose minds are eager to worship him. All this shall be revealed with considered judgement as the object of the ensuing narratives in every chapter<sup>1</sup> of these two campūs and the accompanying evidences which supplement them.<sup>2</sup>

At some time after this reunion had been effected, at the end of a certain night, the attractive sound of two kettledrums rose up at the gate of the incomparably great king of Goloka. Thinking that some jollification had awakened in the form of this sound, the people of the town themselves got up. They did not simply rise up alone, as it were, but with a desire to see Kṛṣṇa in their wake, like a lotus garden with its fragrance.

Then, followed by their own accompanists, the bards, panegyrists and heralds climbed to the highest covered porch on the great gate of King Nanda's city and began to freely recite, as if performing, unlimited new verses like *virudas*,<sup>3</sup> etc., about the killing of all the evil demons, from Pūtanā to Dantavakra,<sup>4</sup> and by so doing brought gifts of joy to everyone all on all sides. They also sang with devotion beautiful songs of Kṛṣṇa's various other pastimes in the appropriate *rāgas*.

[3] For a while, the people headed by the royal couple of the cowherd community took pleasure and nourishment from these songs about Kṛṣṇa's glorious achievements. Then, in great delight, they personally showered gifts of extremely expensive clothes and jewelry [on the panegyrists]. If, in listening to them their satisfaction had not been achieved, then how

was it to be expected that the enthusiastic giving of gifts should come to an end either?

And with that, the tides of Vraja's ocean of love for Kṛṣṇa began to rise and astonish the world with its waves of songs about the black-skinned boy, who personified auspiciousness for the community and whom they held dear to their hearts. And that is why we reckon Kṛṣṇa's glory enshrined in song to be like the moon [inducing the tide].

[4] When the women actually started to lend voice to songs of Kṛṣṇa's activities in their eagerness, then everyone else became silent in their own thirst to hear - like the kōils who become silent on hearing Kṛṣṇa's flute. The rhythmic sounds of their churning, decorated with the jingling of their bangles endowed with beauty, lent musical and rhythmic accompaniment to their song, thus enriching itself.<sup>5</sup>

[5] At that time, all the women of Vraja, whose mistaken conception that they had ever been married to men other than Kṛṣṇa had dissipated itself (as will be demonstrated by the narrative to be described herein with accompanying evidence giving the supreme and essential truth), their hearts wounded by the shafts of love, were making Kṛṣṇa, their unique husband, act as their lover, for as Kṛṣṇa had come to each of their own personal palaces which were essential elements of their service to him, they did not wish any end to his lovemaking. Knowing this, their companions sang humorously in the appropriate *rāga* for the early morning and arrested their pleasures.

[6] This did not take place all at once, but gradually, as follows: [v1]

The intertwining of their arms slackened first,

then their breasts,

and then their faces separated slightly.

Then, simultaneously striving to take assistance of each other,  
they rose from the bed.

Kṛṣṇa and his beloved wives

who had to restrain themselves

from the heights of the pleasure of their mutual touch,

were unable to tolerate  
the mutual separation of their eyes.

[7] And alas, Rādhā, the supreme amongst those wives, almost always falls into a faint at the beginning of this undertaking. Whereupon Kṛṣṇa would always think, [v2]

“[At first] Rādhā is overwhelmed  
by her first feelings of love for me;  
and then, when I am available,  
she is troubled by public criticism,  
and when I am gone,  
she is like a garden of jasmine blossoms  
burning in a forest fire,  
how can I find the means to assuage her?”<sup>6</sup>

This time, the crown prince of Vraja was especially disturbed by this thought and so the most intimate *sakhīs*, as dear to Rādhā as her life, separated her from him with words of comfort and encouragement, bringing her to consciousness by proffering the remnants of betel nut that he had chewed. When she was completely restored they asked her, “Hey, what kind of behaviour is this of yours?”

[8] Rādhā explained tearfully [v3]

“I am not a fool, nor am I obstinate,  
neither am I excessively desirous  
of bodily pleasures;  
but the qualities of the son of Vraja's king  
forcibly send me into convulsions.

[9] “What can I do? I shall never feel happiness on account of this suffering which pierces me to my very marrow.”<sup>7</sup>

[10] As that white-toothed beauty again began to relapse into this malaise, her friends tried to console her by changing the subject. On that [particular] day<sup>8</sup>, they said the following: “The subsequent observation<sup>9</sup> has come from the king's most respected wife, whose feet are endowed



with unlimited auspiciousness: 'Dear me, all the younger women have already come here. Why then has Rādhā, who is more dear to me than life itself, not yet arrived?'"<sup>10</sup>

When she heard this, even Rādhā became mindful and quickly attended to her morning duties. Then she left for the Queen of Vraja's abode, joined by Lalitā and Viśākhā and her other girlfriends who took turns alternately sleeping and keeping watch until morning. As she went, she made those supreme cowherd wives rejoice internally and externally, with the profusion of her own effulgence, coming as it was from her supreme lover.

[11] As they looked at her with unblinking gaze, the following imaginative thoughts entered their minds: [v4]

"Upon the moon are a pair of blue lotus flowers,  
and a sesamum flower as well as a red *bandhūka* flower,  
all blossoming on this golden creeper -  
How colourful is this wife of Kṛṣṇa's!"

[12] Eager to show her submission, Rādhā lowered her head to the ground out of respect for Kṛṣṇa's mother. With her associates, Yaśodā joyfully welcomed her. [v5]

Rādhā lowered her head to Yaśodā's feet,  
Yaśodā placed her hand on it;  
Rādhā remained on the ground,  
Yaśodā lifted her and smelt her hair.  
Rādhā cringed out of shyness  
while the other took her in her arms and looked at her,  
her eyes filled with tears;  
ah, how can I say that there were two of them?

[13] When the queen saw that Rādhā was feeling too shy to show her respects to Rohinī and the other senior women, she suggested to her, "Daughter, offer obeisances to those who deserve them." Then, this charming and graceful woman devotedly bowed to all the senior women and before sitting some distance away with her face lowered. [14] After this,

Lalitā and Rādhā's other friends also worshipped all the respectable women in the same way and sat down beside her.

[15] Then Balarāma's mother spoke out with frankness, "Queen of Vraja, the star Rohiṇī has risen today, bringing all happiness with it. Therefore, please give the following order: your daughter-in-law's culinary talents have purified all the directions by their very existence. (Therefore) those who have already gone into the kitchen to assist Candrāvalī (Somābhā), Kṛṣṇa's other wives like Dhanyā and Maṅgalā who are gardens of auspiciousness, and Balarāma's wives who shall remain unnamed but are also oases of welfare, should all be instructed to follow her completely to the benefit of the repast. Lalitā and Rādhā's other friends are like the different limbs of her body, so there is no need for us to tell them to help her."

[16] Having been thus instructed by Rohiṇī, Rādhā, whose virtues are to be sought by civilized women, bowed her head and, immediately disappearing amongst her companions, left.

[17] Now we turn to another nice topic: [18] In the morning, Kṛṣṇa's servants, who came from the *śūdra* and *śbhīra* families which had served Kṛṣṇa's for generations and, having adopted the essence of affectionate behaviour and by [virtue of equality in] age, vigour and strength, had become his comrades, imitating the ways of his circle, came to the door of his bedroom and joined him there, for the time had come for them to perform their multifarious individual services.

[19] Next, Balarāma's brother, the saviour of all, in the prime of his youth, being followed by these servants who pleasingly held bathing paraphernalia in their hands, entered a sitting area appropriate for the performance of his morning duties. [20] Kṛṣṇa's friends, Subala etc.<sup>11</sup>, scions of *vaiśya* and *śbhīra* families whose love gave Kṛṣṇa the joy of camaraderie, arrived together to meet him there. Being united with these friends, Kṛṣṇa sat down on a fine seat and enjoyed joking with them by inquiring from them the reasons for their tardiness. All of these friends are wonderful in their service because of their love, for [v6]

Through the distinction of container and contained,  
the life airs and living beings

are differentiated from one another;  
these persons, Kṛṣṇa and his friends, however,  
blessed with the happiness of affection,  
are known to be both each other's lives  
as well as the resting places for those lives.

[21] When the light of day had dawned, such a Kṛṣṇa sat in the midst of  
such friends and servants. Then, [v7]

the artistic cleansing of his divine face, hands and feet,  
the massaging [of his body] with oil containing other ingredients,  
the bath, and the holding of two cloths to rub the body dry,  
the rinsing of his mouth and the decorating of his forehead,  
the morning religious duties, [dressing in] divine garments,  
decoration with jewelled necklaces, etc.  
and the putting in place of accessories  
like the flute, buffalo horn, peacock feather, and cowherd's staff -  
[all these activities] attract my mind.

[22] The unique qualities of several of these intimate servants are the  
subject of even the last words of Śeṣa [who is said to use his thousand  
tongues to glorify Kṛṣṇa], for [v8]

One after another, they experienced  
the sweet fragrance of his head, his two lotus feet,  
the stretching of his arms - all these,  
and then, they bestowed upon him a special embrace.  
These body-servants, who knew the thirst for service to Kṛṣṇa,  
felt the unlimited happiness of parental love,  
servitorship, friendship, and even erotic love,  
as they lovingly massaged and bathed him.<sup>12</sup>

[23] Next, surrounded by these servants, the yellow-robed Kṛṣṇa deigned to  
leave the bathing area to enter his own courtyard, where he had an  
affect upon his mother with her worthy contemporaries as that of a life-  
giving mantra on an idol. The scene is described as follows: [v9]

"He has arrived!" (said one),  
 "How glorious is his beauty!" (another);  
 "I must become an offering to his worship."  
 "May my eyes achieve here and now  
     freedom from the obstruction of their lids."  
 If upon seeing the lotus-eyed Kṛṣṇa's sudden arrival,  
 various people should feel wonder,  
 Then what should we expect of these women?

[24] Then these senior women (*gurū*), in a melted state due to their butter-like affection being melted by the heat of their nightly separation, momentarily became like incense-oil (*agurū*). Exuding a perfect delight, as if it were a fine fragrance, they descended from the verandah of the great house which faces toward the east. First Yaśodā met with her son like a cow united with its calf, while Rohiṇī too was similarly perceived to be like an affectionate mother cow. [25] In turn, Śrī Govinda happily touched both of their feet in respectful greeting, and then, according to the proper etiquette, showed his respects to the other esteemed women.

[26] At that moment, Kṛṣṇa's friends Śrīdāma, Sudāmā, etc.<sup>13</sup> who customarily sport together with him, came accompanying Balarāma, as did the sons of the priests who were expert in all realms of knowledge. Certain women who were counted amongst those of equal status to his mother, others even higher in status than her, and other affectionate relatives such as sisters and sisters' daughters entered that area. [27] So that they would not have to get up again and again individually, similar etiquette was observed by all at once.

[28] Next arrived Kṛṣṇa's personal energy, known in the assembly of the perfected beings as Yogamāyā, who is shown to have authority over the activities of the lord in the authoritative treatise on *bhakti*, the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, where it is said, "He [Kṛṣṇa] took shelter of Yogamāyā" etc.<sup>14</sup> When not revealing her true identity, she appears in the form of an ascetic woman with the name of Paurṇamāsī.<sup>15</sup> Everyone respectfully paid obeisance to her humbly, shyly and correctly. She responded by joyfully giving blessings to all.

[29] Then a young brāhmaṇa named Madhumaṅgala<sup>16</sup>, a student of hers who had come to the end of his studies and was well-versed in all the sciences. He was Kṛṣṇa's companion who had completely mastered the attitude of friendship to him as a result of his fixed desire for intimate pleasantries. Blessed with a faultlessness of spirit, he graces the world of buffoonery through possessing the nature of the godly sage [Nārada], all for the sake of Kṛṣṇa's amusement. Madhumaṅgala gave everyone great pleasure with his pleasantries and blessings, both witty and touching; then he went to Kṛṣṇa's side as though he were a treasure.

[30] Then, the two brothers Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, holding hands, their other hands held by their mothers standing behind them to either side, slowly reached the grand courtyard verandah, beautiful smiles covering their faces. [31] There the two of them sat down on two separate, carefully constructed, expansive jeweled thrones which were speckled with beautifully-coloured gold. There they showered ambrosia-like glances [on all].

[32] On this monthly occasion, i.e. the coming of Kṛṣṇa's birth-star, the best of the family's spiritual masters' sons, particularly endowed with sharp discernment, would perform the *abhiṣeka* ceremony for him who brought glory to the name of Yaśodā, using water sprinkled from the tips of *darbha* grass, and uttering the most auspicious incantations. As it started, [v10]

The sounds of the mantras, the songs,  
the musical instruments, the cheers,  
Kṛṣṇa's beauties and the manifest activities  
displaying the wonderful love of Kṛṣṇa's [dear ones]  
on that regularly performed festival occasion;  
each of them, one by one, mixed together  
to become exceedingly pleasurable -  
as do the six gustatory flavours,  
the six types of poetic work,  
or a sherbet made with six ingredients.<sup>17</sup>

[v11] On that occasion there was the offering of lamps  
and the *nirmañchana* ceremony,<sup>18</sup>  
the touching of auspicious substances,  
the showing of butter and mirrors, etc.,  
the worship of the brāhmaṇas and relatives,  
[in short,] all activities held to be most auspicious.  
Of these auspicious rituals, Kṛṣṇa was the progenitor,  
while they [in turn] became the ancestors  
from whom the descendants now appear  
[as auspicious acts] throughout the world.

[v12] The brāhmaṇa women placed  
auspicious *dūrvā* grass, etc., in Kṛṣṇa's hair  
and if their emotions arrested the pronouncing of blessings,  
may it yet be for the welfare of their desires.

[v13] With tears in her eyes  
and hindered by immobility,  
Kṛṣṇa's mother still decorated him with tilaka.  
But what would she have been able to achieve  
if not helped by Rohiṇī?

[v14] To say that Kṛṣṇa's tilaka was a gift  
to Kṛṣṇa's mother and father,  
and to those endowed with motherly affection,  
viz. Nanda's sisters and sisters-in-law,  
does not give measure to the wealth they had gained.

[33] Then, from the apartments to the east came a handsome lad who had  
previously been designated for this task. He said, "Respected prince of  
Vraja, in his majesty the king's assembly, everyone has gathered for this  
occasion, but is doing nothing other than look at the door by which you  
shall make your entry. Even now they merely shake their heads and  
refuse to partake of the articles such as betel and clothing which you  
have donated, even though these things are the wealth of all worship and  
have been arranged about his highness's lotus feet."

[34] As soon as Kṛṣṇa had heard this and reflected on it, he sought permission from his mother to depart, even though he was disturbed by the thought that she would be pained at his leaving. Paying respectful obeisances, etc., to Paurṇamāsī, he saw her off as she returned to her thatched cottage. Sending Balarāma before him, and placing Śrīdāmā and others at his sides, he left the courtyard - his mind swinging back and forth from the love which lay before him (i.e. that of his father) and that which lay behind (that of his mother).

Then suddenly, the members of the assembly saw him decked in effulgence.  
[35] Everyone rose with the pride of joy and the clamour made by the panegyrists and others, like *cāstakas* at the coming of clouds, like *cakoras* who have found the moon, like water creatures being returned to the water, or like bodies in which the life-force has been revived.

[36] However, though Nanda and the others' minds were filled with such eagerness, they simply remained standing stunned, appearing to be acting out of conscious of their own prestige. That too is said to be proper, for in our village of Nanda, the king of Vraja, the expression of different types of love that the residents feel is the true ruler, as it were.

[37] For, at some time, somebody said to someone else, [v15]

“That those two have stunned every one of these people  
is not astonishing to me, my friend,  
for, one of them makes off with a white effulgence  
the other, the hue of a raincloud;  
the clothes they wear over their breasts  
have the colours of sapphire and of gold;  
their delightful faces have stolen the beauty  
of the white and blue lotuses;  
their eyes make a mockery of the movements of the humming bird  
while their gait excels that of the elephant.”

[38] On this occasion, the spiritual masters, eldest of those laden heavily with glory, sat on the right side of that assembly; the younger ones

amongst them sat progressively in front of their elders. The priests, themselves giving invaluable offerings, stood in front of everyone, as if to reveal that the etymological meaning of their title *purohita* is "he who gives first". It is also quite true that it can mean "those who are first to do good for others".<sup>19</sup>

[39] Those named Upananda, Abhinanda, Nanda, Sananda and Nandana, etc., who are reservoirs of sweetness arising from their powerful happiness, due, it is said, to having been made corpulent by the ambrosia of their love for him, the moonlike scion of their family. They and, following them, other relatives also closely bound in a relationship of love with Kṛṣṇa, who shall remain unnamed, stood seeking to meet him.

[40] On the left side, the lesser personalities quickly stepped forward out of their great love for him.<sup>20</sup> [41] After all of them had met, one after another in the proper order, with Rāma, the pleasure garden of all minds, as well as the charming Hari, their emotions blossomed like a garden of night lotuses at the rising of the moon.

[42] After a few moments, when they had risen out from the rapidly spreading state of enchantment which had obtained from their great joy and were absorbed in gazing upon his beautiful face, the king of Vraja said, "Child, today is the all-opulent day of your birth-star. You must therefore stay in the compound until midday. For the supervision of the cows this morning, I have already engaged some of those worthy servants who stay by my side. You yourself should first sit down and receive your family and friends."

[43] Kṛṣṇa bowed his head, accepting the king's order as though it were a flower garland. Then, looking at Rāma's lotus face, he ascended with a smile to the large sitting area in the quadrangle along with his kinsmen just as lord of the stars, the moon, rises on the eastern horizon. Next, he gave cows, etc., in charity, donating them to the brāhmaṇas and others in accordance with the proper etiquette. Then, seating himself there, he again started to enjoy the company of his kinsmen with an exchange of pleasantries and news, etc., and by happily partaking of betel and pan,



etc. [All these etc. are a bit excessive. I would just as soon drop them all.]

[44] After a *muhūrta* [approx. 48 minutes] had passed in this way, a certain lad who served in the inner quarters came and whispered something into the ears of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, who, seated as equals even though older and younger respectively, were eager to continue to please the company of kinsfolk. Then, taking permission of the two brothers, [this lad] went and relayed the same message to the king who was delighted to see him. The king said, "Today is the auspicious and opulent occasion of the birth-star of my son, who has been born by the grace of Nārāyaṇa, whose chest is marked with the calf-sign of the goddess of fortune." With only this humble statement he invited everyone to go to eat by gesturing with his folded hands. Greatly satisfied, everyone exchanged glances and, rising simultaneously, left for the inner quarters.

[45] The delicate young boy [who had brought the news that the meal was ready] walked ahead of them as they entered amongst the women of the inner quarters, preventing them from mingling together. These intimates of Kṛṣṇa were absorbed for a moment in hope of admiring the beauty of the house, etc. before they gradually proceeded into the dining-hall.

[46] Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, however, mounted the great building which stood like Mount Meru in that courtyard, wanting to see the cows. From there, they rained glances like showers of ambrosia on the cattleyard where their cows, the glorified of the earth, were housed. From that distant place they instructed through their messengers: "Attention cowherds, the cattle must be protected from both the left and right sides of the path."

Upon their descent, both they and their guests [v16]

looked about in every direction  
at the ceremonial dining-mansion  
in which were thick clouds of aguru incense smoke;  
[they observed] its whiteness, the many water jugs  
lined up by plates filled with edibles,  
ranged alongside jewelled sitting places,

amongst them sat progressively in front of their elders. The priests, themselves giving invaluable offerings, stood in front of everyone, as if to reveal that the etymological meaning of their title *purohita* is "he who gives first". It is also quite true that it can mean "those who are first to do good for others".<sup>19</sup>

[39] Those named Upananda, Abhinanda, Nanda, Sananda and Nandana, etc., who are reservoirs of sweetness arising from their powerful happiness, due, it is said, to having been made corpulent by the ambrosia of their love for him, the moonlike scion of their family. They and, following them, other relatives also closely bound in a relationship of love with Kṛṣṇa, who shall remain unnamed, stood seeking to meet him.

[40] On the left side, the lesser personalities quickly stepped forward out of their great love for him.<sup>20</sup> [41] After all of them had met, one after another in the proper order, with Rāma, the pleasure garden of all minds, as well as the charming Hari, their emotions blossomed like a garden of night lotuses at the rising of the moon.

[42] After a few moments, when they had risen out from the rapidly spreading state of enchantment which had obtained from their great joy and were absorbed in gazing upon his beautiful face, the king of Vraja said, "Child, today is the all-opulent day of your birth-star. You must therefore stay in the compound until midday. For the supervision of the cows this morning, I have already engaged some of those worthy servants who stay by my side. You yourself should first sit down and receive your family and friends."

[43] Kṛṣṇa bowed his head, accepting the king's order as though it were a flower garland. Then, looking at Rāma's lotus face, he ascended with a smile to the large sitting area in the quadrangle along with his kinsmen just as lord of the stars, the moon, rises on the eastern horizon. Next, he gave cows, etc., in charity, donating them to the brāhmaṇas and others in accordance with the proper etiquette. Then, seating himself there, he again started to enjoy the company of his kinsmen with an exchange of pleasantries and news, etc., and by happily partaking of betel, pan, etc.

[44] After a *muhūrta* [approx. 48 minutes] had passed in this way, a certain lad who served in the inner quarters came and whispered something into the ears of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, who, seated as equals even though older and younger respectively, were eager to continue to please the company of kinsfolk. Then, taking permission of the two brothers, [this lad] went and relayed the same message to the king who was delighted to see him. The king said, "Today is the auspicious and opulent occasion of the birth-star of my son, who has been born by the grace of Nārāyaṇa, whose chest is marked with the calf-sign of the goddess of fortune." With only this humble statement he invited everyone to go to eat by gesturing with his folded hands. Greatly satisfied, everyone exchanged glances and, rising simultaneously, left for the inner quarters.

[45] The delicate young boy [who had brought the news that the meal was ready] walked ahead of them as they entered amongst the women of the inner quarters, preventing them from mingling together. These intimates of Kṛṣṇa were absorbed for a moment in hope of admiring the beauty of the house, etc. before they gradually proceeded into the dining-hall.

[46] Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, however, mounted the great building which stood like Mount Meru in that courtyard, wanting to see the cows. From there, they rained glances like showers of ambrosia on the cattleyard where their cows, the glorified of the earth, were housed. From that distant place they instructed through their messengers: "Attention cowherds, the cattle must be protected from both the left and right sides of the path."

Upon their descent, both they and their guests [v16]  
 looked about in every direction  
 at the ceremonial dining-mansion  
 in which were thick clouds of aguru incense smoke;  
 [they observed] its whiteness, the many water jugs  
 lined up by plates filled with edibles,  
 ranged alongside jewelled sitting places,  
 where attendants [stood], engaged for service:  
 it [was permeated by] a mood of respectful love.

[v17] [Beginning with] the request,

"Come, sir, so that your feet can be washed and wiped,"  
 then assiduous fanning, and now and then sweet words  
 making everyone laugh to distraction,  
 the serving of fine dishes, and  
 the merciful nectar of Kṛṣṇa's glance.  
 Would such a meal of friends eating together  
 [where all these things were present]  
 not produce happiness?

[47] The brāhmaṇas sat together in one line, because it is improper for them to eat together [with those of other castes].<sup>21</sup> The members of the vaiśya caste, whose affection was beyond doubt and who dine together, sat in another line. In both of these groups, the older, middle-aged, and younger persons were seated separately; even so, as they individually engaged one another in joking conversation, it was obvious that they were all united. This was true not only because of their laughter, but also because of their simultaneous perception of the moon of the family of the king of Vraja, an ocean of delight as he himself talked, conversing pleasingly, his eyes were opened wide to look at the whole scene.

[48] In this assemblage, Kṛṣṇa was the only vessel of all the different moods of love. There, [v18]

It seemed that those who distributed the six flavours  
 and also passed around funny stories  
 to each other and to Kṛṣṇa,  
 distributed a seventh as well [i.e. that of mirth].

[49] In that dining hall, the amusing observation was made that dishes were unique to the people of the region, or at least prepared differently, and their names were unfamiliar, or else they were known by different names even to well-educated members of the same family.

[50] Next, Madhumāṅgala, out of his spirit of jocular<sup>22</sup>, sent some friend of his with a message to the king of Vraja: "Oh best of kings, the brāhmaṇas instruct us in the following way: 'The first birth is called

the *śaukṣa*-birth [i.e. birth from blameless parents], and it has been the source of great joy to us. By becoming twice-born *vaiśyas* in the second birth [at the time of receiving the sacred thread] called *sāvitra*, you have become the rulers of your caste. Therefore, fried foods [from your household]<sup>23</sup> are edible by the *brāhmaṇas*, as are those of a king. You have, however, placed us in a distant row to dine, and so we are not able to know which foods are being served at your table and which at ours. Therefore, all those items which have been personally sampled by the lord of the cowherd community should again be served to us in their entirety, from the very beginning. Preparations which were cooked by Rādhā's and the other *gopīs*' own hands are most highly commended, for according to the *Gopālatāpanī Upaniṣad*, previously even *Durvāsas* relished them with his own tongue, discarding his bad habit of anger and displaying great satisfaction.<sup>24</sup> As a result, it is known that they are full of infinite sweetness, and for this reason the servers have been secretly putting them aside while on the way [here to serve us], while others have already been devoured by people through their glances. By eating those preparations, we will quickly take a third birth, called the *daikṣa*-birth, which is the initiation into the performance of the *Vaiṣṇava* sacrifice. This birth is the means to attain all the rewards and benefits described in the *śruti* and *smṛti*."

[51] Hearing all this and the noise of laughter produced by *Madhumāṅgala*'s jokes before emerging from the house, the queen of *Gokula* sent many things which had not been enjoyed before on plates made of sunstone, [fruits] which had ripened in the sun and were the equal of anything cooked in a fire. This caused everyone to react with a great deal more laughter and mirth.<sup>25</sup>

[52] Thus, even though they had only reached satiation with the filling of their bellies and not with the variegated social pleasures of the meal, and even less with the always favorable *Kṛṣṇa* dressed in a yellow cloth, who was the ultimate root cause of all their joy and brought to each of his friends an ever newer perception according to their taste, they nevertheless took scented water to wash their hands and mouths, as though acting against their own will, their desire for what was

unattainable by any other means [i.e. the continuation of these pleasures] being so very great. Next, [v19]

all the friends were honoured  
with pure betel, sandal, clothes, garlands and ornaments,  
while the brāhmaṇas were also given [other] gifts.

[53] When these gifts came into view, Madhumaṅgala milked the situation of its humorous possibilities. "Listen to me, oh respected persons of Vraja, we should not be looked upon with envy even though these gifts are not inconsiderable, for all this in its entirety does not equal in value that of even a single one of the vegetable dishes which you have just tasted."<sup>26</sup>

[54] When the noisy delights of loud laughter had died down, Kṛṣṇa the cowherd, the maintainer of everyone's happiness, slowly approached his father and humbly submitted the following request: "Please father, you go first into the assembly arena taking everyone with you. I shall come shortly with Balarāma, Dāman, Sudāman and the others." He then went to his mother's chambers where he said, "Mother, give us permission to go to watch over our mothers, the cows."

[55] His mother answered emotionally, the nipples of her breasts overflowing with milk, "Son! our lives are totally dependent on you, so do not delay in coming back."

[56] Then Yaśodā's countless friends and elders all said tearfully, "Child, the cows are only mothers in name, but this is your real mother. Why then do you not show some special favour to her [rather than to the cows]?" Kṛṣṇa bowed his head and said with both tears and a smile, "Mothers, what can I do? They are dumb animals who have absolutely no intelligence, for without me they refuse to eat even one mouthful of grass."

[57] Yaśodā said, "The child has spoken correctly, for even our own religious duty has become a cause of suffering to us in that both our wealth [the cows] and our sons have made the forests their permanent home."

[58] Kṛṣṇa smiled and said, "Mother, there is no danger in this forest. The danger has gone along with Keśī and the rest who have been completely destroyed, root and branch."

[59] His mother said, "Then what is this that we have heard, that even now some of the arrogance of those demons survives. It is as though, even though dead, they at once took ghostly bodies of the same shape."

[60] Kṛṣṇa laughed and answered, "Mother, they have not become ghosts, but rather they have been liberated as a result of suffering death in this land which possesses the virtues arising from the presence of the dust of your feet. On the other hand, for pleasure we sometimes play at make-believe with their images, recreating them magically. For instance, we sometimes play at recreating Rāma's activities by playing hide and seek, building the bridge across to Laṅkā, and by imitating Hanumān's jump across the channel, etc."<sup>27</sup>

[61] When all the women were freed from their doubts, Kṛṣṇa's mother said to his older brother with great affection while placing her left hand on his back and touching his chin with her right hand, "Dear Nīlāmbara, from your early childhood your mother has not behaved very lovingly towards you, but has seemed to me to remain indifferent. How therefore, could my own feelings of anxiety be reduced? So, I advise you to take to the path returning to Vraja without delay, bringing Kṛṣṇa with you."

[62] Then the kindly Rohiṇī said to Rāma's younger brother, out of a feeling for his welfare, "Child, son of Yaśodā, because you have been a spoiled little boy from your childhood, you have never heeded your mother's advice. On the other hand, you do not neglect the instructions that I give you. Therefore, even though I shall only say this to you once, please consider it to have been said many times: [come back] quickly

[and] shine the rays of your moon-like face in order to save your mother from her increasingly burning mental anguish."

[63] When Kṛṣṇa, whose clear eyes are like lotus flowers, had pleased his mothers by falling at their feet, and the devoted wife of the king of Vraja had left the house with all the older women and, taking Kṛṣṇa's hand, had advanced into the courtyard, his wives, superior amongst all other women, went to the windows and peeped through the tracery at them. [v20]

Though they felt eagerness,  
intoxication with the wine of his sweet beauty,  
bewilderment at the overwhelming onset of love,  
as well as a fear at the oncoming separation from him,  
they were disturbed most greatly by shyness.  
As Kṛṣṇa left for the woods to pasture the cows,  
all of his wives stood motionless as they watched  
for two or three moments from behind walls nearby.

As this was going on, [v21]

The unfailing Kṛṣṇa's eyes,  
though eager to look at the gopīs,  
closed out of great shyness.  
It was as though they desired to meet his mind,  
thinking, "Kṛṣṇa's mind sees them in great secrecy."

[v22] When Kṛṣṇa's intentions became clear to them,  
then Rādhā amongst them had the following doubts:  
"If I should show transformations before my elders,  
what on earth will I do?"

[v23] When the destroyer of Baka went before the group of mothers  
and took his leave from them, in the proper order,  
he stole all their eyes which were fixed on his body,  
in the guise of his reflections in them.



[64] Holding chowries, umbrellas, clothes box, pan cases, etc, all of which were out of reach to even the gods, some servants of Kṛṣṇa's age followed him as he left in the company of Balarāma and Śrīdāma, etc.  
[v24]

Then, desiring to give [everyone] pleasure,  
the beautifully dressed Kṛṣṇa,  
with Rāma and his friends,  
suddenly entered into the effulgent assembly  
where the people headed by his father sat,  
their eyes opened wide to look at him.

[v25] Surrounded by his own friends and the other elders,  
Kṛṣṇa, like a moon surrounded by various constellations  
descending to the surface of the earth,  
calling a halt to the circling movement of his eyes at each one,  
he recognized all those assembled.

[v26] Opening his eyes without even blinking  
sending out his glance, searching out  
with his unlimited effulgence, this Hari  
specially embraced them to his body.

[65] When all the members of the assembly hall were thus inundated in joy, a certain bard who had been born in a family associated with that of Nanda's for several generations<sup>28</sup>, arrived there supported by a number of relatives. With him were two charmingly dressed boys whose hair was worn with side-locks and whom he bade recite a *viruda* of blessing. The two lads looked at the son of the king of Vraja as though he were their sole resort, just as the cloud is to the *cātaka* flock, the ocean to the sons of Sagara, a philosopher's stone to those who are absorbed in the thought of wealth, and the sky to celestial bodies. Then the two of them, having looked at this limitless ocean of vast beauty with his associates and family, meditated on it for a few minutes until they practically fainted, their falling only being arrested by their relations. After this, a special mood somehow came over them and they started to speak with faltering voices, "Glory to the king of the land of Vraja, the

ocean which has produced a blue jewel like an unlimited thought-stone. Glory to you, prince of Vraja, the embodiment of happiness for all including Śeṣa, who holds the earth, for you remove the burdens from the earth! Glory to Balarāma, your white bodily colour matches the banner [brilliant purity] of the glories of the leaders of your dynasty!"

[66] Then again, looking at the lotus-eyed Kṛṣṇa, they said, [v27]

"Like the dark fortnight of his birth,  
in which the moon rises under the constellation of Rohiṇī,  
this Kṛṣṇa, being the giver of [their] glory and joy,  
[appears as] the son of Yaśodā and Nanda."

[67] And again they spoke with wonder, [v28]

"Wise men have been proven to speak falsely  
when they praise glory, saying  
it is always and everywhere white.  
For here, that glory to whom Yaśodā,  
the giver of glory, gave birth,  
is of a black hue.  
Just look at him here before you."

[68] Then the king of Vraja said eloquently, "Oh crown-jewel amongst all bards, Ratnacūḍa, who are these two delicate boys?"

[69] Ratnacūḍa answered, "Oh, you in whom all riches reside, Oh king of Vraja! They are the sons of my sister."

[70] King Nanda asked, "These two are the manifestation of the fortune of which of your sisters?"

[71] Ratnacūḍa answered, "Ratnāvatī's, oh unchallenged ruler of the jewel-filled earth! She too has come here after making a decision to see the fruits of the piety of your incomparable ancestors. Here she is before you, making her obeisance."

[72] King Nanda said, "Sister, may your fortunes increase."

[73] Ratnacūḍa said, "Lord, my brother-in-law Sumati is also here."

[74] King Nanda said with a smile, "Even though I met him in my childhood I am not able to recognize him very well." [75] Then greeting him, he said, "Respected sir, come here in front of everyone else." Then he asked him, "Where are you residing nowadays?"

[76] He answered, "On the shores of the ocean, oh noble king."

[77] Upānanda said, "Then this guest has come from afar indeed."

[78] Then Kṛṣṇa, his eyes bathed in the ambrosia of the rays of his moon-like face, his teeth like the buds of *kunda* flowers surrounded by his sweetly smiling lips, eagerly inquired, "What are their names?"

[79] Ratnacūḍa said, "You whose toenails are worshipped by millions of souls, they are called Madhukaṇṭha and Snigdhaṇṭha."

[80] Kṛṣṇa commented, "The two names appear synonymous."

[81] Ratnacūḍa said, "The two are not just brothers, but twins."

[82] Upananda said, "Ratnacūḍa, have they mastered your impeccable art?"

[83] Ratnacūḍa answered, "Certainly, and by divine grace they also possess two most amazing special qualities."

[84] Upananda asked, "What are they?"

[85] Ratnacūḍa said, "Omniscience and a poetic talent which is nourished by that omniscience." [86] At this, all the members of the assembly looked at the twins in astonishment.

[87] The king of Vraja said, "Respected Sumati, whence did they get these powers?"

[88] Sumati said, "Oh deliverer of the world, you of spotless glories, why not ask them yourself?"

[89] King Nanda asked, "Young sirs, our minds have entered into a state of astonishment at your achievements; therefore kindly deliver us from our wonder."

The two boys folded their hands and answered, "Oh lord of the people of Goloka, the mercy of the spiritual master is the irrepressible cause of all this. You, oh esteemed sir, can appreciate this."

[90] King Nanda asked, "Who is your guru, possessed of such tremendous glories?"

[91] Then again the two boys folded their hands and said, "He, the very utterance of whose name is auspicious, who is the personification of our good fortune, who rains down happiness on everyone, is Nārada, the sage amongst the gods."

[92] At this everyone commented, "Ah, then it is not so amazing after all."

[93] Again, the two boys said, "Presently, we have come to the region of Vṛndāvana on his instructions. And it is most certainly by his mercy that we have become worthy to be able to enter into this land which is your opulence, you whose remembrance brings about the defeat of material existence and whose glories are incomprehensible even to the gods." [94] Again everyone looked at the two of them with amazement.

[95] Then Kṛṣṇa thought, "Ah yes, I had been getting premonitions of their arrival for some time."

[96] Then Rāma, following the order of Kṛṣṇa came close to the king and asked him, "Oh elder uncle<sup>29</sup>, we are all anxious to see these two perform."

[97] Approving, the king nevertheless said, "Rāma<sup>30</sup>, this day is already quite advanced. All these visitors have come to us quite fortuitously and therefore they should be properly honoured today as guests by all the means at our disposal." He ordered the people standing at his side, "Give our guests enough that they could enjoy for a year, things that are as good as those which we enjoy ourselves. Commencing with the assembly tomorrow morning, however, all the people should be called to witness their performance."

[98] When all the people of Vraja headed by Upananda had expressed their joy at this invitation, and all the pains of the bards voyage had been eradicated, and they had received gifts of suitable edibles and other relishable items, etc., the great person Kṛṣṇa, husband of the goddess of fortune, who had learned all these details, informed the king that the midday had already passed. He, Balarāma and the rest [of the cowherd boys] went together to pay their respects to all and then departed. Thereafter, [v29]

The intelligence of Kṛṣṇa's relatives accepted  
that he was to go with the cows,  
but their minds did not.  
Intelligence protects good reason as its counsellor,  
while the mind is unable to check its desires.

[v30] As he left for the forest with his older brother  
and his friends he loudly sounded his flute,  
Hearing it, the creatures before him were fulfilled,  
while elsewhere all was completely vacant.

[v31] Then, as the distance between them and their elders widened,  
the cowherd boys joyfully joined hands,  
everyone laughed as some repeated the words  
others had spoken in the assembly,  
while others mimicked and distorted them.

[99] When the laughter had subsided a bit, Rāma said, "Madhumāṅgala, you trickster, while our mothers were taking us along with them, didn't I

hear you whisper, 'Queen of Vraja, I wish to speak to you in secret.' But because she was absorbed in other things she did not hear you."

[100] Madhumaṅgala gave a loud laugh, then closed his eyes and became silent. After a moment he said, "Alas, I know it was something good, but I have forgotten what it was."

[101] Rāma said, "Dear friend, I beg you. Please tell us what it was that you were going to say."

[102] Madhumaṅgala replied, "I swear on my sacred thread that I would not tell you anything but the truth, for, [v32]

"My senses have become controlled  
by the grace of him who is sense-controlled;  
peaceful, by one whose mind is filled with tranquillity.  
I have been instructed by one who is informed,  
and have been made perfect by my perfect teacher.

[v33] "By him who comes in secret have I become  
one whose false words have been concealed.  
How then can I give up the virtues  
which so clearly fulfil all desires.<sup>31</sup>

[103] "But I will tell this to your wives alone if I am informed of your demand and theirs, and if not I won't."

[104] Kṛṣṇa said, "You madman, tell us first."

[105] Madhumaṅgala said, "Only if you don't get upset."

[106] Both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma said, "Of course we won't."

[107] Madhumaṅgala said, "I want to say this loudly and clearly: that the amatory exploits of these two with their respective beloved consorts has not yet been interrupted, for many love squabbles are still taking place all the time within the forest."<sup>32</sup>

[108] Then Kṛṣṇa took Madhumaṅgala's right arm with his left hand and gently squeezed his lips between the thumb and middle finger of his right. Then he said with a smile, "If this mouth were to be sewn closed with a polished silk thread, then this scatter-brained brāhmaṇa friend would finally become sage and silent."

Madhumaṅgala, his mouth thus forcibly closed, sputtered out words which were stifled and choked, "If that is what you want, then bring me some of that tempting and rare rock candy from your house and fill my mouth with it constantly, forever. Then how would I be able to speak, and whatever would I waste my words for? 'Sewing' (*Sevanam*) also means 'eating', you know."<sup>33</sup>

[109] Rāma said with a smile, "A synonym for 'bribe' is 'a desirable object' (*āmiṣa*), but should a brāhmaṇa lust after it for that?"<sup>34</sup>

[110] Thus as the group of friends burst into laughter, the brāhmaṇa boy who was so expert in joking, affectionately embraced Kṛṣṇa for a moment and then shaking him, laughed openly.

[111] Then the virtuous Kṛṣṇa, garlanded with forest flowers, his mind filled with plans for the day's various activities, started moving with his friends along a path which was tended by the tips of the branches of trees filled with fruit. When they had caught up to the cows, Kṛṣṇa started to play his flute.

[112] When he had attracted all creatures, even though intending only the cows, a certain celestial observer said with amazement, [v34]<sup>35</sup>

"Everywhere all currents pull things along with them, downstream;  
the current of the flute's song, however,  
drags all things to its source."

After that, [v35]

The cows heard the sound they themselves make,  
the second note of the scale;  
the snake-eating peacocks heard the first note,  
while the koṭils heard their own song, the fifth note.

Other animals also clearly heard their own sounds  
from the flute-song.<sup>36</sup>

First they were all distracted with surprise  
and then they became bewildered;  
if this should happen again and again,  
then who could assuage them?

[v36] If Kṛṣṇa himself should be bewildered  
by the sound of his own flute,  
then what living being could be an exception,  
for he is the life of every soul.

[113] But ah! the expansion of happiness [the cowherd boys felt] at the  
sound of the flute, also freed them from their bewilderment. For, [v37]  
Even though dazed, they heard the singing of the flute  
as if they were in a dream,  
Then waking up, they looked around at each other  
in complete astonishment.

[114] When the cowherd boys had risen after returning to their normal  
state of well-being and left to go to the cows, Madhumaṅgala said with a  
sweet smile, "The effects of an improper attitude towards a brāhmaṇa are  
seen to come about very swiftly, for that dumbness which was being  
wished on me by the one who lives within everyone's heart has resulted  
in everyone's being struck dumb."

[115] Then laughing together with Kṛṣṇa at this witticism, the cowherds  
began to call the cows in the language peculiar to the land of Mathurā:

[v38] To lead them down to the Yamunā,  
they called them near, saying *hi hi*,  
to move them forward, they called *jhi jhi*,  
then, halting them they shouted *dhIrIthā*,

[v39] to make them drink water they shouted *ca*,  
*jhiri* when stopping them,  
and *tiritiri* to bring them out of the water.



[v40] Then the cowherds made the cows stand  
on the banks of the water;  
and when they were filled with joy at having thus minded them,  
they bathed [in the water] and sang.

[v41] Sweet smelling and delicious foodstuffs  
had been joyfully sent for every child by his mother.  
Kṛṣṇa laughed and served them to each of his friends,  
though he would first test each item on his own tongue.

[116] When Kṛṣṇa the cowherd had washed his hands and mouth with  
Śrīdāma, Dāma, Sudāma, Vasudāma and the others, his face looked even  
more beautiful with his swinging earrings decorating cheeks which bulged  
with crushed betel nut scented with powdered camphor and rolled into  
golden pān leaves. Kṛṣṇa looked longingly at his friends with eyes even  
more beautiful than lotus flowers and [then] set off towards home. The  
return journey is described as follows: [v42]

With enthusiasm, Kṛṣṇa gradually moved the herd of cows  
to graze on the sweet-smelling grasses in other forests;  
then, becoming distressed with feelings of separation  
for those people who still remained in the cowherd settlement,  
the killer of Baka started to return there  
in the company of his friends.

[v43] Turning the cows in the direction of Gokula,  
Kṛṣṇa passed through the shade of the large trees;  
hearing the songs and music of the gods and demigods,  
he finally reached the edges of the compound.

[v44] The gods in their celestial vehicles on every path,  
the great sages, perfected by the *mantrayoga* and other practices,  
the cows, with their eyes and sense of smell,  
and those men who were his followers,  
all streamed into places whence they could see him.  
The people of the cowherd settlement, standing in high places,  
all caught the beautiful effulgence of his face,

while he spread happiness all around  
with glances from the edges of his lotus eyes  
and, playing his flute, he entered [the cowherd settlement].<sup>37</sup>

[v45] The mooing of the cattle, the excited noises of the cowherd boys,  
the hard showers of praises from the gods,  
the tumult of Vedic hymns being recited by the seers -  
when the whole community had been deafened  
by all these sounds blended together,  
then how glorious is the call of his flute,  
which though subtle, pierced distinctly through them all.

[117] Then, the two groups of noble cowherds, one coming from the forest, the other out of the settlement, happily approached one another, meeting like two great oceans. It was such that even the gods in heaven who constantly observed them were astonished, for [though] Govinda himself acted as the moon, he [nevertheless] himself penned the cows in separate groups with the artful playing of his flute.<sup>38</sup>

[118] They then engaged in the work of milking and otherwise providing for those cows who had been parked outside the compound, making the calves and the cows content. After sending people ahead to [carry] the milk, the two brothers, immediately surrounded by friends of their own age while being aesthetically situated in the midst of all the cowherds, passed through the compound gate and headed for home. [Upon arrival] they were greeted by the respectable ladies of the family headed by Yaśodā with the lamp ceremony, after which they had parched grain, etc. rained down on them by all the people of the community while being gazed upon by the their eyes. Having entered into the very heart of the cowherd settlement, their eloquent glances attracted their respective wives. Thus Rāma and his younger brother, the killers of many demons, rested by having their feet bathed and being fanned, etc.

[119] After feeling the pleasure of being babied there for a few moments by his mother, Kṛṣṇa went into the bathing room where he was assisted

by his servants in his bathing activities. When he was dressed in nice clothes, he again came into the presence of his mother.

[120] Then, after performing his twilight rituals, the two brothers instigated the mealtime ritual with Kṛṣṇa's father and others, after which they came to one of the external meeting areas where they joined a crowd of various friends and sat down comfortably in their company.

[121] When many talented persons had assembled there, Sumati and Ratnacūḍa arrived with the two young and gentle bards.

[122] When the two had been greatly thrilled by the inquiries of the ruler of the empire of Goloka about how they had eaten, etc., the handsome younger brother of Balarāma called them and treating them like his own younger brothers, affectionately sat them down by his side.<sup>39</sup> He had the company listen to delightful poetry of the respected bards resident in Vraja. The two boys were overjoyed at this and as a result became extremely eager to bring their own numerous talents to fruition.

[123] After the festival had continued only up to the third hour of the night, the king of Vraja, with general approval, invited everyone to return the following morning to hear the recital of the new poetical work of the bard-twins after which he let them go. At this, the golden-robed Kṛṣṇa also took permission from his father to leave, and taking the two gentle young bards by the hand, went with them into his mother's quarters, giving up all other desires. He recounted everything about the two boys to his mother.

[124] Upon meeting the all-praised Yaśodā, the two young sages felt a great happiness as they speculated in various ways about her, "Is this the profoundly deep ocean of milk from which sprang the moon of Gokula? Or perhaps she is the full-moon day when the entire orb of that moon appears to our vision? Or is she the eastern direction which has produced such a son as a source of joy [to others]? In actual fact, she is the personification of mercy to her own son, who by thus dawning has cooled down the entire world."

[125] Yaśodā of charming demeanour displayed the affection she felt for the two bards by behaving sweetly, giving them food and offering gifts of clothing and jewelry, etc.

[126] Then, Kṛṣṇa elicited benedictions from his mother for their welfare and asked her for permission to go to his night quarters. After this, the son of the king of the cowherds, the essence of all happiness, in accordance with the instruction she gave in deep affection, went into his bedroom to rest, and taking the two young bards with him, introduced them to Rādhā.

[127] When they approached Rādhā they saw her sitting amongst her friends like the titular deity of massed lightning, like the lotus-born Lakṣmī amongst the lotuses, like compassion towards the good amongst all the treasures, like morality accompanied by humility amongst the virtues, like *mahābhāva* amongst all the types of love for Kṛṣṇa.<sup>40</sup>

[128] Then Kṛṣṇa himself calmed the two twins as they looked at her, forgetting themselves as they became overwhelmed with love. When they had calmed down, they looked at both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and thought as follows: [v46]

“One effulgence has the beauty of the sapphire as its life,  
and another, beauty incorporating all varieties of golden colour;  
both have been gathered together and placed in this pair,  
which is the essential cause of love, the original taste.”

[129] Once they had been introduced to Rādhā by Kṛṣṇa, she received them hospitably, with pleasure and humour, as though they were her younger brothers-in-law.<sup>41</sup> [130] Then Kṛṣṇa, arranging for someone to accompany them, sent the two boys to his maternal uncle's house<sup>42</sup>, after which he went into his enchanting bedroom where he lay down. There, [v47]

When her beloved had arrived,  
Rādhā bashfully approached him  
and started to prepare a place for him to sit down,  
giving her full attention to serving him by fanning, etc.  
But when he went directly to the bed, she hid herself.

and even when a friend remonstrated, would say,  
"I have never anywhere been introduced to this person."

[131] When this happened, her companions said to her, [v48]

"When you do not see Kṛṣṇa you are anxious  
but when you see him, then you hide your feelings:  
The way that you always behave toward him  
is not comprehensible to us."<sup>43</sup>

[v49] Then, her arm firmly taken by her two companions<sup>44</sup>  
that long-eyed damsel was led into the middle of the room;  
as she hesitated, being stunned both externally and internally,  
she was taken by her lover and pulled onto the bed.

[v50] Being forcefully pulled by Kṛṣṇa,  
she arrived on the vast bed  
and was eager to be united with him;  
even so, she did not behave straightforwardly  
but struggled with him with her hands.

[v51] On the other hand, how would she quickly win Kṛṣṇa over  
when she united with him while insisting she would not:  
it is not surprising that she did both,  
for she had become a perfect embodiment of passion.<sup>45</sup>

[v52] Śrī Kṛṣṇa! Oh Kṛṣṇa Caitanya! Accompanied by Rūpa and Sanātana,  
Gopāla, Raghunātha and all your other associates  
Oh beloved of Vraja, please deliver me.

Thus ends the second chapter of the Gopālacampū - Pūrvacampū,  
called "The revelation of Kṛṣṇa's activities in Goloka".

Thus ends the Golokavilāsa.

## Notes for GC 1.2

1. *pratisampūrṭi* is thus taken by the various translators. The chapters of GC have the unusual name of *pūraṇa*, which can have both the simple meaning of 'ordinal numeral' as well as having the sense of 'completion'. The latter meaning is conveyed by the word *sampūrṭi* also, otherwise there is no semantic connection to chapter. Jīva obviously intended that his GC should complement and perfect the account of Kṛṣṇa's life given in BhP, giving the *raison d'être* for such a name.
2. See GC 1.1.19.
3. The *viruda* is a laudatory poem primarily consisting of vocatives, though generally understood to have specific restrictions of metre and format. For an example of a prose *viruda*, see §65. For a more detailed understanding of the genre, see chapter □ of thesis.
4. Pūtanā and Dantavakra are the first and last demons that were killed by Kṛṣṇa in the land of Vraja. Cf. BhP x.6 and x.78.
5. A favoured theme found in BhP. Comp. x.9.3 and x.46.44-46.
6. Jīva cites from SāhD(?) in his comments on BRS ii.5.77: *adr̥ṣṭe darśanotkan̥thā dr̥ṣṭe vicchedabhīrutā/ nādr̥ṣṭena na dr̥ṣṭena bhavatā labhyate sukham//*
7. The feeling of separation which affect even one who is in the company of the beloved is given the name *premavaicittya* (UN 15.147). Its importance to the writer of BhP is shown by the appearance at the end of the tenth book, as experienced by the queens in Dvārakā (x.90.13-25). This has been observed also by Vopadeva in Mukṭāphala (12.72ff).
8. Within the limits of the regular activities of Kṛṣṇa and his consorts in the *nitya*līlā, a certain amount of leeway is provided. The general circumstances do not change, only some of the details.
9. Literally, order (ādeśa). Yaśodā's command is expressed so circuitously that it is impossible to translate the word literally here.
10. One of Rādhā's qualities is that she is dear to Kṛṣṇa's parents. Even when not married. Cf. UN 4.15: *gurvarpitagurusnehā*. Also UN

- 4.45. This has of course been taken up elsewhere, e.g. GLA 4.68, etc.
11. Subala is a *priyanarmasakhi*, described in BRS iii.3.43ff and UN 2.13-15: *ṣtyantikarahasyajñāḥ sakhibhāvasamāśritaḥ/ sarvebhyaḥ praṇayibhyo 'sau priyanarmasakhā varaḥ/ sa Gokule tu Subalas tathā syād Arjunādayaḥ//*
  12. The body servants are shown here to experience features of the pleasures of the different rasas.
  13. Śrīdāman and Sudāman belong to another category of friend from that of Subala (§20 above), i.e. *priyasakhi*. BRS iii.3.36-8. Śrīdāman is Rādhā's older brother (RKGDD) and is chief amongst these friends, BRS iii.3.40-41.
  14. Yogamāyā is described in this paragraph in terms not entirely different from *Itiśakti*, who is personified as Vṛndādevī elsewhere in GC.
  15. Here Jīva clearly states that Paurṇamāsī is Yogamāyā, something which has not been made completely clear in Rūpa's plays. Ergo, wherever the name Yogamāyā appears in GC, it is to be understood as Paurṇamāsī exercising her magical powers, until of course she takes an active personal role in later chapters. She is the primary go-between in most Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava works, manipulating events in order to bring Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa together. In Rāmānanda Rāya's *Jagannāthavallabhanāṭaka*, her name is given as Madanikā. She addresses Rādhā as *sakhī* (1.43), though Rādhā addresses her as *ārye* (1.43). Historically, she appears to be related to the Jaina nuns who appear in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*. Rūpa accepts this aetiology: Cf. UN 7.64: *(Dūtīprakaraṇa) Liṅginā tāpasīveśā Paurṇamāsīvad Iritā/*
  16. Madhumaṅgala is the *vidūṣaka* in Kṛṣṇa's later adventures. He is nowhere to be found in the purāṇic literature, not even in the *Padma* or *Brahmaivaivarta*. In *Jagannāthavallabhanāṭaka* a *vidūṣaka* appears whose name is Ratikandala. He is recognizably the same personality as Madhumaṅgala, though perhaps not as clever as the Madhumaṅgala who makes so many witticisms in Rūpa Gosvāmī's plays and Kṛṣṇadāsa's *Govindaṭīlāmṛtam*. Kavi Karnaṇpūra keeps the character but gives him the name Kusumāsava. (Cf. AVC 21.16ff, CCN

- 3.39ff, etc.). Cf. UN 2.7: *Vasantādyabhidho lolo bhojane kalahapriyaḥ/ vikṛtāṅga-vacoveśair hāsyakārī vidūṣakaḥ/ VidagdhaMādhava khyāto yathāsau Madhumaṅgalaḥ//*
17. The meaning of the six *kāvya-kṛtis* is somewhat obscure. Perhaps it refers to Daṇḍin's six types of poetic work: two in verse (*varṇa* and *jātī*), two in prose (*śākhyaśyikā* and *kathā*) and two mixed (*nāṭya* and *campī*).
18. *nirmāñchana*
19. In fact, the proper etymology is "placed foremost, in front" → "commissioned, appointed" → "family priest".
20. The confusion in readings in the text here results from a failure to observe the parallels with §38 above. *Dakṣiṇe...guravaḥ*, here, *vāme...laghavaḥ*. *Laghūbhavantaḥ* can thus be taken to mean, according to the glosses in the MSS., as *śīghrībhavantaḥ*.
21. *anupayuktayuktabhoktr* = S. *anavaśiṣṭayogya* (?). It may mean just "eating separately". Jīva portrays worldly class structure in Goloka. The subsequent paragraph appears to show a certain amount of preoccupation with rules of commensality, even though they are made fun of within the limits of the Goloka situation. See also §52 below.
22. Typically, the *vidūṣaka* is in top form at meal-times. Cf. GLA 4.31-2. The translators of this passage have become confused about who is having which birth, and all seem to feel that it is the servers who must take a third birth in order to expiate the sin they have committed by stealing food, due in part to their misunderstanding of *pratīkāra*. They also read *asmācchīṣām* as referring to Nanda, "you, like us". In fact, the passage centres on the brāhmaṇas, though this is somewhat more diffuse in the case of the second birth.
23. *Pakvāṇna* is fried food, especially that fried with clarified butter, which according to custom has none of the transmission of *duṣkṛti*, either from its cook or provider that boiled food, particularly rice, does.
24. Gopālatāpanī ii.9. Durvāsas's blessing to Rādhā: *Tuṣṭaḥ sa tv ābhuktvā hitvāśiṣaṁ prayojyānvājñāṁ tv adāt/* Jīva's Comm. *Sa tu ābhuktvā ā sāmastyenopabhuja, "ŚrīKṛṣṇapreyasya etāḥ, mama mahābhāgyenaiva svahastarandhitavividhānnaṁ mahyam ānītam" iti*



*vicāreṇa. Tādṛśo 'sau tēḥ parituṣṭaḥ hitvā, pātraiṇaṁ taducchiṣṭaṁ parityaṣṭya, āśiṣaṁ prayojya, tēbhyo vistīrya anvājjñāṁ anujñāṁ adāt, paramāderādīnā na kiñcid uktavān ity arthaḥ.* The theme is kept up in GLA (3.14) where it is used by Yaśodā as a justification for inviting Rādhā, the wife of another man, into her house to cook for her son. "*Amṛta-madhuraṁ āstāṁ saṁskṛtaṁ yat tvayānnaṁ bhavatu ca cirāyur yas tadannasya bhoktā*/" *iti kalitatarāṁ Durvāsasas tām viditvā svasadanam anu Rādhāṁ randhanāyāhvayāmi*// The PadP (iv.83.31-2) appears to follow GLA here. [This particular section of PadP was most likely composed after the existence of most of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava literature for it contains numerous signs of Gauḍīya influence, including a quote from BRS.]

25. It would seem that Yaśodā, remarking that there was concern about the suitability of the foodstuffs, sends fruit about which there can be no such concern.
26. Madhumaṅgala's statement appears to be a pun, also rendered as "or the sight of a single one of you eating".
27. This is a reference to the playing of the cowherds on the shell of Aghāsura's body after his death (x.14.61).
28. *'varāvāryaḥ* in the text should probably be emended to *'varīvāryaḥ* 'chosen, choice'.
29. *bṛhattāta*. This term of address is used by a young man to any elder who is older than the father. Balarāma is not the son of Nanda, but of Vasudeva. He is Kṛṣṇa's brother by virtue of their relation with Vasudeva, not Nanda. However, as we shall see later on (GC 1.3) Kṛṣṇa's relation with Nanda is considered more genuine than his relation with Vasudeva and Devakī. Such claims are never made of Balarāma; his mother Rohiṇī is never said to be Nanda's wife. Thus Balarāma would, even in the *nitya/ītā*, address Nanda as uncle rather than father.
30. This statement of Nanda's is addressed to Ratnacūḍa according to the evidence of the most reliable MSS. It is easy to see, however, why it has been altered to read Rāma in view of the preceding question by Rāma and the subsequent instructions to see to the comfort of the guests. I have followed the emended text.

31. An example of paired verses (Cf. Thesis, 4.00). Madhumaṅgala's words are again ambiguous. *chāditānṛtavāḥ* could mean, 'I no longer speak any falsehood' or 'My falsehoods cannot be detected'. *vā spāśitān* can also be read as *vā aspāśitān*.
32. In ViM (1v19) and GLA (2.19), Madhumaṅgala makes *double entendres* about Kṛṣṇa's illicit sexual activities in Yaśodā's presence, to Kṛṣṇa's great embarrassment. In the context of the *svakīyā* relation, Madhumaṅgala's statement serves only to show that the nature of the love-sports has not changed despite the change in the gopīs status. Any mention of such intimate activities to Kṛṣṇa's mother, even after marriage, however, would be embarrassing to Kṛṣṇa, who is still babied by his mother. Cf. below, §119.
33. From *√sev*, "to serve". This meaning not attested in MW, but common in Bengali, Cf. Samsad.
34. The word *āmiṣa* can mean either "flesh" (*pallāḥ*) or "desirable object". *Āmiṣa* cannot be rendered "flesh" in this context, for that would imply that brāhmaṇas regularly ate meat, which Jīva would not have considered possible. 'A bribe should not be taken by a brāhmaṇa even if desirable in name.' b/
35. The device of gods floating above observing Kṛṣṇa's activities as a permanently fixed audience begins with BhP and used throughout GC. See also ViM 1v26ff.
36. The commentator Vīracandra Gosvāmī quotes a verse from the musical literature as follows giving the names of six of the seven notes of the Indian scale and the animals said to make sounds on that note: *ṣaḍjaṁ mayūrā bruvate, gāvaḥ tv ṛṣabhabhāṣitam/ ajā virauti gāndhārīṇ, uṣṭraḥ kvaṇati madhyamam/ dhaivataṁ ruvate vāḥjī, niṣādaṁ bṛmhate gajāḥ//*
37. The scene of Kṛṣṇa's entry into the settlement, being watched by its residents, especially the gopīs, is a theme popularized by BhP (x.13.52, etc.)
38. Though the thesis and antithesis are not strictly speaking expressed in the Sanskrit, it is necessary in order to extract meaning from the last clause of the sentence and the two *svayam*. The moon expresses dominion over the oceans through its control over the tides. In this metaphor, Kṛṣṇa is likened to the moon and the

cowherds to the oceans. Despite his power over them, however, he himself performs the ordinary human task of rounding up the cows, etc. This is the cause of the gods' amazement.

39. One of the few instances of a grammatical *faux pas*. The subjects of the locative absolute clause have been made the direct objects in the main clause.
40. *mahābhāva* 'la grande passion'. Rādhā is known to Vaiṣṇavas as *mahābhāvasvarūpiṇī* Cf. UN 4.1, CC, Ādi 5, etc.
41. *bāladevara*, the youngest brother-in-law. This is traditionally the favoured relation of the new bride in a household.
42. An unnamed personality of whom we have no knowledge. The only such maternal uncle spoken of anywhere is Āihana or Abhimanyu, otherwise known as Rādhā's husband in ŚrīKṛṣṇakīrtana and elsewhere.
43. Under BRSc ii.5.77, Jīva cites a verse from an unknown source (*yathoktam*) upon which this verse is based: *adr̥ṣṭe darśanotkanṭhā dr̥ṣṭe vicchedabhīrutā/ nādr̥ṣṭena na dr̥ṣṭena bhavatyā labhyate sukham//*
45. *sakhībhyām*; although no names are mentioned, it can be inferred from the dual that they are Lalitā and Viśākhā.
46. The syntax of this verse is not altogether straightforward. *Vā* and *atha*, separated by several words are evidently meant to be *athavā*. The use of the periphrastic future *bhedayitā* in the context of the past *amīlat* is rather unusual, giving a sense of imminence in the past.

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